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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED

IRISHMEN,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,

AND EMBODYING A

HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED BY

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THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

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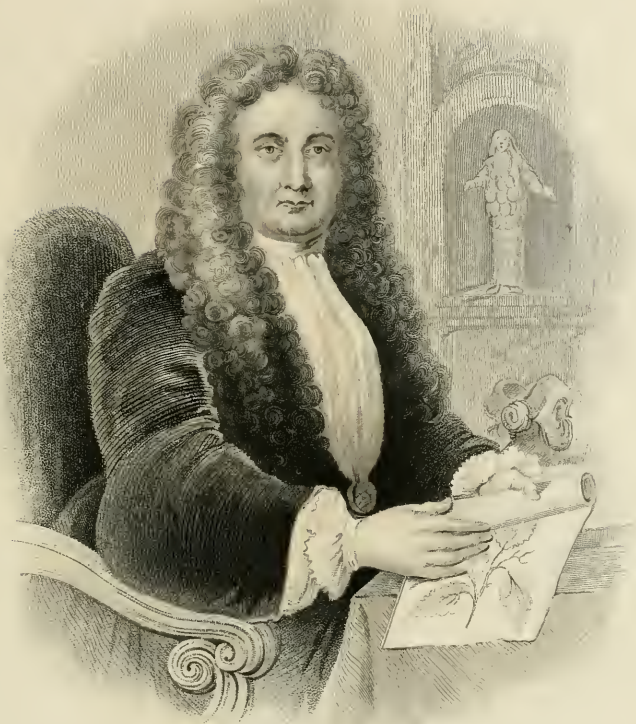
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LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
IRISHMEN.

Sir Richard Cox.

BORN A.D. 1650—DIED A.D. 1733.

AT the commencement of a new volume, we feel that it may not be without its uses to remind our readers, of a fact already noticed briefly in one of the concluding memoirs appertaining to the wars of the revolution in 1689, that the remainder of the period in which we are engaged, contains little material for the biographer. In the more enlarged view of history, it offers as little to the contemplation of the historian. And as the great importance of the subsequent divisions of this work, and the limits to which we are pledged, demand some economy of our space and time, it will be necessary that we should pass through this comparatively barren and unprogressive period of our history with proportionable succinctness and speed. It is true that this very chasm in the progress of events, and in the succession of persons and characters of interest, would seem to demand much comment, and to challenge our best faculties of inquiry or explanation; but the commentary may, for the most part, be found in the events of the time. Much valuable matter we shall endeavour to reserve for occasions of far more attractive interest, while we endeavour, for the present, to select a few names of sufficient general interest, for the purpose of concluding this long and not uneventful division of the political history of Ireland. To this more summary course, we are here the more induced, because in the course of some of the most important and interesting memoirs, which must occupy the chief ground in the ecclesiastical, and still more in the literary divisions of the same period, it will become absolutely necessary to enter into many details of the political history of the very period which we are now to pass with slighter notice. Of this we may offer as an example the life of Swift, of which an interesting portion is connected with the politics of Ireland in his time.

Here, therefore, a few brief remarks as to the character of this residual period, and the cause of its general want of real historic in-

terest, may be enough. We have already explained the manner in which the individual celebrity of the persons whom it has been hitherto our task to notice, has arisen in a greater degree from the station which it was their fortune to occupy in the political scene, than to any of the ordinary causes which entitle illustrious characters to historic notice. As, however, the course of events became more quiet, uniform, and unmarked by violent and stormy changes, it was an evident consequence that the number and individual prominence of such subjects should also diminish in the same proportion. Hence it is, that in the long interval of political torpor, from the treaty of Limerick, through the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges—the remainder of this division—our political persons are comparatively without note. Such is the ground upon which we conceive it expedient to adopt the course which we have described, by selecting a few names, rather with a view to offer a brief outline of the history of their time, than to protract our labour, without interest to the reader, by a dull array of obscure politicians, and official persons.

We should, indeed, most willingly have avoided entering upon even the most cursory notice of the principal questions which offer themselves in the political history of the period now to occupy our attention; for the time when they may be discussed with historic indifference, is hardly yet arrived. Though dull and barren of great or striking events, the period immediately following the revolution was troubled by party dissensions which, to the impartial mind, are painful to contemplate; and to the prepossessions of party feeling, are identified with the fierce and clamorous questions by which the existing generation is possessed. Like every period of our history, the reign of Queen Anne has, with few exceptions, been too largely seen through the coloured media of party feeling, and the rhetorical exaggerations and artifices of those who have repeated their illusory statements until they have believed them. To this unhappily large class of writers and speakers, and to the still larger classes who draw their entire stock of historic opinion from them, the whole history of Ireland is so discoloured by fallacy and passionate prejudice, that no candour can come up to the measure of their exactions, and no concession short of a surrender of truth and reason can satisfy their expectations. The very intent of history is overlooked; and many readers, of the most respectable character and intelligence in other matters, do not scruple openly to demand from the historian some evidence of national, or rather party feeling. Now, for the general good sense, and even for the zealous nationality of such readers, we are quite sincere in professing our respect and regard; but we must here again (as we have often done) remind them, that the office of the historian is as strictly judicial as that of the judge; and that it is his duty, and indeed the most difficult and responsible portion of his task, to exclude all nationality, and all the predilections of sect and party from his mind. The prepossessions from which, as an individual, he cannot be exempt, the inclination to favour the policy or creed which claims his support, and the natural repugnance of the independent spirit to concede any thing to violence, or even for a moment to seem to echo the clamour of popular turbu-

lence; all these must be suppressed by the historian who desires to proceed in the discharge of an office, before the tribunal of which prince and peasant must stand in the strict level of unbiassed equity, and parties of every denomination be viewed as nothing more than inflamed aggregations of human passion and opinion, driving like the clouds before the wind that bears along the fate of nations to the event destined by a higher will.

So far as the character of our own labours is concerned, we may unhesitatingly affirm, that, however, to the more intelligent discernment of critical estimation, we may be found deficient in many of the endowments, acquired or natural, which our present employment may require, we have been scrupulously and anxiously true to the principle of impartial truth. We are far from setting up the absurd claim to be held exempt from the charge of error; but we may boldly insist on being allowed to have preserved the utmost indifference to the requisitions of party feeling on either side. The great and prominent parties into which Ireland has been for many ages unhappily divided, we have viewed, and shall continue to view, as men having by nature the same merits and demerits, placed in different situations and circumstances, and in each, acting with that mixture of crime and virtue, wisdom and folly, knowledge and ignorance, which belongs to the human character. Whatever may be their creed, or nation, or party, the mass of mankind is swayed by impulses and motives of no very high order. And, in accordance with this fact, we think it quite absurd for any party of the present day to insist upon the immaculate virtue of its political ancestry. The practical machinery of states always has been, and will be liable to be worked (in detail at least) by officials of no very extended views of public good, and chiefly actuated by the selfish impulses which are mostly uppermost in the mind of man. For this reason it is, that in troubled and barbarous eras, whatever may be the essential character of the ruling party, there must be a large mixture of injustice, crime, and malversation, found in the sinks and under-channels of official agency. The partisan of either side will always find ample matter for complaint and recrimination without departing from truth, further than is involved in one-sided statements.

But after the worst shall have been said on either side, or on both, it is worth the reader's while to recollect, and keep in view, that after all no material question is decided. Thus, when we have strongly sketched out the excesses and horrors of the barbarous followers of Sir Phelim O'Neile—the flagrant tyrannies and malversations of the government agents and officials which prolonged and aggravated this wretched state of things;—when we have painted freely the stormy disaffection of the chiefs—the more politic intrigues of the ecclesiastics which succeeded—the treachery of Tyrconnel—the fatal bigotry of James—or, lastly, when we lament the subsequent sufferings of the Irish papists, (the natural consequence of these,) during the succeeding reigns: throughout the whole of these statements, the great leading questions, at the present day agitated between the same parties, remain unaffected by anything we have thought proper to say. The principles of the churches of England and Rome do not enter into our

scope; the conduct of their respective supporters must be referred to other conditions, so far as any question of right or wrong, merit or demerit, is involved. According to the several views of the advocates for either church, their conduct is to be weighed in the moral scale; their pretensions are to be referred to their respective credentials; it is no part of our undertaking to decide between them. But there is also a political estimate, which cannot, in the same degree, be eliminated from these pages. According to this, it has been often our task, at the same time, to defend the general policy of the English government, and to reprobate the entire spirit and practice of its practical application. To this fact, we are anxious more especially to invite the reader's notice; for in Irish history, it claims the place of a principle, and its due admission would save much misapprehension. We have now to apply it to the reigns chiefly to pass before us, before we conclude this series.

The reigns of queen Anne and her next immediate successors, are rendered memorable in Irish history by the extreme and severe depression of the members of the Romish communion. A deepening array of oppressive, and nearly intolerable exactments, rendered their condition such as cannot now be contemplated by humane minds of any creed without pity. The penal laws, which we shall hereafter detail, are, by the more sanguine spirits of one side, looked upon as excused by justice and expediency; by their fiery opponents as unattonable wrongs. The truth is far within these extremes; and because it is an instructive truth, we thus place it at the commencement of the first of those few remaining sketches, in which we propose to comprise the history of a period, marked by the obscure commencement of a state of things, which pre-eminently exacts the utmost precaution to steer clear of the prejudiced politics of two great opposite parties, to both of which, the entire history of this island appears through the dust and vapour of protracted and violent contention.

The fury of the stubborn and sanguinary contests which we have detailed in our last previous volume, was followed by that reaction which is the inevitable result of every extreme vibration in the balance of human affairs. Popular violence was followed by that prostration of strength, which was its proper and immediate consequence. The restoration of the powers of civil control, and the re-establishment of municipal jurisdictions and authorities, was attended with disadvantages which we are obliged to separate, carefully and precisely, from all the common accusations which mere party warfare has devised, in opposition to these jurisdictions and authorities. In conceding facts, which the violence of faction has converted into weapons of offence on either side, it becomes more especially needful to guard against mistakes. When we admit and lament the severity with which the Papal party in Ireland was coerced, we must admit the strong apparent necessity of that coercion. While we admit that it led to unhappy consequences, and to much injustice and oppression, it is necessary to deny that those consequences lay within the scope of human wisdom to foresee, or that the injustice was designed. Nor can we omit to observe, that in the due appreciation of these, or any other

precautionary measures, it would be essential to weigh the full consequences of their neglect; and it should be maturely considered, whether the sufferings and calamities of Ireland were, or were not, far greater before than after these measures; whether the wasting disease of centuries had not been a protracted struggle between two great classes; in which, if neither could be expected to submit, it was nevertheless evident that the submission of either was necessary to civil order. And if the question of *which* is thus once raised, it becomes evident that the *actually* ruling power was fully justified in enforcing the essential submission to the existing order of things, by all necessary means. The general enactments were the result of a harsh necessity of the times; their occasional abuse, the work of those private agencies to which such times have ever given birth. Let us look on a few of the facts which lay before the wisdom of that age: the whole would here demand too wide a scope. The long and earnest under-currents of intrigue, by which, in pursuance of conscientious opinions, it was sought to establish the Papal power in Ireland, at last broke out into a struggle, in which, for some terrible years, the Protestant party suffered all the extremities and hardships in a tenfold degree, of which their political opponents had afterwards reason to complain. At the close of this dreadful crisis, (for such it was,) some facts were strongly impressed on the mind of the predominant party. The great leading object of the pleaders of the popular side, namely, the establishment of a foreign supremacy, actually *political* in its nature, within the kingdom, was clearly and incontrovertibly inconsistent with the first principles of government; this alone, in the *then* existing state of the Papal power, fully authorized all necessary constraints and disabilities of those who acknowledged a power so unconstitutional.* This real and rightful principle was enforced by others of more doubtful validity: it was the sense of those who had escaped with life and fortune from the oppression of James and his unprincipled minion Tyrconnel, that safety was only to be found in the possession of an iron system of control. Resentment and prejudice, which neither party is entitled to impute as reproach to the other, did their work, and more than their work, for a time. But it is here only just to observe, that these unhappy results of national strife can hardly be imputed to the better classes of the gentry and aristocracy, in whose continued kindness and sym-

* It is our study to separate to the utmost our statements from all consideration of the politics of the present time. But so nearly do they seem to approach, that, if our space allowed, we should desire to show wherein they are different. This we cannot here effect satisfactorily. But there is a principle of judgment which we would here suggest to both parties—who each in their own way look too much to the past. The result of a violent party struggle, of which, principles far more wide than those of the beginning of the 18th century have been the main elements, has been a high inflammation of all the natural feelings of party warfare. The *excitement itself* constitutes a larger portion of the disorder of the times than is generally allowed, and gives to all the popular impulses a great part of their force and venom. Complaints, once the cause, are now but the missiles of a revolutionary conflict. But the full demonstration and development of this neglected fact would demand a separate volume. It is here enough for the writer to say, that his statements are, in his own political theory, wholly distinct from the *real* questions of public writers of the day.

pathy, the severities of the law, and the interested persecutions of hungry officials, found their only, but effective, restraint and alleviation.

Of these preliminary reflections, the attentive readers of the memoirs which remain to complete this period, will see the necessity. The character of the time which it includes is so widely different from that which has hitherto occupied our care, that it should have formed a distinct division, but for the barrenness of character and event, which rendered it inexpedient to incur the disadvantages of a formal and cumbrous separation of its more scanty and less interesting matter from the general course of our history. The change of political character, though great and obvious, presents little for the biographer; and to give it consistence sufficient to warrant the formal introduction which the plan of this work assigns to each of its separate periods, we should be compelled to notice names which have no pretension to a place in the record of history, or to pursue the memorial of secondary characters and events to an inordinate length.

Having premised this brief statement, we shall feel ourselves, for the remainder of this period, warranted to proceed with that brevity of statement which our general limits demand.

Sir Richard Cox is one of the few eminent persons belonging to the period before us, whose rise in the state was independent of the fortune of wars and revolutions, or the accidents of birth. He was a man whose high moral and intellectual endowments, would in any age, under circumstances not peculiarly unfavourable, have attained the highest civil distinctions. He has equal pretensions to a place among our political and literary heroes; but we are now reduced to the necessity of continuing our political history under such names as may be found not inappropriate. He was born in Bandon, in the year 1650. His father was a captain of horse, and died while his son was yet but three years old; he was, in consequence, transferred to the care of his maternal grandfather. This gentleman having also died in a few years, the charge appears to have devolved to his son, Mr John Bird, of Clonakilty. By his care, young Cox received the first rudiments of education, at a grammar-school in Clonakilty. Here, it is said, he showed strong indications of that industry and talent which afterwards became the foundation of his success in life. His taste for the practice of the law was developed, perhaps, by the accident of his uncle holding the office of Seneschal in the manorial courts, under the appointment of one of the Boyle family. In this obscure court, young Cox began to practise as an attorney, in his eighteenth year; and, as a matter of course, his practice soon extended to the other court of session held by the civil authorities of that old borough, from which, until the Union, the earls of Shannon returned two members to parliament. The practice of these minor courts was (and is) such as to demand no very extended acquaintance with the law, and in the narrow range of cases which fell under their jurisdiction, a considerable discretion was assumed or vested in the officers. Such, indeed, is one of the abuses still partially existing in the present day in the few manorial courts which remain, the refuge of petty tyranny and insubordination, and the disgrace of the legislature. In these courts the line

of demarcation between the practice of the attorney and the advocate was but indistinct; and here, in the advocacy of such petty cases as demanded little more than a shrewd common sense, and a ready tongue, and the knowledge of the rules and equities of the petty dealings of a little obscure seaport, the forensic propensities of this eminent lawyer were developed and confirmed; though, we may presume, little instructed.

Such a range could not long continue to confine the ambition of a mind so alert and industrious. Finding his means sufficient, Cox entered his name, in 1661, as a law student, in Gray's Inn. Here his superior intelligence soon raised him into notice; and having completed his terms, and the course of legal attainment then considered necessary, he returned to his native country, and soon after contracted a marriage with a lady, who had, or was reputed to have, rights to a large property. For a young legal aspirant, a lawsuit seems to have been no inappropriate fortune; but he was destined to be less fortunate as a suitor than as a servant of the law, and failed in making good the claims of his wife. The circumstance appears to have given for some years an unfavourable turn to his views in life: his spirits may have been depressed by feeling himself hopelessly involved in a poor connexion, at a period of life which most demands the exertion of free and unencumbered powers. It is still more likely that his funds were exhausted, and that residence in town was become no longer practicable. He returned to Clonakilty, where he took a farm, and sunk gradually into that kind of indolence of pursuit, to which persons of intellectual temper are most liable, when deprived of their congenial and proper excitement in the atmosphere of ambition or studious conversation.

But while his talents lay unemployed, and the native impulses of his mind stood still, the progress of time was marked by the increase of his family. His lady, whose promise of wealth had dissolved into an unsubstantial disappointment, was fortunate in the production of a numerous gradation of youthful mouths, which demanded to be fed; and Richard Cox was roused from the quiet ease of his farm, to the anxious consideration of the ways and means of life.

By the kindness of Sir Robert Southwell, he was quickly restored to the high road of advancement. In 1685, being then in his thirtieth year, he was elected recorder of Kinsale, and removed with his young family to Cork, where he entered at once on the practice of his profession, with rapid and honourable success.

His professional progress was destined to be retarded by interruptions, which were afterwards in no small degree instrumental to his rise. He had attained considerable practice, when his natural sagacity enabled him to perceive the approach of that reverse to the protestant interests in Ireland, which we have already so fully traced in a former memoir. The succession of James II. to the throne was the commencement of a strenuous effort to restore the supremacy of the two kingdoms to the Pope; and though the settled principles, and advanced political maturity of England, made it necessary to proceed with a cautious and underhand progress; in Ireland, where very opposite conditions prevailed, the real intentions of the court were not to

be overlooked by any person of ordinary observation. In Ireland, the mass of the aristocracy, as well as of the commercial interests, were protestant, and the civil authorities and legal constitution had that conformity which such a predominance of interest demanded in that age. But the peasantry were of the communion of the church of Rome; and they had now, since the days of James I., been governed by their priesthood—a body of men against whom it is no accusation to say, that their whole political morality was then centred in an earnest and conscientious principle of devotion to the Roman See. To this statement is to be added, that there was a large intermixture of persons and families of broken fortune, from varied causes, who were of the popular persuasion, and who had never relinquished the prospect of a reinstatement in possessions, which justice, the fortune of war, or the vicissitudes of fortune, and the advance of commercial wealth, had long transferred into other hands. With such elements smouldering under the recollections of 1641, and though hidden by the ashes of a generation scarcely extinct, it needed no deep insight to perceive what was to be the effect of a new struggle, in which these elements of wreck and ruin were to be blown by the breath of royal power and influence. To calculate on the same reaction in favour of right and justice, was not beyond the compass of reason; but far too unsatisfactory and uncertain for the fears of the boldest, who, like Cox, looked practically on the course of events. He relinquished his advantages, and sacrificing a present income of £300 a-year, removed for security with his family to Bristol.

He had, however, by that time, fortunately attained considerable reputation as a sound lawyer and able advocate, and being well known, he was not long destitute of business, but contrived to obtain an income competent to the support of his family, which consisted of a wife and five children. It was during this interval that he compiled the greater part of his known historical work, entitled "*Hibernia Anglicana*," often referred to in these memoirs.

Thus engaged, Cox continued at Bristol till the landing of the prince of Orange in England. On this event, while all was yet doubt, embarrassment, and the confused clamour of party, he hastened to London, and took a decided, and, we believe, not ineffectual part, in favour of the revolution. He published a pamphlet, in which he insisted on the necessity of giving the crown to William, and of sending relief to Ireland. His merits were at once recognised, or his patrons were at least efficient in recommending them. He was made under-secretary of state; and soon after accompanied Sir Robert Southwell, as secretary, to Ireland. His eminent sagacity, and extensive acquirements, here became so conspicuous, that he rose in the royal regard with rapidity; and when Waterford was surrendered, he was at once appointed recorder to that city. This was but a step to further elevation; and few months elapsed when he was raised to the bench, as one of the justices of the common pleas, on the 13th of September, 1690.

At this period of our history, the several functions of administration had not yet received the separate and ascertained character which belongs to mature forms and states of government. There was a necessary indistinctness in the limits of the different departments; the restrictions of civil form and professional privilege were comparatively

slight. The circumstance was at least favourable to talent: the person whose skill, superior efficiency, knowledge, moral virtues, or perhaps vices, raised him to rank or station, seldom failed to obtain employment, and to be raised to authority, in whatever department his inclination prompted him to look for promotion, or his capability recommended him. Cox, who in addition to considerable acquirements in general and professional knowledge, possessed an active temper and great practical sagacity, was thus prepared to catch to the utmost every gale of favour and preferment. He had been hardly raised to a rank which would now be considered to demand the full devotion of the entire available industry of the most competent lawyer, when he obtained a promotion of equal importance, which must have exacted equal activity and confidence in a different department, having, in about half a-year from the date of his judicial appointment, been made military governor of Cork.

For this latter station Cox was eminently fitted; at least if regard be had to the time. His firm temper of mind and sagacious understanding communicated to his entire conduct that decided and unbending line of duty which the condition of that province demanded; while a stern and high-minded integrity obtained for him the respect of those who had any regard for such qualities, and ensured him the cordial support of those who were the immediate witnesses of his actions, and whose support was most needful. But, as inevitably must happen, and always has happened, in the struggles of Ireland,—where the inveteracy of party feeling renders men incapable of estimating human actions on any general ground of obligation,—his conduct in this station has been loudly arraigned for the extreme rigour which he was compelled to have recourse to. Writers who have discussed the confused politics of that period have too much suffered their understanding and temper to be absorbed in its spirit, not only entering with an undue warmth into the passions of the parties, but absolutely putting on their colours, ranging under their banners, and seeing through the medium of their prejudices. But after having witnessed the flagrant realities of the long and calamitous struggle of the revolution, and seen the actual and fearful effects of an universal relaxation of all the bonds of order, he was too well taught, that tranquillity, general security, and the peaceable progress of social improvement and civilization, were only to be obtained by the powerful and summary suppression of turbulent spirits,—only to be secured by the rough and stern hand of force. It is always easy for those whose habits of mind have been warped by perpetual advocacy, and who are engaged in the partial endeavour to justify and palliate every act of the side they espouse, to persuade themselves to such an extent, in favour of fallacies which are habitually diffused throughout the very texture of their intellects; as to imagine, that while the popular mind was in a state of unnatural excitement, their leaders still alert to seize occasion, while the hope of returning confusion made men ready to defy the law, and a generation trained to crime and insubordination, was, like suppressed fire, ever starting at every air-hole,—to imagine that they were to be held in peaceable and orderly subjection by the calm and tempered routine of balanced equity and justice. Popular excitement, never at any time grounded on the

dictates of political wisdom or justice, never was, or will be calmed by the appeal to reason, or satisfied in any way but by an unreserved triumph; unless when reason and justice are fortunately sanctioned and enforced by such means as alone can be felt or comprehended by untrained intellects and undisciplined passions. But in that uncivilized generation, the salvation of the land depended entirely on a timely and vigorous application of the only resource which their moral and intellectual condition permitted to be even understood; and we therefore consider it to the praise of Cox, that he availed himself effectually of those means. During his government in the county of Cork, though the frontier of his province extended eighty miles, with twenty garrisons under his charge, he continued to preserve order, unknown elsewhere, and never allowed the Jacobites to gain an inch of ground.

We may mention one instance of firmness and vigorous promptitude, which happened in this period of his life, the political history of which we have sufficiently detailed. De Ginckle had written to governor Cox to request a thousand of the Cork militia, who, under his superintendence, are said to have arrived at a very high state of military discipline, though the fact does not appear from the following anecdote. Of the required force all had already marched but 160 men, who positively refused to stir from their country. The colonel, after a vain resort to every means of persuasion, repaired to Cox, who declared that he would soon make them march. Surrounded by a party of gentlemen and officers, he rode up to them, and in a commanding and firm tone, asked why they were not on their march. One of them stood forth, and began to reply; the governor interrupted and addressed them in a few words, in which he asserted his power over them; but added, that as he did not desire the company of cowards, he would not use it;—he said, that he was sure there were among them some who were not afraid to fight for a king and country they loved, and that such would follow him; the rest might return to their homes.” They all felt, and answered the appeal to their pride by immediate submission to order.

His able and spirited discharge of duties, so apparently foreign from his previous habits, obtained for Cox great and universal reputation. His commission and the scope of his government were considerably enlarged; and he continued to display a degree of active prudence, and decision of conduct, which effected the happiest results. He not only received the thanks of the English government, for the successful vigilance by which he preserved the public tranquillity in Ireland, but also the warmest expressions of gratitude from the numerous persons whose property he saved from devastation and pillage. As the enlargement of his jurisdiction had been occasioned by the fear of a French invasion, he was under the necessity of taking some precautions, which were, in the then state of Ireland, indispensably necessary, but calculated to cast some unpopularity on his character: the disarming the papists was, nevertheless, effected with a mild forbearance, and a regard to circumstances, not often to be met in the history of the country. He carried this harsh necessity into effect without irritating those who were its object, or bringing them into suspicion; and, using a sane and temperate discretion, he managed to limit the

measure to the real urgency of the supposed danger, and to avoid leaving respectable persons, from whom nothing was to be really apprehended, in a defenceless condition. The threat of invasion was, however, soon dispelled, by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, in May.

In the same year, 1692, after having gone the summer circuit in the southern districts, with judge Reynel, he returned to Dublin; where, on the 5th of November, he was knighted by the lord Sidney, at that time lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

In 1693, he was elected as a member of the Philosophical Society, which, about ten years before, had been founded by the exertions of the well-known William Molyneux, who was then more known as a philosopher than he has subsequently become as the author of a political pamphlet, which must be presently noticed in these pages. On this occasion, he read an essay containing his geographical account of the counties of Derry and Antrim. In the same year, he paid a visit to England, where he met with cordial attention and favour, from lord-treasurer Godolphin, and the other ministers of government. On this occasion he obtained an order from the treasury for the abatement of one half of his quitrent. He was also appointed on the commission for Irish forfeitures, with a salary of £900 a-year. This honourable testimony to his talent, and the known high integrity of his character, had the undesirable consequence of plunging him more immediately within the vortex of cabal and factious clamour, which had been the distinguishing affliction of Ireland at all times, but never more conspicuously than at that period. As we have observed at the commencement of this memoir, those acrimonious dissensions which have never since allowed any intermission for the progress of national prosperity were in their beginning; and it was impossible to be actively connected with either of the two great factions, which filled the great arena of contention, jobbing, disaffection, falsehood and misrepresentation, injustice and crime, without being soon vilified by the tongue of one or both sides, as the part taken was subservient to either, or honestly independent of both. And if there ever has been a moment when a dignified separation from the practices of every party, or set of men, was essential to upright and sound principles of conduct, it was then; when we feel it necessary to admit, after a careful perusal of the inflamed statements of the historical advocates of either side, their accusations, and the angry recriminations of both, are substantially correct.

The progress of national prosperity—of agriculture, trade, and manners, were forcibly interrupted by the great political convulsion consequent on the crime and infatuation of king James; and as has but too continually and peculiarly been the misfortune of this island, those peaceful processes, which constitute the national order and secure the means of national advance, were broken, and for a period destroyed. The contest for the maintenance or recovery of real or imaginary rights;—the revenge of fancied wrongs;—the violent precautions against real but exaggerated dangers;—the intrigues for power or property which an unsettled state of things must ever induce and favour;—the discouragement to commercial in-

vestment from the insecurity of property, and the inadequate protection of law;—and the advantage which rival nationality or corporate feeling will be always ready to take of such a disorganized state of things, all operated to depress and degrade the Irish nation. The people who are enfeebled and degraded by internal hate and dissension—as well as by vain contention against a dominant power, even if the claims of resistance should be dignified by right, will meet small if any allowance in that vast collision of human interests, out of which order and light arise by a law different from that which the patriot in his zeal, which is seldom according to knowledge, or the theorist in his wide and wild, yet insufficient scope of speculation, is ever led to contemplate. This island, with all its great national advantages, had been so kept back by a hapless alternation of violent civil wars, and the stagnant calms which followed—that in the end of the seventeenth century her connexion with England, which should, according to the natural law of social workings, have been productive of an increase of national prosperity, was on the other hand too unequal to be advantageous. The diffusion of equality, which is the progressive result of natural underworkings, and not of voluntary concession, was from time to time sought to be extorted by demands which never have been or will be successful, being grounded in mistake; and the existing state of depression naturally presented itself as the basis of English policy. To avoid generalizing beyond the scope of this memoir, Ireland was in a condition which impeded those operations of settlement and commerce, that lead to prosperity, which invited the fatal proceedings of the political adventurer, and sanctioned the policy according to which her interests were made secondary to those of England.

So tenacious, and so vital indeed, are the real principles of human progress, that a quiet acquiescence in the domination of England—mortifying as it was to national pride, and frequently injurious to national interests—would have by degrees settled into that quiet onward order of things, which no ordinary interference can prevent, that leads to the true fundamental basis of independence, wealth, and knowledge. We are far—for our own part—from wishing to cast reproach on those, who, finding themselves depressed by law, or by circumstances, were earnestly bent on obtaining that level which is the instinctive moral tendency of human nature: the degree of wisdom or of equity to be claimed from party will, is moderate indeed; it is enough that the claimant is sincere in his error, (supposing it such). But what we would here enforce as the lesson of the time on which we write, is, that these contentious claims were unfortunate: they perpetuated distinctions, prejudices, and animosities, which must have been forgotten and flung aside like foam from the stream of things, had they been let alone. The means which are taken by the multitude to break their imaginary bonds, have ever been the traceable means by which they have been rivetted. Human error never produces its full sum of evil consequence, until it becomes the adopted principle of political faction and party feeling. It is then adopted and kept alive, without any regard to its intrinsic value: the growth of knowledge, the diffusive light of growing civilization, with its concomitant blessings, would distance and purge away the influences of old prejudices

as they grow virtually inconsistent with an advanced order of things; but error becomes enshrined by the popular enthusiasm, when it holds the place of the banner under which the political animosity of each successive age has rallied to a destructive and undying contest.

Such are the reflections awakened by the study of the hapless position of affairs which arose out of the wars of the revolution in Ireland: they are to be illustrated by every fact, which we shall have to state, so far as our statements shall bear any relation to the affairs of the country.

The first ill, resulting from the depression of this country, after the war, was the destruction of trade, which had long been advancing under the protection of an improved internal administration. The entire tissue of commercial interests, with every other interest but that of military license and official malversation, had previously been rent to shreds by the successive inflictions of two great parties, as by turns they rose uppermost in the struggle, and of the fierce collision in the field which crushed them into stillness. Nevertheless, the machinery of progress had been introduced, and received a fixed station in the constitution of affairs; the power, which had put down the struggle, was visibly sufficient to maintain order, and preserve the civil rights of men; and the suspended functions of trade would have quickly regained their condition, if left to the fair and full development of the resources of the country.

In the first ten years from the conclusion of the revolutionary wars, the trading interests of the country appear to have not only regained their level, but to have been advancing with an acceleration unknown in previous instances of national recovery from the effects of internal convulsion. Irish exports experienced a rapid increase from 1696 to 1698, and there was a balance of trade in favour of the country, entirely attributed to the exportation of wool. The commercial jealousy of the English Commons was excited, and the king was compelled to give way to the clamorous expression of discontent; this discontent, when fairly appreciated according to the knowledge of the time, was not quite unreasonable. The consequence was fatal to Ireland; in an evil hour the exportation of woollen manufacture from Ireland was prohibited; the first consequences of this measure appear to have been as deplorable as those of the previous destructive war; the linen trade, which has never thoroughly taken root in Ireland, was not yet established, and the numbers of poor people who lived by the woollen manufacture, were thrown out of bread, while the landed proprietors were impoverished, and a scarcity of money and consequent rise of prices was produced: great multitudes of protestant families were thus also forced to emigrate, which, considering that the advance of the national prosperity altogether depended on the protestant population, was at the time an irreparable mischief. These disastrous consequences are strongly represented in the various resolutions of the Irish parliament immediately following, in which the extreme poverty of the kingdom is pleaded, and redress earnestly sought. This distressing condition continued for many years, as may be seen by any one who desires for detailed information, in the journals of the Commons during the reign of queen Anne. We shall here only add what justice to England demands

from us, that she made the most liberal efforts to repair the mischief in the following reigns, by opening her markets to our linen manufacture, and by large grants of money to the amount of £10,000 per annum for many years, for the encouragement of the exportation of Irish linen. But we shall find occasion to renew the subject further on.

So early as 1690, an address was proposed in the parliament of England, "That the sum of one million be raised, on the credit, or by the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and that an address be presented to his majesty, that he would be pleased to command the commissioners in Ireland to make a return of the names of the persons in rebellion in that kingdom, and of their estates, and the value thereof, and that the same might be transmitted to the House of Commons:" the address was rejected, but it was voted that a bill should be brought in for the attainder of those persons who had been concerned in rebellion in England or Ireland, and for confiscating their estates, and applying the proceeds to the expense of the war then pending with France. When the bill was brought in, about six weeks after, a clause was proposed, empowering the king to grant one third of the forfeited lands to such as had served in the Irish war. This was rejected, and numerous petitions and applications were made in the progress of this bill, from the creditors of some of the persons implicated, and the heirs of many: the house disembarrassed itself of the perplexity of meeting such applications, by an inconsiderate rejection of the whole. The lords, naturally less factious, received the bill in a more judicial and equitable spirit, and resolved on paying a due regard to all petitions, and added many conditions and clauses, which were likely to generate opposition and delay. The king sent a message to the commons, which, we cannot but view as injudicious, both as implying unconstitutional concessions of the power of the crown, and also as liable to the misconception which afterwards occurred. He pledged himself to grant none of the land in question, but to reserve the consideration of their disposal for another session. It is a strange instance of the abuse of language, that notwithstanding this assurance, his majesty considered himself only pledged against any gratuitous donation to courtiers or friends, but that he was yet at liberty to consider just claims, and reward those who had served in the Irish war. In the succeeding sessions, the affairs of Ireland, and chiefly with relation to the forfeitures, were brought before the English House of Commons, and many complaints of mismanagement and embezzlement made, which, though probably well-grounded in fact, were mainly factious in their origin. Meanwhile, king William acting on a just sense of what was due to the services of those who had brought the war to a favourable termination, had disposed of a considerable moiety of the land to his generals. He had also attended to the demands of right, and in many cases done justice to the claims of the innocent, and of those who had been unfairly divested of their rights. The Commons, whose factious spirit gave little rest to the king, carried their clamours to a pitch which compelled the outraged monarch to recall his act, after it had additionally involved the difficult and delicate question in new embarrassment, as most of the grantees, in-

pressed with the precarious nature of Irish tenures, sold their grants. De Ginckle received £17,684 for his share, lord Romney £30,147, the earl of Albemarle £73,000, as appeared from subsequent investigations, which we shall presently notice.

In the mean time it was that Cox, as we have mentioned, was appointed on the commission for the management of the forfeited lands. The strict equity with which he resisted an oppressive partiality on one side, and the urgency of menace and corruption on the other, soon drew upon him the clamorous accusations of those by whom the just forfeitures of the recent struggle were looked on as a prey, and the no less dangerous resentment of the leaders of popular feeling. It was no hard matter to raise a powerful set against him, and when every thing was decided by the movements of intrigue, his displacement was a matter of course. One occasion is honourably distinguished, in which an effort was made to seize on the estates of several gentlemen of the county of Galway, in defiance of the articles of the capitulation by which they were secured from forfeiture. Cox insisted with equal truth and force on the manifest injustice of such a violation of a solemn treaty, and to the great discontent of the jobbing pack which formed the executive government in the castle, he saved the Galway gentlemen from losing their estates by an arbitrary order of council. Such an interference with the views of the Irish administration was not to be endured, and he was presently superseded, on the gratuitous pretext, that the council might become a court of judicature, by the presence of so many judges. They covered their real design, by dismissing at the same time another judge, whose abilities were of little weight. But soon after, an effort was made to complete the manœuvre to the destruction of Sir Richard Cox's credit with the king, by a vote that the forfeitures in Ireland were mismanaged. The effort failed, and only served to raise the reputation it was designed to destroy. Sir Richard defended himself against a formidable string of accusations, by statements so full, so well vouched, and so forcibly put forward, that the vote was lost. And to make the vindictive spirit of the whole proceeding more apparent, another method of effecting their purpose was resorted to: the commission was objected to on the ground of economy, which demanded a strict and parsimonious management of the revenue, and the reduction of an expensive establishment. In defence of the private policy by which the official agency of the Irish council was at that time governed in the conduct of affairs, we have little to say. We have both in the outset of this memoir, and throughout this work, taken every occasion to enforce the distinction to be drawn between the general policy of government, or professed principles of public men or parties, and the private motives by which individuals acting in a system necessarily lax and insufficient in control, may have been led to pursue their personal interests at the cost of their public trusts. We do believe, that the occasion of this commission afforded a far surer field for corrupt gain or the iniquitous decisions of private favour or enmity, than for the public advantage of the revenue. The whole transaction was based on complicated impolicy. Of the forfeitures, if we cannot admit that some portion stood upon unjust and impolitic grounds, or in contraven-

tion of the treaties by which the adherents of James who submitted at the period of the treaty of Limerick, were suffered to retain their estates; there was at least a protracted course of vexatious and uncertain proceeding to ascertain the extent of the forfeited possessions, which being placed in the hands of persons who were the objects of fear and prejudice, was calculated to maintain an angry and unsettled spirit through all Ireland. Had the commissioners acted with the most rigid equity, it is evident to every one who understands the processes of popular sentiment, that their conduct could not escape the calumnies to which national prejudice and resentment, roused by inflictions and deprivations, would give rise. But the very first origin of the measure involved a most arbitrary and iniquitous usurpation on the part of the English Commons, of a power to which they had no claim. The disposition of the Irish forfeitures was the undoubted right of king William, and the usurpation of this right, an unconstitutional encroachment, was in its very intention factious, and for no purpose in the world but to thwart and embarrass the king. For the liquidation of the expenses of the war, it was so wholly inadequate, that on a distinct return which was afterwards found to have overrated the value of the lands, it was given up. The following are the chief articles of the report, and gives a fair view of the entire merits of the case, so far as the general equity of the proceedings of the commission.

The number of acres in the several counties belonging to the forfeited persons, was 1,060,792 acres. These being worth £211,623 per annum, the full value is computed at £2,685,130.* From this gross value, deductions are made for estates restored to the old proprietors by articles of Limerick and Galway, to the value of £724,923; for those restored by the king to their old possessors, £260,863; after which, with other less important deductions, the amount above stated is reduced to £1,699,343. These few items are extracted from the report of the commission in 1699, when the subject had been for several years embroiled by factions, proceeding from the partial, ignorant, or interested conduct of a commission named by the house of commons to inquire into their value, and the considerations on which they had been granted. The commissioners disagreed as to the statements of their report: the earl of Drogheda and other two gentlemen refused to sign it, on the allegation that in several particulars it was incorrect. They were accused by the popular party of having been gained by the court. The commons, heated by a high spirit of opposition, affected to be strongly impressed with the importance of saving a million and a half for the discharge of the public debts; they bore down all opposition to the report, and resolved to bring in a bill for the application of all the forfeited estates in the land, and all grants of them, from 13th February, 1688, to the use of the public. To carry this into effect, their proceedings were violent and clearly unconstitutional. When the clause which had formerly accompanied the bill was proposed,—that the king should dispose of a third of those lands,—it was replied by the commons, that his grantees had been already so long in possession of the lands, that the rents and profits had amounted to

* Tindal.

a third of the entire value: this assertion was merely a tyrannical stretch of reason. But so far was this arbitrary and illegal spirit carried, as to pass a vote that they would not receive petitions from any person whatever concerning the grants;* but they added to this a resolution, that they would take into consideration the services of their commissioners. They further resolved, that the advising, procuring, and passing these grants, had been the means of great debts to the nation, heavy taxes on the people, and reflected highly on the king's honour; and that the officers and agents employed in effecting them had failed in their duty to the public. By another resolution, this vote was presented to the king in the form of an address. We give the king's answer:—"Gentlemen, I was not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice to reward those who served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there. The long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt."

Sir Richard Cox availed himself of the leisure obtained from his dismissal from a troublesome and invidious office, to prosecute some of those numerous pursuits of study and research, with which his active mind was filled. An "Essay for the conversion of the Irish," was among the chief results. He is also said to have composed and presented a memorial upon the bill then pending in the house of lords, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures.

In 1701, the lord chief justice of the common pleas died, and Sir Richard was promoted to his place by the king, immediately after which he obtained a seat in the privy council.

On the death of king William, he was summoned to England by Lord Methuen, to give his advice on Irish affairs, more especially with a view to the measures to be proposed for the consideration of the Irish parliament. The political views of Sir Richard were in most respects enlightened by the union of great natural sagacity, with the most extensive local and practical information. With respect to the remoter effects, and more indirect influence of civil or economical enactments or managements, he participated in the general obscurity of his time. But he had clear views of the enormous disadvantages, and obstacles to improvement and civil progress, then existing in his country,—the barbarism of a large portion of the inhabitants—the political tendency to an alien jurisdiction, consequent upon a difference of churches—the mutual dissensions arising from the same cause—the prejudices in the neighbouring island and in the seat of government, arising from these and other causes—the obstacles and impediments to Irish trade, originating in defective laws and commercial jealousies: with these and such facts strongly impressed on his mind, and a sentiment of patriotism, if not more sincere, certainly more enlightened, than the zeal (not according to knowledge) of those whose national and local passions and prejudices impelled them to redress, or avenge the half-imaginary wrongs of the country, by washing her fields in the blood of endless strife, and perpetuating the evils which they resented, and of which they were themselves mainly the cause; the advice of Sir

* Tindal.

Richard was just, as might be inferred from such knowledge, if referred to the existing state of human opinion, and prudent with regard to the real wants and exigencies of the day. He presented an extensive and clear view of the national resources, local and general; he exposed the political workings among the people and the leaders of popular opinion; the state of trade, with its advantages, and the difficulties to which it was subject. It is also probable that he cautiously laid open the practice of official abuse, which then to a great extent neutralized the beneficent intentions of the government.

Several legislative measures, afterwards passed into law, may be considered as the result of his counsel. Some of these exhibit the fears and cautions which had their foundation in the events of the previous reigns, and marked the entire policy of the day. The fears of popery, as then connected with the claims of rival families to the crown, are exemplified in an act "to prevent popish priests from coming into the kingdom;" an act "to make it high treason in this kingdom (Ireland) to impeach the succession to the crown, as limited by several acts of parliament;" an act "to prevent the further growth of popery;" an act "for registering the popish clergy;" and several others in the same spirit, of which one or two of the preambles will give the most authentic view of the intent and spirit, as well as of the political tendencies of the time. The first-mentioned act commences thus:—"Whereas great numbers of popish bishops, deans, friars, Jesuits, and other regulars of the popish clergy, do daily come into this kingdom from France, Spain, and other foreign parts, under the disguise or pretence of being popish secular priests, with intent to stir up her majesty's popish subjects to rebellion." From this and another act, "for registering the popish clergy," in the same year,* it seems that a distinction was made between the regular and secular priesthood of the church of Rome, the former of whom were viewed by the legislature as purely political in their design and agency, while the ministrations of the latter having only reference to the ecclesiastical and spiritual interests of the Irish, were not further contemplated by the second of these acts, than so far as was necessary to guard against the other orders, which both in the early struggles of the country, and in the recent and then yet existing machinations of the exiled family and its adherents, were undoubtedly instrumental, in a high degree, to the communications which they maintained with Ireland. This view is confirmed by the language of an act in the following year, by which the registering act is explained, and which evidently looks no further than the danger of rebellion. It is, however, evident, that a sense of such a nature in that age, when a disputed succession, turning mainly on the religion of a large class of the Irish people, who had always manifested an unusual tendency to civil strife, at every call of every mover or excitement, could not fail to awaken an intense spirit of suspicion and jealousy, of which the papists themselves must needs have been the direct objects. Nor, if the facts be directly regarded, was the sense either unnatural or without its justification in the actual state of the time, or in the records of the past. And here let it be recollected

* Ir. Statutes. An. Sec. Reg. Ann.

by our readers of that communion, that we have asserted the conditions of the question to have been altered by time, and the changes of continental politics; yet then the case was too plain even for the most dexterous advocacy of modern times to gloss over, without the aid of direct misstatement. Not only was there a strong and unsuppressed devotion to the Pretender, and a sentiment of national animosity sedulously fostered against the English and the protestants, but there was also yet remaining a strong and ardent hope on the part of the descendants of the ancient chiefs and toparchs of the land to regain their old possessions and barbaric control. The Pope still possessed the then expiring remains of that sway which in the middle ages was equivalent to the monarchy of the civilized world, and the regular clergy were yet under the persuasion that Ireland, and indeed England, were to be brought again within the pale of his jurisdiction. To effect these objects, there was but one apparent course—rebellion, under whatever name, or for whatever pretext it was promoted, among a population ever prompt to rebel, and ever open to every persuasion, and credulous of every pretext. Such was the state of facts; a mass of illusions consistent with the ignorance of the people, the iniquitous and turbulent projects of their leaders, and the excusable but inadmissible policy of the Romish church, constituted a case which must be regarded now as entirely exempt from the common rules of political justice, which do not contemplate such a state of things. Political freedom or equality must presume an acquiescence in the fundamental principles of the civil constitution; the maintenance of tenets, civil or ecclesiastical, which have for their object the overthrow of either the state itself, or of the existing rights of any class, or of the peace and order of the whole, must unquestionably be placed under whatever degree of constraint may appear essential for the purpose of effectual control. To this, we presume, no answer will be attempted; and we must confess, the surprise with which we have sometimes contemplated the injudicious and supererogatory efforts of modern popular writers and speakers forcibly to bring the claims of the Irish papists of modern times under the range of arguments from fact and principle, which, however they may be overlooked by a journalist or popular speaker, must ever have weight with the thoughtful and informed. These reflections are the necessary introduction to the mention of a measure which has always been described as one of peculiar hardship—the bill passed in the second year of queen Anne, for “preventing the further growth of popery;” an act which, however it may be justified in principle, is still open to more than doubt as to the prudence of its policy; a doubt which we would suggest on the strong ground, that in point of fact its severer clauses were never to any extent enforced. The act already noticed for guarding the succession, has one of its clauses to this effect:—“And forasmuch as it most manifestly appears that the papists of this kingdom, and other disaffected persons, do still entertain hopes of disappointing the said succession, as the same stands limited, for prevention whereof,” &c., &c. The act in question, among other matters in the preamble, states, that “many persons professing the popish religion have it in their power to raise divisions among protestants, by voting at elections for members of parliament, and also

have it in their power to use other ways and means, tending to the destruction of the protestant interests in this kingdom," &c., &c. Now, if it be kept in mind how much was then known and felt to depend on the safety and integrity of the protestant interests, and if the spirit be recollected that governed the entire conduct of those members of the church of Rome, who had the ignorant populace wholly at their command, the following harsh provisions will be more moderately and fairly judged of. 1st, They were forbidden to attempt to persuade protestants to renounce their church and creed. 2d, Papists were forbidden to send their children beyond seas for education. 3d, A provision is made to secure a subsistence for such children of popish parents as should embrace the protestant religion, in such cases as the parents should fail to provide for them, and the right of inheritance is secured to the eldest son, if a protestant. 4th, The guardianship of orphans is transferred from the nearest relative of the Romish, to the next of the protestant communion. 5th, Protestants having *any estate or interest* in the kingdom are forbidden to intermarry with papists. 6th, Papists are forbidden to purchase and estate in land, exceeding a lease of thirty-one years. 7th, Limits the descent of the estates of protestants to the next protestant heirs, passing over any papist who might be entitled to succeed on the demise of such possessors, unless in case of conformity within a certain specified time. 8th, Provides that the estates of papists' parents shall descend in gavelkind to their children, except in case where the eldest son should be a protestant at his father's death. These provisions are followed by others, for the purpose of securing their effect, by oaths and declarations. Of these one is a declaration for the purpose of ascertaining the creed, followed by an abjuration which we shall give at length, as confirmatory of the view here taken of the real intent of these enactments:—

"I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lady, queen Ann, is lawful and rightful queen of this realm, and of all other her majestie's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be the Prince of Wales, during the life of the late king James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of king of England, by the name of James III., hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her majesty queen Ann, and her will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against her person, crown, or dignity. And I will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to her majesty, and her successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be against her, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend the limitation and succession of the crown, against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands limited by an act, intituled, *An Act declaring the rights and liberties of*

the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, to her present majesty, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; and as the same by one other act, intituled, An Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, is and stands limited after the decease of her majesty, and for default of issue of her majesty, to the princess Sophia, electoress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common understanding of the same words, without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, adjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

"SO HELP ME GOD."

The next clause states the importance of the cities of Limerick and Galway as garrison towns—a fact well confirmed by the entire history of the recent struggle—and on this view provides for their security, in case of any future outbreak of the same formidable spirit which had been laid with so much bloodshed and difficulty, by prohibiting the settlement there of any persons of the Romish communion after the 25th of March, 1703, and by exacting a security for the peaceable demeanour of those who were actual residents. This clause is described by a very clever, and not generally uncandid historian of the present day, with a recklessness of assertion not easily accounted for, even by that writer's extreme party principles,—a violation of the treaties of Limerick and Galway. The assertion is mischievous, as well as unfounded upon any clause or stipulation in either of those treaties. We are of opinion that the fears of the loyalists of that day, and the still more warrantable fears of the English and the commercial inhabitants of this island, contained some exaggeration: such is human feeling. We also think that the consequences of legislation, founded on the prepossessions of fear, were unfortunate; but taking as the true, and only true ground of a just appreciation of the *equity* of that entire system of harsh enactment, we feel bound to insist that it was all unanswerably justified by the whole history of the previous century. If this indeed were not the case,—if our English ancestors, to whom Ireland owes whatever she possesses of prosperity, had really, as Mr Taylor would represent, first robbed and then enslaved,—there is now no wise or humane object in insisting on the fact, or endeavouring to keep alive resentment and vindictive recollection; the wisdom, if not the sincerity, may surely be doubted, which for the service of party, would thus appeal to the very passions which have been the efficient and proximate causes of all the sufferings of unhappy Ireland. To what purpose can it be to tell the Irish people, (were it not an unwarrantable falsehood,) that they have been the victims of every wrong, but to excite that spirit of mistaken retaliation, which has ever, and will ever, recoil upon themselves. If they really were plundered, will the descendants of the plunderer be so gratuitously generous as to make restitution now, in the tenth generation? If they were oppressed, are their descendants to stretch the prerogative of Divine vengeance, and visit the sins of the fathers beyond the

third or fourth generation? If this were justified, in fact, what would be the consequence? *Such* justice will never be obtained while a hand can be lifted to resist: and those who falsify history to preach vengeance, would soon become witnesses to the reality which they so heedlessly overlook in the zeal of their patriotism, and be forced to acknowledge the neglected truth, that it is to such patriots and such a spirit, that Ireland owes all her sufferings. If she is never to know peace, or to attain civil progress, until the results of seven or eight centuries (results ever forgotten in the history of other nations) shall be reversed: she is then alone among nations doomed to a perpetual reproach and curse. These reflections are not designed to vindicate anything, or, on the other hand, to depreciate anything practicable for the advantage even of a party; but we would suggest, that the claims of justice and policy may be better preferred on their actual grounds, either in equity or expediency, than on irritating and false statements of the past.

This severe enactment was plainly suggested by the fear and prudence of the time. It was the direct inference from the history of centuries, and then enforced by events and political workings, fresh in the memory of all. If these facts have happily now no existence, if the Pretender is no more, if the papal supremacy has expired, if the old insurgent temper of the Irish populace has yielded to the influence of growing civilization, if their priesthood has ceased to be a political instrument in the hands of foreign potentates, if the race of old families, once the despots of the soil, have melted into the pacific waters of industry and civilization—why, then, surely this island is mature for a full participation in every right and blessing that equal laws and regulated liberty can give. There is no need for the imprudent and calumnious assumption of a different state of things, which, if it still existed, would render their claims most doubtful. Is it not unjust to give up the whole force of advocacy, by confounding the people of to-day with those of a hundred years ago? Why will the writers of the radical press wrong the people, and stultify themselves by facts which can be contradicted, and reasons which have no force, but to irritate the passions, and endanger the peace and safety of the peasantry, who are the only persons deceived? We should advocate the cause of Ireland on other grounds, and in a different strain. But we are hurried out of our course, by the party representations of writers, into whose works we have been compelled or induced to look. It is more to the purpose, to observe here, that the provisions of the statute thus questioned, contain much to be deeply regretted, as being severe for a purpose not to be attained by severities. The object to be then legitimately pursued, was the effectual control of classes which were actuated by an unsafe spirit; and no means essential to the purpose were superfluous. But with this essential policy, there mingled a considerable and fatal error: it was judged by the inexperienced simplicity of our ancestors, that Romanism itself, to which so many disasters seemed traceable, might be gradually worn out and extinguished by legislative enactments, which were not in fact designed for oppression, but as imposing a motive for what Sir Richard Cox would call “the conversion of the Irish,” it was, they thought, free to every man

to exchange a church which they held to be erroneous, for one which they held to be founded in divine truth; and if their notion was just, none could suffer by the change. They had no ill will to papists as men, but erroneously fancied that popery could be put down by penalties. In this they betrayed some ignorance of human nature, as well as of ecclesiastical history; and we are free to admit that the great support of Romanism in Ireland, has been the strength derived from the political character, and scope of influence thus infused into it. It is one of the unhappy conditions of fallen human nature, to be cold enough about religion as referrible to its real and only just principles, as expressed in the "first and great commandment," and the second, which "is like unto it." But for one who will love God or man, there are ten thousand who will joyfully fight in his name: when a spiritual principle is lowered into a vehicle for discontent, adventure, anger, or mere excitement of any kind, it gathers fire fast enough. It is indeed easier to wield or bear the faggot and brand, than to bear the common humiliations of the Christian walk, or to serve in peace. Such is man in every age and nation. And looking thus on the very justifiable fear and precaution of our forefathers, we think that it was unfortunate to plant, so deeply as they did, the roots of such a tree. The most anxious care, we believe, should be preserved, so far as may be, to keep a clear line between politics and religious tenets; we say, so far as may be, for it is not possible to exclude the consideration when the political and religious tenets happen to be one: a difficulty,—in some degree lessened by the fact, that the individual is not altogether to be identified with the church to which he belongs; for, if no stronger tie than the spiritual tie shall have been forcibly woven, most laymen are held but feebly by the bonds of mere ecclesiastical control. It is also not nearly so light a matter as it may be thought at first view, to take up a ground liable to misrepresentations of so dangerous a character as the charge of religious oppression. Whatever the occasion may chance to be, the rallying point of popular clamour will be some venerable name: for in the whole scope of error there is no admitted plea but truth and right. The most stringent system of civil control, directed against acts or conduct, is less liable to resistance of a dangerous kind, and far more transitory in its after-workings, than the lightest, which places resistance under the sanction of a sacred pretext, and the guidance of spiritual policy.

The papists asked leave to be heard by their counsel against this bill; and the desired permission was granted. Sir Theobald Butler, Messrs Malone, and Rice, attended, and exerted considerable eloquence and ability. They pleaded the treaty of Limerick, which their hearers considered as mere advocacy. They also urged the meritorious conduct of the papists since their last submission; but the argument was surely rather premature—the bloody experiment of insurrection will seldom be tried twice in the same generation. With more truth Butler dwelt on the danger of sowing strife between parents and children; and the truth was felt as a dreadful necessity. It only remains to add here, that this law was from the commencement ineffective. The provisions of real hardship, which affected property, and in some measure tended to injure the authority of parents, were easily eluded

by conveyances and incumbrances, and the whole resources of legal fiction and contrivance. The magistrates, in most instances, refused to perform their part in enforcing a law revolting to the pride, and prejudicial to the interests of those gentlemen, with whom, in the intercourse of private life, they were wont to live on terms of friendship and respect. The Irish parliament, it is true, made repeated efforts to enforce its laws; and in March, 1705, they passed a vote, "that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." In 1709, an act for the further enforcement of this was passed, which demands no additional comment here, save that, while it enforced its essential provisions, it also so regulated and limited its operation, as to lessen the pernicious effects. We shall have, unfortunately, other occasions to revert to this topic, which presents the great stumbling-block to Irish history. It still continues to separate into two irreconcilable systems, the opinions, and even the records of the two great sections into which the intelligence of this country is divided. We shall have conducted our own statements with little skill indeed, if those who think with either, unless with unusual moderation, will consent to reckon us among their parties. On party questions we have already stated truly, and more than once, our principle,—the nature of which is to exclude general reproach from all those great sections of society, who, acting sincerely on the principles they hold for true and just, or the interests by which they are connected, have looked on each other's opinions not only with rational dissent, but even with aversion and prejudice, and in the conflict of long contention and recrimination, have inculpated each other with more accusation and calumny, (true and false,) and obscured each other's whole history with more animosity than the ordinary powers of human reason can avail to remove, correct, and enlighten. In this we pledge ourselves to no particular view of any question; but simply mean to assert, and, so far as in us lies, maintain the assertion, that the public desires and demands of the great aggregate of all public bodies, are always honest, and founded on *their notions* of right and justice. These are, mostly on all sides, largely alloyed with fallacies of every kind; but the bad passions which such oppositions must on both sides call into being, are far the worst, because the most permanent of the evils they produce. And whatever may have been the wrongs, oppressions, or murders and robberies committed on either side, by those unprincipled individuals never wanting to any—their mischief would, like all the real results of this transitory world, die with the actors and sufferers, and produce no effect upon the aftertime, were they not kept alive by the advocacy of party; so that every generation is successively inflamed by the firebrand kindled in the pile of ancient animosities. The story of the phoenix rising regenerated from the ancestral nest, has no stronger type in reality than the hell-kite of dissension, which preys on the peace of this country. But once more, we must refrain: the time is not yet ripe for the one truth, deeply reproachful as it is to all who have sought the good of the country, loving her prosperity "not wisely, but too well." The whole of her sufferings are the result of *protracted dissension*: the combatants, when they pause to look at stained and tram-

pled ground, the broken walls, and the air surcharged with the dust of conflict, may point to the dismal scene, and accuse each other as authors of the ruin wrought by their mutual madness.*

It is more pleasing to the historian to turn from the gloom of such considerations, to the efforts of more enlightened policy for the facilitation of trade. A disordered state of public feeling, the vast uncertainty of peace, and the want of encouragement from the ascendant power of England, presented serious obstacles to a commerce so fortunate in its natural resources, that even these disadvantages could not prevent it from making a considerable start in advance, whenever there was a breathing time from civil fury. The obstacles which resulted from an uncertain state of property, and still more from the feebleness and defectiveness of the law, presented a more constant pressure, and were less capable of being remedied by any occasional measure or individual resistance; they operated not so much by direct interference, as by the influence they had in enfeebling the vital functions of trade by the effect which they had on public credit. To remedy this disadvantage, few laws were made, because the eye of the government was diverted from the ordinary processes of civil life, by the violent and disordered processes which affected the whole state of the land, in which no member performed its proper office, or moved in its proper place. An act "for quieting possessions, and disposing of undisposed and *plus* acres," was among the most useful and judicious enactments planned on the same occasion. In the preamble of this act, several statements are incidentally made, which throw some light on the policy of the government, and the state of the country. The introductory sentences state, that "Whereas it will very much tend to the prosperity of this kingdom, which hath been ruined by the frequent rebellions of Irish papists, and to the interests of your majesty's revenue, that your good subjects be quieted in their possessions, and encouraged to plant and improve the country." For the purpose of this encouragement, so essential to the advance of Irish prosperity, two main provisions are contained in this act,—viz., the disposal of certain residual denominations of lands, of which the principal part had already been granted, or otherwise disposed of. These portions, called *plus* acres, were now to be "vested in such person, or persons, who, on the 1st day of October, 1702, were in the possession of such *plus* acres, by themselves, their tenants, &c.," to be enjoyed by them and their heirs for ever, liable to such quitrent as was payable out of the other portions of the same denominations already vested. And by the following clause, to terminate all disputes about the possession of such land, a power was vested in the lord-lieutenant and six of the privy council, within three years to hear, and finally determine, all claims to their possession. The act goes on to state the fact, that there still continued to be large tracts of the same class of lands undisposed of; for the most part so sterile as

* How far the principle here enforced is capable of any practical application is a question of a different kind, and not within our province. Rights, whether real or imaginary, will not be relinquished for the good of mankind; and truth, if sacred, ought not, for any earthly consideration. But it is the more incumbent on those who agitate the world, to weigh well the tenets they support and propagate.

not to be worth any quitrent, "and therefore remains desolate and uninhabited, but are a receptacle for thieves, robbers, and tories, to the great detriment of the country, and delay of her majesty's revenue." On these considerations, a power is similarly given to the lord-lieutenant, &c., as before, to grant those lands to protestants, for reasonable rents, and such terms of years as they might see fit. Still more to the purpose declared in the preamble, is the first clause of the next following chapter of the act, which confirms every estate vested in pursuance of the acts of settlement and explanation, in the last reign, to be held free from all liabilities and exceptions contained in the provisions of that act, and in future barring all claimants who had not hitherto brought their actions, by the full and final extinction of their pretended rights.*

An advantage of at least equal importance to the trade of this kingdom was the act for recovery of small debts, &c., attributable entirely to the judicious advice of Sir Richard Cox. He also obtained an act of the English parliament, allowing the exportation of Irish linen direct to the colonies.

The effect of his visit to England was to make the character and distinguished abilities of Cox more thoroughly known and appreciated; and Mr Methuen, the Irish chancellor, having been sent ambassador to Portugal, Cox was raised to that high office.

In 1705, Sir Richard was appointed lord-justice, together with lord Cutts, the duke of Ormonde being at the time lord-lieutenant. The jacobite principles of this nobleman were fully understood, and there was entertained among the members of the Irish administration an anxious wish for his removal. The reader is aware that on both sides of the water there was at this time a powerful though latent collision of the two great antagonist parties on the subject of the succession. It was universally felt that the queen and court party were secretly favourable to the Pretender, and that all the great leaders of the court party kept up a private correspondence with that unfortunate family. Among these, some, as Marlborough, Harley, &c., were simply desirous to keep themselves well with either side, and had a sincere desire to preserve the act of settlement as limited by the act of succession. Others, among whom St John with the duke of Ormonde were the chief, were more sincere in their political zeal for the exile. The jacobites were of course preferred to place and power; and during this reign there was a general disposition of the administrative arrangements for the purposes of that party. This was carried to as great a height as the strong and universal sense of the British public admitted, so that there is abundant proof that the most of the court measures and appointments were dictated by James, or by his authorized agents in London. Ireland was, as ever, the rallying point of expectation; the devoted tenacity of the popular affections, the influence of the Roman See, the over-mastery of the thoroughly diffused agency of the regular clergy, and the general, and indeed natural, bias of a prevailing creed, which by its very institution was political, and which a stringent control imbittered; all these considerations, of which the

* Ir. Statutes, 2 Anne Reg. c. ix.

most prominent had already made Ireland the stage of a desolating conflict, now made it the scene of an important byplay of party. Under these circumstances, it is not improbable that there were several strong currents of public feeling against the person and conduct of the duke of Ormonde. In spite of the popularity of his very name and title, it was in effect difficult for him long to continue in favour with any. Compelled by circumstances to pursue a line of conduct which deprived him of the regard of the Irish party, his real temper and private views were too well known to be trusted by the English. The British cabinet, reluctantly hurried along by the strong zeal of the whig party, which then occupied the position and politics of the modern conservative, the measures of the administration were for the most part in conformity with the great protestant feeling in England, and the duke was directed to "prevent the growth of popery." To this effect he had pledged himself, and he kept his promise. From the state of feeling already described as secretly governing the administration of affairs, we should be inclined to infer that numerous under-currents of fear, suspicion, doubt, and intrigue, of which we have before us no direct evidence, then strongly agitated the minds of political men, and led to demonstrations not now precisely to be explained. The duke was, we doubt not, at the time sincere in his profession of political faith, though after-circumstances show that his mind was working round to the strong bias of the court. If the inference should yet be premature, still the anti-Jacobite zeal of the English people, and of the protestant party in Ireland, exasperated by a just suspicion of the court party, was not easily satisfied. The distinction of whig and tory became at this time prevalent in Ireland, and with it, it is probable, that the violent party feelings connected with it were also imported—from which our inference derives additional probability. Whatever were the duke's opinions, he must have at the time begun to be an object of jealous observation. And if it be said that the decision of his conduct was sufficient to exempt him from doubt, yet it is to be observed that for this he had the less credit with the whig party, as he was known to have, from carelessness and facility of character, so entangled himself in the discharge of his public trusts, as to be much in the power of the leaders of that party. Whatever were the causes, after the duke's recall to England, the feeling of the council against his continuing to hold the vice-regal office, began to show itself strongly. Lord Cutts, with Sir Richard Cox, were on this occasion appointed lords-justices. Cutts died, and an effort was made by some of the Irish council to persuade Sir Richard to issue writs to the council to elect a governor; by this means hoping that the duke might be superseded tacitly. To render this proposal more persuasive, it is asserted that it was suggested to Sir Richard that he would be the person on whom the choice of the council would fall. He was too experienced and sagacious to be circumvented by such an artifice, and repelled the temptation. An old statute of Henry VIII. was proposed as the authority for this proposal: Sir Richard explained that this statute was but a provision for the absence of the chief magistrate of the kingdom. The councillors urged, and Sir Richard consulted his learned brethren, the judges and law officers of the crown, who coincided in his view, to which, thus confirmed, he

adhered, to the no small vexation of those who had endeavoured to urge him on the opposite course.

In April, 1707, the duke of Ormonde was removed, and the earl of Pembroke was appointed in his room. There seems, at the moment, to have been a strong doubt among Sir Richard's friends as to the consequences of the change as regarded himself. But on the following June, he found himself under the necessity of resigning the seals to the lord-lieutenant, who took them with an assurance that he would not have received them but with the design of adequate compensation. Sir Richard was aware of the active enmity to which both his recent conduct and his known politics had exposed him, and he felt that he must not expect to pass free from its effects; but with the natural firmness of his manly character, he resolved to face his enemies, and trust to the integrity of his entire conduct and character. His country affairs had been for some time calling for his presence, and he had been preparing to leave town; but, considering the construction which political animosity is always prepared to fasten on the most indifferent actions, he resolved to stand his ground, and brave the inquiry which he knew his enemies would soon set on foot. On this point he was not kept in suspense: numerous accusations were brought against him; all of which he answered so fully and ably, as they followed each other, that the malevolence of his accusers was confounded, and their perseverance wearied.

On the death of queen Anne, Sir Richard retired from public life. In April, 1733, he was seized with an apoplectic attack, of which he died in the following month, at the age of eighty-three. He was endowed with many personal advantages, and many great qualifications for the professional career in which he rose to eminence, as well as for literature, such as it was in Ireland in his day. His historical work is well known, and has been largely used in the former parts of this work. His zeal, as a Protestant writer, is such as to render him liable to the charge of partiality; but he cannot be fairly charged with misrepresentation; and they who would make the charge, would do well to weigh his statements taken with their foundation in fact and general consistency, compared with the unmeasured and angry statements of the writers who may be regarded as his antagonists. His zeal is to be accounted for creditably, by the actual state of Ireland through his long life; and if we make many abatements on the score of fear and error, still, to estimate mens' conduct justly, we have no right to demand superhuman penetration, that looks beyond the present probabilities and appearances, and measures opposition by the philosophical standard of a political canon, which, in the middle of the 19th century, has not yet been ascertained.

William Molyneux.

BORN A.D. 1656—DIED A.D. 1698.

THE name of Mr William Molyneux is in several ways distinguished. He is eminently entitled to a high place among the few Irishmen of

his day who can claim the distinction of philosophy, and might well grace the literary branch of this work; but there are considerations which make it expedient and fit that we should rather assign him a place in his lower but more known character of a politician, and a public man; a position which his celebrated pamphlet renders not inappropriate. And the reader has already been apprized of the necessity under which we are placed, to avail ourselves of every name at our disposal, for the purpose of completing the summary sketch which we are bound to give of the remainder of this long period.

William Molyneux was descended from a line distinguished by literary and scientific talent. His grandfather was Ulster king-at-arms, and is mentioned by Sir James Ware with eulogy, as "*venerandæ antiquitatis cultor*." He wrote a continuation of Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, which was not however published entire. His father, Samuel, was Master Gunner of Ireland, and wrote a practical treatise on Projectiles; he held a lucrative office also in the Court of Exchequer, and was much respected by the better classes of society in Dublin.

William was born in Dublin, April 17th, 1656. His health was weak; and, as he grew up, he appeared to have so tender a frame, that it was judged inexpedient to send him to a public school. A private tutor was therefore retained, and he was educated at his father's house till his 15th year, when he entered the university of Dublin, under the tuition of Mr Palliser, then a fellow, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. In the university, he obtained all the distinction then to be acquired by proficiency in the branches of learning then taught; and, having taken his Bachelor's degree, he proceeded to London, where he entered his name in the Middle Temple in 1675. At the Temple he continued for three years in the diligent study of the law. He did not, however, neglect his academic acquirements; and the mathematical and physical sciences, which were at that time beginning to advance, and had received a mighty impulse from the discoveries of the day, and the labours of several members of the Royal Society, among whom Newton, then in the commencement of his illustrious career, so won upon his philosophical and inquiring temper, that he was led to abandon his first selection of a profession, which, however attractive to the intellectual taste, is yet unfavourable to scientific pursuit. With this view, he returned to live in his native city in 1678, and soon after married Miss Lucy Domville, daughter of Sir William Domville, the attorney-general for Ireland. He quickly entered upon a course of scientific inquiry; and, feeling the strong attraction of astronomy, in which the most important branches yet remained as questions to exercise the ingenuity and anxious research of the ablest heads in Europe, he devoted himself for a time to this attractive science with the whole ardour of his mind. On this subject, in 1681, he commenced a correspondence with Flamsted, which was kept up for many years.

In 1683, he exerted himself for the establishment in Dublin of a Philosophical Society, on the plan of the Royal Society, of which he had witnessed the admirable effects in London. This society had been created in 1645, by the influence and efforts of Wren, Wallis, and other

eminent men, and afterwards became a centre to the efforts of experimental inquiry, to which the genius of Galileo had given an impulse, and Bacon a direction; and which was in this period so largely advanced by our countryman Boyle, under whose name we shall have to detail at length the history of this institution, and of those branches of human knowledge, to the cultivation of which it was mainly instrumental. To establish such an institution in Dublin, was to advance indeed a wide step upon the obscure domains of intellectual night; nor, since the foundation of the university of Dublin, had there been attempted a project which, if duly encouraged, would have been so widely beneficial to Ireland. Such was the enlightened and patriotic design of Molyneux, who was zealously joined by Sir William Petty and other eminent persons. Sir William Petty accepted the office of president, and Molyneux himself that of secretary. This institution, which in Dublin may, perhaps, at that period, be considered as premature, was not, in the strong collision of party, and the absorption of political passion, likely to be allowed a very distinguished or enduring existence; yet it became, like all such laudable efforts, the parent of others. It was productive of less doubtful benefit to the fortune of Molyneux, whose reputation it largely extended, and thus became the means of his introduction to that great man, the patron of every person or institution likely to promote the good of his country—James the first duke of Ormonde. By this illustrious nobleman, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Molyneux was, with Sir William Robinson, appointed surveyor of the king's buildings and works, and chief engineer.

In 1685, he had the honour of being elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to the transactions of which he became largely a contributor: many papers of his are to be found in the several volumes from the fourteenth to the twenty-ninth. The same year he also obtained an appointment to survey the fortresses on the Flemish coast, with a view to perfect his knowledge of the art of engineering. He took occasion to extend his travels through Holland and Germany; and, as he carried letters from his friend Flamsted to Cassini and other distinguished professors, he had the happiness to meet and converse with the most distinguished astronomers in Europe.

From these incidents, it may be imagined that his earliest productions were likely to be decided by the prevailing taste of his mind and character of his studies. On his return to Dublin, in 1686, he published an account of a telescope dial invented by himself. This account was republished in London in 1700.

On the publication of Newton's "*Principia*," in the following year, Molyneux received the sheets as they were printed, from Halley. He expressed his admiration and astonishment at that wonderful production of intellectual power, till then perhaps unequalled in the progress of human knowledge. He at the same time confessed the difficulty which, in common with many eminent mathematicians of that period, he found in the perfect understanding of its contents.

The calm pursuits of philosophy were not likely to continue long in the turbulent atmosphere of an Irish metropolis. The storms of civil dissension, never long dormant, in 1688 began with fresh fury to dis-

turb the unquiet population, and agitate the timid and peaceful with well-grounded terrors. The desolating series of events which we have related under the head of Tyrconnel, set fully in, and continued until terminated by a reaction still more deadly and fearful. The Philosophical Society was thus dispersed, and its members mostly compelled to escape from the fiery and terrible persecution which raged against the protestants. Molyneux removed to Chester, where he occupied himself in the composition of a work on Dioptrics, for which he had been for some time collecting facts, and perhaps making experiments. We have not seen this work, but think it most probably rather an attempt to embody, in a systematic form, the knowledge then existing, than containing any addition of his own. Mathematical historians at least make no mention of the labours of Mr Molyneux. The mention of such works may therefore be regarded merely as indications of the habits and intellectual character of the author. The skill and knowledge, however, thus exerted, must then have been very considerable, and the publication of such a work must have been thought important, as Flamsted gave his assistance in the arrangement of the matter, and Halley revised the proofs, and, at the author's request, inserted a well-known theorem of his own.*

During this residence at Chester, he had the affliction of losing his wife, who died there, leaving him one son. After the Revolution of 1689, he returned to Dublin, and was soon after elected member of parliament for Dublin. In 1695, he was again elected for the university, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He continued to represent the same distinguished constituency, the first perhaps existing in any representative government, during the rest of his life; a fact which might alone entitle him to the reputation of worth, ability, and learning.

He was soon after nominated by the lord-lieutenant as one of the commissioners for forfeited estates, with a salary of £500 a-year. But the task was neither suited to his tastes nor feelings: he was indifferent about money, and quickly resigned a laborious and highly invidious and unpopular office.

But the event of his life which has conferred an historical interest upon his name, and which forms our reason for bringing him forward at this period of our writing, was the publication of his pamphlet, published in 1698, and entitled, "The Case of Ireland, being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated."† This essay was occasioned by a discussion then in progress in the English parliament, to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures. It derives much historical importance from the consideration, that it was the beginning of a struggle for the independence of the Irish legislature, renewed at several periods, and leading eventually to interesting consequences.

The argument of Molyneux contains no main point on which we have

* Dr Halley invented a general algebraical theorem, to find the foci of optic glasses; but we believe the theorem adverted to here, is a geometrical construction for finding the foci of rays diverging from, or converging to, a given point in the axis of a spherical lens, under certain conditions.

† Title of the edition published in 1773.

not already had to express some opinion. With the inference of Mr Molyneux we concur; but we take this occasion to express, and this argument to illustrate our strong dislike to the mischievous fallacy of that sort of political metaphysics to which he thinks it necessary to resort, for the proof of a plain matter of fact. We freely admit, that there are certain abstract principles involved in the history and general facts of the social state, to investigate which would demand the genius of a philosopher, and to apply them truly, the sagacity of a statesman. But it is to the inverse method of *a priori* reasoning, which begins by assumptions of states of society which never had existence, and first principles, which though they *may be true* in fact, are, *as assumptions*, quite gratuitous, that we must object as the fertile resources of the political sophist on every side of every question that can be raised. In the perfection of the Eternal Mind, we freely grant there may be certain immutable first principles, independent of the constitution of things, from which, if once known, all truth might be inferentially evolved; but we deny the competence of the authority by which a large class of writers have affirmed such principles, moral or social, independently of positive laws. Human rights are never, *in fact*, established in such assumptions, having in every real instance, a twofold basis fully adequate to their support; those positive laws and defined principles of right clearly promulgated in the express law of God, together with that expediency which has essentially governed social institutions: when we hear of original "rights," not derived from these, we ask for the charter. But to proceed to our author: the intent and principal heads of this argument may be best stated in his own words. They are as follows:—

"First, How Ireland became a kingdom *annexed* to the crown of England. And here we shall at large give a faithful narrative of the first expedition of the Britons into this country, and king Henry II.'s arrival here, such as our best historians give us.

"Secondly, We shall inquire, whether this expedition, and the English settlement that afterwards followed thereon, can properly be called a *conquest*? or whether any victories obtained by the English in any succeeding ages in this kingdom, upon any rebellion, may be called a *conquest* thereof?

"Thirdly, Granting that it were a *conquest*, we shall inquire what *title* a conquest gives.

"Fourthly, We shall inquire what *concessions* have been from time to time made to Ireland, to take off what even the most rigorous as-asserters of a conqueror's title do pretend to. And herein we shall show by what degrees the English form of government, and the English statute-laws, came to be received among us; and this shall appear to be wholly by the *consent* of the people and Parliament of Ireland.

"Fifthly, We shall inquire into the precedents and opinions of the learned in the laws relating to this matter, with observations thereon.

"Sixthly, We shall consider the reasons and arguments that may be farther offered on one side and t'other; and we shall draw some general conclusions from the whole."

Before making any comment on the conduct of this argument by Molyneux, it is necessary to prevent any mistake respecting our de-

sign by anticipating an ulterior step, so far as to say, that in our simple judgment, the first point—"how Ireland became a kingdom annexed to the crown of England"—is, for the present view, of no importance whatever. In the interpretation of a verbal document, it may be most essentially necessary to discover the intent by such a reference to causes and previous acts: but we do not think that the method by which any political power has been primitively derived, can affect any question as to its extent, beyond the first *consequent settlement which defines and converts that power into a civil system of government*, to which all subsequent questions of right and authority must be referred. Until this takes place, the law of *force* prevails—a law which involves no other;—so long as *mere conquest* is the power, unwilling subjection to control is implied, and resistance a right. It is a question of strength, and admits of the natural balance of action and reaction; but so soon as a settled order of civil government is fixed with the consent of the conquered, (for without consent, they cannot refer to the settlement for rights,) the rights and wrongs of conquests are from that moment at an end. We shall quickly revert to this point. But thus far we consider a necessary preface to the affirmation, that we consider the argument altogether fallacious, by which Molyneux attempts to prove the point that Ireland was not conquered.

Ireland became first subject to England, by that species of armed occupation by which other nations have, in different periods of time, changed their population and government. This occupation was attended by all the ordinary circumstances of such invasions; but limited by the facts, that—1st, The political situation of Henry II. compelled him to proceed for a time by simply giving license to the military spirit of his barons: 2d, By the *cession* of the native chiefs, which necessarily terminated the progress of hostilities. These conditions, *so far as they go*, are conquest to all intents; that part of the author's definition which affirms that there must be resistance, is an unwarranted *assumption*. The question then becomes, first, how far the combined circumstances of force and cession went at *the same time*? Beyond this point—that is, if any still held out by force—the question would arise, by what means or under what conditions they yielded?

Mr Molyneux states, and we see no reason to dissent from his statement—"I doubt not but the barbarous people of Ireland at that time were struck with fear and terror of king Henry's powerful force which he brought with him; but still their easy and voluntary submissions *exempt them from the consequences of a hostile conquest, whatever they are: where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place.*"

Now, in this paragraph, we must contend the entire essential part of conquest by force, is actually admitted; but of the words in italic character, part is nugatory and part absurd. It involves the absurd supposition, that a conquering expedition is like a cricket-match or a boat-race, for the mere trial of strength, and without any design of subjection or occupation. By yielding in time, bloodshed is averted; but before any further consequence is said to be prevented, it may be asked, in such case, what *can be said to be yielded*, and what is meant by "voluntary submission?" Surely nothing at all, if not that which the invader demands or is content to take. And this, whatever it

is, has been yielded to superior force. It is the submission of fear or conscious weakness, and can have no other source; for right is out of the question, until it has been established either by force or consent. We cannot see what additional right, bloodshed, and the slaughter and spoliation so often an attendant circumstance of conquest, would have given.

In his discussion of this case, Molyneux refers to that of England; it was (as he aimed it) an ingenious application of the *argumentum ad hominem*. "I believe," he says, "the people of England would take it very ill to be thought a conquered nation, in the sense that some impose it on Ireland; and yet we find the same argument in the one case as in the other, if the argument from the king's style of *conquestor* prevail." Considering the strong intellect of Molyneux, the comparison seems more like a jest than an argument. Unhappily for the argument, it must be admitted that England was conquered by William. Whether the manner or the immediate consequences be regarded, it is impossible for a conquest to be more complete. The country was invaded by a large force, and was taken possession of by the invader; the native government was set aside, the natives subjected, and the lands seized. The submission of the Saxons was allowed, for obvious reasons, to take the appearance of a voluntary submission; but the contrary was understood on both sides. The battle of Hastings was the conquest of England.

Turning from this nugatory question to the third and essential step of Molyneux, viz.:—"what title a conquest gives," it offers no difficulty. We have no objection to his conclusion, although we think it complicated with some considerations not of much importance to the argument;—as, for instance, the justice or injustice of the conquest, which we must observe in passing, cannot have any practical effect on the result, or be afterwards taken into account in any scale of right below that which weighs the strength of nations in the field of battle. Supposing a conquest to be made and completely terminated by the *formal* (for no more is essential to the argument) submission of the governing authorities and chief inhabitants, who have any power to resist, the practical question is then, what title is thus conveyed to the conqueror; and how this title is bounded by other considerations of right?

The title is nothing more or less than occupation by force. It would be a waste of time and space to inquire by what law or what jurisdiction such an occupation can be strictly declared illegal. It may, in the first act, according to certain general principles of equity, derived from the positive laws of God and man, be unjust, barbarous, and cruel, but these rules have no *direct* application, beyond the first acquisition; and the only jurisdiction which has any competency on the subject, is the opinion of civilized nations, which have, in our own civilized times, admitted certain conventional rules of conduct, which constitute the actual law of nations, and are, nevertheless, broken whenever it is found expedient. This is indeed, to be deprecated and deplored; but we must not be misled, even by our sense of right. Such laws of opinion had no existence in that primitive time, when, among other barbarous characteristics, the law of force was the law of right all over the world.

To constitute a LAW, there must be a sanction and a tribunal. But we waste our words; the right of all conquest is consent implied, the submission of the conquered. This rule is more for their benefit and protection than for the advantage of the conqueror; for without this saving condition, conquest would be compelled to proceed to extermination. Affirming, on these grounds, the full title of the conqueror, we may quote Molyneux for the point.

“First.—’Tis plain he gets by his conquest no power over those who *conquered with him*; they that fought on his side, whether as private soldiers or commanders, cannot suffer by the conquest, but must, at least, be as much freemen as they were before. If any lost their freedom by the Norman conquest, (supposing king William I. had right to invade England,) it was only the Saxons and Britons, and not the Normans, that conquered with him. In like manner, supposing Henry II. had a right to invade this island, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the *ancient race* of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of *free-born* subjects; they nor their descendants could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish. Now, ’tis manifest that the great body of the present people of Ireland are the progeny of English and Britons, that from time to time have come over into this kingdom, and there remains but a mere handful of the ancient Irish at this day;—I may say not one in a thousand; so that if I, or any body else, claim the like freedoms with the natural born subjects of England, as being descended from them, it will be impossible to prove the contrary. I conclude, therefore, that a *just conqueror* gets no power, but only over those who have *actually assisted* in that *unjust* force that is used against him.

“And as those that joined with the conqueror in a just invasion, have lost no right by the conquest, so neither have those of the country who *opposed him not*. This seems so reasonable at first proposal, that it wants little proof. All that gives title in a *just* conquest, is the opposers using *brutal force*, and quitting the law of reason, and using the law of violence, whereby the conqueror is entitled to use him as a *beast*; that is, kill and enslave him.” The argument of this paragraph is, in our view, wholly inconsequent.

“Secondly.—Let us consider what that power is which a *rightful conqueror* has over the subdued opposers, and this, we shall find, extends *little farther* than over their lives; for how far it extends to their estates, and that it extends not at all to deprive their *posterity* of the freedoms and immunities to which all mankind have a *right*, I shall show presently. That the *just conqueror* has an absolute power over the *lives* and *liberties* of the conquered, appears from hence,—because the conquered, by putting themselves in a *state of war*, by using an unjust force, have thereby *forfeited their lives*. For, quitting reason, (which is the rule between man and man,) and using force, (which is the way of beasts,) they become liable to be destroyed by him against whom they use *force*, as any savage wild beast that is dangerous to his being.

“And this is the case of rebels in a settled commonwealth, who forfeit their lives on this account; but as to forfeiting their estates, it depends on the municipal laws of the kingdom. But we are now inquiring what the consequents will be between two contesting nations.”

To the facts and main reasonings of this extract there seems little to be objected; but it turns, in some measure, on a principle which is too vague and elementary for the question really in his view, and is encumbered with consequences of a more doubtful kind, which his actual intent did not require. The question can be put to a shorter issue.

The right of conquest being *merely* the right of force, is determined by the immediate settlement which is consequently established, and carries with it the implication of consent. The conqueror, who must always be supposed to carry his conquest to the full extent that his purpose requires, takes life and property, and institutes some kind of government. All this is by the *right of war* as then understood: he imposes subjection, and receives the pledge of allegiance. To this point, power alone is his title, and the equity of his own breast, or his respect for opinion, his rule. From this point, the character of a conqueror, with all its rights, absolutely cease; his title is the settlement; his power the constitution of government, settled and received. The only question about his power is, what is the law? not how he obtained it.

We grant that such a question may at any time be raised by a nation; but it never can be decided, unless on the original terms: it is a question for arms alone to decide. Thus, though we arrive at the same conclusion with our author, we must object to some of his assumptions, which vitiate an important argument. Perhaps the reader may consider it trifling to quarrel with an argument in the intent of which we concur; but the manner of reasoning is not so indifferent: there is danger in the admission of a fallacy, which seems to open questions that have no existence in fact. It is neither just nor safe to say, that any question of right, in after times, can depend on an event of six centuries back. Such a mode of inquiry goes to the origin of rights, and necessarily arrives at some source of violence or usurpation. It is a mistake in principle, and, when carried far enough, is opposed to all rights whatever. And this it is which makes prescription the very foundation of human rights.

Nor does Molyneux stop until he allows his argument to carry him beyond the limits of discretion as well as reason. But we will not further detain the reader with disquisitions upon slight misapplications of principle, which no discriminating reader can fail to detect. Mr Molyneux having admitted the practice of the world to be different from his theory, next concedes the point for argument, and with more justice and force of reasoning, takes the ground already stated, of “concessions granted by” the conqueror.

From this he proceeds to an inquiry, for the purpose of showing “what concessions and grants have been made from time to time to the people of Ireland, and by what steps the laws of England came to be introduced into this kingdom.” The steps of his argument from this become disentangled from the fallacies of his philosophy, and he

states perspicuously and fairly, the several authoritative declarations, or grants and concessions, by which the kings of England, commencing with Henry II., established and authorized the parliaments in Ireland. These have been sufficiently detailed in the course of these memoirs, and demand no present comment. Mr Molyneux pursues his argument to show the uniform independence of Ireland as a distinct and separate kingdom, upon authorities which we consider to be fully sufficient for such an inference, but familiar to the reader. He proves the fact up to the demise of Richard I., when the kingdom was absolutely vested in prince John, who then succeeding to the English crown, the question arises, whether England could have then, or from that period, obtained any dominion over Ireland? As it is evident that there can be no ground in theory why one of the two islands should obtain such authority rather than the other, it remained to inquire whether there existed any ground in fact, or in the nature of positive institution. To set this in a very strong point of view, Mr Molyneux cites various charters and declarations of right, in which it is quite apparent, that at the several times of their execution or declaration, Ireland was separate by the admission of the English government. Some apparent exceptions occur, of which he easily disposes, and which hardly amount to fair ground for exception. The language of the English parliament occasionally seems to imply a jurisdiction, or a power to bind Ireland; but the cases are either proofs of a disposition to usurp that right at the several times of their occurrence, or are to be construed as simply declaratory of the sense of enactments which had become law in Ireland by the adoption of the Irish legislature: something, too, we imagine, should be allowed for pure inadvertence. From a variety of instances, he makes it manifest, that such laws as were passed in England with the design of comprising both kingdoms, were uniformly transmitted to Ireland, to be passed into law by the Irish parliament; and indeed the history of Poyning's law, with the various controversies of which it was to the latest times the subject, make that question clear enough. It would, with such a cumbrous system of legislative machinery as is evidenced by the entire parliamentary history of this island, be inconsistent and gratuitous to assume a superfluous, inoperative, and occasional capacity of legislation in the English Parliament. The three express cases, which had been commonly cited by lawyers to maintain the adverse view, are clearly replied to by Mr Molyneux;* but there is a class of cases to which he adverts, which we shall more particularly point out, as curious for the evidence they give of the absence of any very precise or systematic principle in the ancient boundaries and limitations of the several jurisdictions and authorities under discussion. "There have," says Molyneux, "been other statutes or ordinances made in England for Ireland, which may reasonably be of force here,

* These cases, as cited by Molyneux, are :—1. Statutum Hiberniæ, 14 Hen. III. 2. Ordinatio pro statu Hiberniæ, 17 Ed. I. 3. The Act that all staple commodities passing out of England or Ireland shall be carried to Calais as long as the staple is at Calais, 2 Hen. VI. c. 4.

because they were made and assented to by our own representatives. Thus we find in the white-book of the Exchequer in Dublin, in the 9th year of Edward I., a writ sent to his chancellor of Ireland, wherein he mentions: ‘*Quædam statuta per nos de assensu prelatorum comitum baronum et communitatis regni nostræ Hiberniæ, nuper apud Lincoln et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud Eboracum facta.*’ These, it may be supposed, were either statutes made at the request of the states of Ireland, to explain to them the common law of England, or, if they were introductive of *new laws*; yet they might well be of force in Ireland, being enacted by the assent of our own representatives, the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of Ireland; and, indeed, these are instances so far from making against our claim, that I think nothing can be more plainly for us; for it manifestly shows that the king and Parliament of England would not enact laws to bind Ireland without the concurrence of the representatives of this kingdom.”

“Formerly,” he continues, “when Ireland was but thinly peopled, and the English laws not fully current in all parts of the kingdom, ’tis probable that then they could not frequently assemble with convenience or safety to make laws in their own parliament at home; and, therefore, during the heats of rebellions, or confusion of the times, they were forced to enact laws in England. But then this was always by proper representatives; for we find that, in the reign of Edward III., (and by what foregoes, ’tis plain that ’twas so in Edward I.’s time,) knights of the shires, citizens, and burgesses, were elected in the shires, cities, and burroughs of Ireland, to serve in Parliament in England, and have so served accordingly. For amongst the records of the Tower of London, Rot. 1, clause 50, Edw. III. par. 2, mem. 23, we find a writ from the king at Westminster, directed to James Butler, lord-justice of Ireland, and to R. archbishop of Dublin, his chancellor, requiring them to issue writs under the great seal of Ireland, to the several counties, cities, and burroughs, for satisfying the expenses of the men of that land who came over to serve in parliament in England. And in another roll, the 50th of Edw. III., mem. 19, on complaint to the king by John Draper, who was chosen burges of Cork, by writ, and served in the Parliament of England, and yet was denied his expenses by some of the citizens; care was taken to reimburse him.

“If, from these last-mentioned records, it be concluded that the parliament of England may bind Ireland, it must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought to have their representatives in the parliament of England; and this, I believe, we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for.”

Having thus disposed of the ancient precedents, Mr Molyneux observes of the more recent, “that they involve the very question under discussion, being the very grievances complained of as unwarranted innovation.” He nevertheless proceeds to inquire into their history and force as precedents.

Having, in the previous argument, established the conclusion, that before 1641 there was “no statute made in England, introductive of

a new law, that interfered with the right which the people of Ireland have to make laws for themselves," he admits that in 1641, and after, some laws were "made in England to be of force in Ireland."

Of these he shows in some detail, that they were liable in most instances to some qualifying consideration, by means of which the precedent would be destroyed. They were repealed by the Irish Parliament, which, in such case, would show that they did not bind the Irish legislature, or they were made in times of such flagrant confusion and disorganization of Ireland, as to be justified by the *necessity* of the times; a point which involves a primary principle, which Molyneux does not appear to have contemplated;* or they were virtually English laws which had a secondary effect on Irish trade with or through England, but further had no force in Ireland. The Acts of Charles II., namely, the Navigation Act, and two prohibiting the exportation of Irish wool, he admits to be exceptions to his argument, but denies that they are rightful enactments.

Mr Molyneux next and last arrives at his own time. In the remainder of the discussion, there is little on which we have not had occasion to dilate.

Mr Molyneux cites several instances of acts in the reign of William III., of the English parliament comprehending Ireland in their provisions, and which met with unquestioning obedience. On the question, how far such instances might be regarded as precedent, involving a right, he meets the several cases with arguments mostly the same as those already adverted to in the more ancient instances. Either the necessity arising from the state of the kingdom, or the implied consent of Irish representations, or the consent, *sub silentio*, of the Irish legislature, to laws enacted seasonably in England for the evident benefit of Ireland. On these cases we may also repeat our observation, that in a state of the kingdom uniformly marked by the want of systematic precision in the definition of its legislative and executive departments, and of which the civil organization was so incomplete and immature, precedents must be viewed as of little or no authority. The authority of precedent involves the principle of a certain system of laws and authorities, of which they are assumed to be the true result in certain contingencies: without this a precedent is itself no better than an accident. The whole history of Ireland is, from the very beginning to the date of this memoir, a succession of irregular processes and workings. There was, properly speaking, no theory: the question always should have been simply, what was the existing law—what were the rights of the kingdom by concession, treaty, or authoritative declaration of an acknowledged power in the state? On this general principle, we agree with Mr Molyneux, that such cases do not in any way involve a right; and the more so, as a great and overwhelming preponderance of cases can be brought to confirm the ordinary recognition of an opposite right. So far as there was

* The political necessity thus admitted, appears to reopen the entire question, and place it on other grounds; such, indeed, as to make the entire of the preceding argument a mere exercise in special pleading. Such a necessity might be established from the conquest to the union.

a constitutional system, it excluded the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland.

The same conclusion may be made with regard to any inferences from certain analogous questions, which he entertains, so far as they can be admitted to have any bearing on the question. It is inferred by Molyneux, that Coke's opinion that an English act of parliament should be held binding in Ireland, was derived from his notion of the subordination of the king's bench in Ireland, to that in England; and this subordination seemed to be apparent, from the fact of a writ of error lying from the former to the latter. The practice is admitted, and its origin inquired into by Molyneux. He first notices the opinion of many Irish lawyers of his time, that these writs originated in an express act of the Irish parliament, "lost amongst a great many other acts which we want, for the space of 130 years at one time, and of 120 at another time;" to which he adds, "but it being only a general tradition, that there was such an act of our parliament, we only offer it as a surmise, the statute itself does not appear." Secondly, "When," says Mr Molyneux, "a judgment in Ireland is removed, to be reversed in England, the judges in England ought, and always do, judge according to the laws and customs of Ireland, and not according to the laws and customs of England, any otherwise than they may be of force in Ireland." Now, this is surely in itself conclusive; because it contains a direct exclusion of the right of the English parliament. The fact of a judgment being reversed, on the ground of English law, as such, would, it must be admitted, be a direct affirmation of the binding power of the English legislature. This important rule Molyneux confirms, by proper citations of cases, and concludes that the "jurisdiction of the king's bench in England, over a judgment of the king's bench in Ireland, does not proceed from any subordination of one kingdom to the other, but from some other reason." This reason he conjectures, and his conjecture is curious and interesting.

The want of skill in the interpretation of English laws, which had been largely adopted in Ireland, rendered the assistance of the English judges necessary from time to time, and "occasional messages to England, before judgment given in Ireland, to be performed of the law." The effect of such a custom would be obviously to lead the still more anxious reference of the litigants to the same source of authority, as well as afford a strong and warrantable ground to the losing party to question the soundness of the decision of an Irish judge. Accordingly, Mr Molyneux goes on to state that, "after decrees made, persons who thought themselves aggrieved by erroneous judgments applied themselves to the king of England for redress." And "thus," says Molyneux, "it must be, that writs of error (unless they had their sanction in parliament) became in use." The process is at least natural, and more likely than any other depending on conjecture. The objection to this, drawn from the previous conclusion, that the judgment was finally according to Irish, and not English law, is nugatory, for it admits the point in question; but it is enough to recollect that the common law of England was, with slight exceptions and modifications, law in Ireland, by various charters of ancient kings, as well as enactments of the Irish parlia-

ments. On this question Mr Molyneux also draws an argument, from the fact that in writs of error suit is made to the *king only*. We need not dilate on so obvious a point.

We may observe here, that in this inference from writs of error, two distinct arguments are involved;—first, the analogy whereby the subordination of the parliament is inferred from that of the court. This is clearly replied to by the affirmation that the appeal lies to the king. The other is, that the authority of the English court must needs involve that of the enactments of the English legislature, and is met by the reply, that the judgment was still according to Irish law, while the practice is accounted for by the fact, that numerous English laws had been at several times made law in Ireland, with the consent, or by the will of the Irish legislature.

Mr Molyneux concludes his argument by replying to several miscellaneous objections: into these it is unnecessary to proceed. Some of them are but repetitions of points already noticed; some are frivolous; some merely resting on, and resisted by, the absurdities of old political theories, as to the rights of nations or of mankind. We shall merely enumerate them here.—England's title, on the consideration of money spent in the reduction of the country; the right of England to bind by force any country which may injure its trade; the fact that Ireland is a colony from England. Such are the remaining objections; which contain no force, and admit, therefore, little reply. We shall only remark, that Mr Molyneux finally opposes to the doctrine of legislative dependence, the strict provisions of Poyning's act, which would be a "needless caution, if the king and parliament of England had power at any time to revoke or annul such proceedings."

In 1782, this subject was renewed in a spirited debate in the Irish house of commons—a debate in which Grattan, Flood, Langrishe, and other eminent Irishmen, whose names are yet on the tongues of living men, bore a remarkable part. We shall have, therefore, to look again on the subject, and, as well as we can, recall the circumstances in a more interesting aspect. Mr Molyneux was actuated by a pure sentiment of patriotism, and we believe his true feelings on the occasion are justly expressed in his preface, in which he tells the reader "how unconcerned I am in any of those particular inducements, which might seem at this juncture to have occasioned the following discourse." "I have not any concern in wool or the wool trade. I am no ways interested in the forfeitures or grants. I am not at all solicitous whether the bishop or the society of Derry recover the land they contest about."

The pamphlet excited a vast sensation on its appearance. The English house of commons was infuriated by an argument which seemed to be an attack on their authority, and in their inconsiderate heat passed a resolution, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They presented an address to king William, who felt himself compelled to give

way to the impulse of the moment, and promise to enforce the laws which bound the Irish parliament. But the animosity of their excitement is more clearly indicated by the fact, that they ordered the offending pamphlet to be burned by the hangman.

That such proceedings were not altogether a surprise to the author, may be collected from a paragraph in his first preface, in which he writes, "I have heard it said, that perhaps I might run some hazard in attempting the argument; but I am not at all apprehensive of any such danger. We are in a miserable condition, indeed, if we may not be allowed to complain when we think we are hurt," &c.

The pamphlet received several replies, and was generally received with a strong sensation of favour or hostility by the Irish public. It was at the time not quite unseasonable. The violent effects of a long and destructive revolution had left a collapse upon the public mind, which in Ireland has often been the effect of over excitement, so that the calm was as likely to prove fatal as the storm. Insubordination is the precursor and parent of servility; and the sentiments of terror, and vindictive memory of suffering and wrongs, too naturally subside into the disposition to find safety and revenge in oppression.

There was a strong friendship between Molyneux and Locke, in whose essay on the human understanding his name has the honour to be mentioned as "that very ingenious and studious promoter of real knowledge," in a manner which shows the high and intimate correspondence on questions then of the utmost literary interest, which existed between him and that great and truly illustrious philosopher. The problem there mentioned as coming from Molyneux, is necessarily trite to every academical reader; but as our circle comprehends a larger compass, we shall extract it here, as giving a higher notion of intellectual power than can be conveyed on any political topic. The design of Mr Locke is to explain and illustrate his proposition, that the ideas of sensation are often changed by the judgment; or, in other words, that a large class of ideas, which are supposed to be pure sensations, are by habit compounded from our knowledge of the reality of things, and our sensations. The following is the illustration:—"Suppose a man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his touch to distinguish between a cube and a sphere of the same metal, and nighly of the same bigness, so as to tell when he felt the one and the other, which is the cube and which is the sphere. Suppose, then, the cube and sphere placed on a table, and the blind man to be made to see. Query, whether by his sight before he touched them, he could now distinguish and tell which is the globe, which the cube?" To which the acute and judicious proposer answers,—“Not; for though he has obtained the experience of how a globe, how a cube affects his touch, yet he has not yet attained the experience, that that which affects his touch so or so, must affect his sight so or so; or that a protuberant angle in the cube that pressed his hand unequally, shall appear to his eye as it does in the cube.” “I agree,” continues Locke, “with this thinking gentleman, whom I am proud to call my friend, in his answer to this, his problem.”* This problem involves the entire

* Locke's Essay, b. 11, c. 9, § 8.

theory of the chapter in which it occurs, and if there had been no previous communication on the subject, indicates an uncommon range of accurate thought. There appears to have indeed been a remarkable similarity of intellectual constitution between Molyneux and his illustrious friend. A fact, less to the honour of both, displays a striking coincidence. Speaking of Blackmore's poetry, in a letter to Locke, Molyneux writes, "All our English poets, except Milton, have been ballad-makers to him." To which Locke replies, "I find, with pleasure, a strange harmony throughout, between your thoughts and mine."

As was then usual in the world of letters, this correspondence originated and continued long without any meeting having taken place. On the occasion of his celebrated pamphlet, Molyneux expressed a great anxiety to meet and consult with Locke. He crossed over to England in the year 1698, and remained some months, when he had the happiness of becoming personally intimate with his honoured correspondent. On his departure, another meeting was concerted for the following spring. But his health was frail, and his constitution broken by one of the most terrible diseases to which the human frame is liable. Soon after his return, a fit of the stone led to the eruption of a blood-vessel, of which he died in two days, October 11th, 1698. His interment took place in St Andrew's church, where there is a monument and Latin inscription.

Richard Coote, Earl of Bellamont.

DIED A. D. 1700.

ON the restoration, when Sir Charles Coote was created earl of Mountrath for his eminent services to the king; his brother, Richard, who had taken an equally active part in bringing about this happy event, was created baron Coote of Colooney. His son, Richard, the subject of our present memoir, was returned member of parliament for Droitwich, in Worcestershire, in 1688, but was attainted the following year in one held by James II., in Dublin, in consequence of his unequivocal support of the prince of Orange, being one of the first of his adherents who joined him publicly. He was appointed treasurer and receiver-general to the queen, and governor of the county of Leitrim, and was advanced by patent, in the same year, to the dignity of earl of Bellamont.

In the beginning of 1695, he was nominated governor of New York, which was then in a state of the most perfect misrule; smugglers and pirates setting the laws at defiance, and moral profligacy increasing in an exact proportion to their neglect. The inducements to accept of such a governorship must have been small, or rather the temptation to reject it great; but lord Bellamont's concurrence was at once secured by the terms in which the king couched the offer. He told him he considered him "a man of resolution and integrity, and with those qualifications, more likely than any other he could think of, to put a stop to that illegal trade, and to the growth of piracy; for which reason he made choice of him for that government, and for the same reason intended to put the government of New England into his

hands.”* The earl, in conversing with colonel Levingston, knowing that he had had various employments in the province, discussed the subject at great length, and expressed his determination to put down both practices in the most summary manner, and with the strong arm of the law. The colonel suggested his engaging the services of captain William Kid, who had lately arrived from that country in a trading vessel of his own, and who was well known to colonel Levingston as a person of great shrewdness, activity, and resource, an excellent sailor, and well acquainted with the habits and haunts of the pirates. He proposed that he should be given the command of one of the king’s ships of about thirty guns, with an hundred and fifty men, and that he should be invested with ample powers to hunt out and exterminate the offenders.

Lord Bellamont at once communicated the project to the king, who consulted the admiralty upon the subject; but the pressing need there was of ships for carrying on the war, joined to the uncertainty of the undertaking, and the great distance at which it was to be performed, determined them to reject the proposition.

Colonel Levingston, however, whose mind was heated upon the subject, was not to be discouraged, and he accordingly stated to the earl, that if persons of consideration and property could be induced to join in the expense of fitting out a vessel, that he, from his high opinion of Kid’s capability and integrity, would become a guarantee for the safe return of the vessel, and his fidelity in the execution of the trust reposed in him. He also expressed his willingness that he and Kid should be at the fifth part of the expense, and reiterated his conviction as to the ultimate success of the project.

On these offers being communicated to the king, he at once acceded to them, and in expressing his high approval of the undertaking, promised a free grant to the adventurers, of all Kid’s captures, with the exception of a small reservation, to mark his being a partner to the expedition. On this sanction, the chancellor, along with lords Romney, Shrewsbury, and Oxford, advanced £6000, with which the galley was quickly fitted out; and on the 10th December, Kid received a commission from the admiral as a private man-of-war, to act against the French, and another under the great seal, authorizing him to pursue, take, and bring to instant trial, all pirates and sea-robbers, whom he might meet with infesting the seas.

He sailed from London in February, 1695, and his employers received no intelligence of, or from him, for three years: when at length the East India Company learned through their factors, that in place of attacking and suppressing the pirates, he had become one of their body, and that he had recently seized a Moorish vessel, called the Quedah Merchant, in which there were goods of immense value. The disappointment of the adventurers was great, but particularly of Levingston, who felt his own character in some degree compromised by the treacherous deception practised by Kid, for whose success and honesty he stood pledged. In the year following, the president and council of Nevis announced to the Secretary of State, that Kid had returned into the American seas, after which he had sailed to Rhode Island; when,

* Lodge.

either touched by remorse for his perfidious conduct, or calculating on the probability of his ultimately falling into the hands of the governor, he wished to secure the only chance there existed of obtaining pardon for the past, by voluntarily coming forward, pleading innocence, and delivering up his prize laden with booty, as a warrant for his good faith. He accordingly sent an emissary to the earl of Bellamont, to Boston, informing him that he had brought the Quedah Merchant, which he had taken in the Indian seas, and which contained goods of great value, into a creek on the coast of Hispaniola. He also brought additional goods to the amount of £10,000, in a sloop in which he sailed himself, hoping to make terms with the governor, and stating that he could bring forward credible witnesses to prove his innocence.

The earl, satisfied of his guilt, but anxious to get him into his power, after consulting with his council, wrote him a letter, assuring him that if he could make his innocence clear, he need have no apprehension in coming to Boston. Kid accordingly landed on the 1st of June, and was examined before lord Bellamont and the council. His answers to the charges against him were unsatisfactory and evasive, and served rather to criminate than clear him. The earl accordingly committed him, and the most guilty portion of his crew into close custody, and had the goods assigned to the care of agents appointed by the council, prudently declining to take any personal charge of them.

He was indefatigable in his efforts to trace and recover Kid's concealed booty, a great portion of which was at length secured, while a statement of the entire transaction was forwarded to the Secretary of State and Council of Trade, requesting that an immediate order might be sent for the transmission of the prisoners to England, as the laws in America did not admit of their being brought to capital punishment.

Kid was accordingly sent to London, in April, 1700, and examined before the lords of the Admiralty, after which he was committed to Newgate, and kept in close confinement. In the spring following, the House of Commons undertook the investigation of the business, and after a very long debate upon the question, whether "a grant passed under the great seal of England to Richard, earl of Bellamont and others, of all the goods and other things which should be taken by Kid from Thomas Too, John Ireland, and others, in the said grant mentioned, as pirates, before their conviction, is illegal and void, it passed in the negative."*

Lord Bellamont died at New York, March 5th, 1700, and left two sons who were successive earls of Bellamont. The General Assembly, who were sitting at Boston when the account of his death arrived, immediately published a proclamation through the province, ordering that a general fast should be observed, to express their deep sense of the public calamity inflicted by his death, and of their veneration for his high and unblemished character.

His wife, Catharine, daughter and heiress to Bridges Nanson, Esq. of Bridgemorton, survived him, and is stated by Lodge, to have given birth to her first son before she was twelve years of age, and to have married her fourth husband in her seventy-second year, which was also the year of her death.

* Lodge.

Sir Faithful Fortescue.

SIR Faithful Fortescue was lineally descended from that Sir John Fortescue, (chief justice to Henry VI.,) whom Raleigh calls "that notable bulwark of our laws," and inherited the same devoted loyalty which distinguished his ancestor. He removed into Ireland early in the reign of James I., and commanded a regiment of horse under his uncle the lord-deputy, by whom he was knighted; and in November 1606, was made joint governor of Carrickfergus, with Roger Langford, Esq.* He acquired extensive property in the counties of Down, Louth, and Antrim, besides Dromiskin castle within ten miles of Drogheda. He also purchased from Rory Oge MacQuillane, an estate in the Lower Claneboy and county of Antrim, (which had been granted to Rory by patent,) and which Sir Faithful also wished to hold by the same tenure. The king accordingly granted him a patent to hold the lands *in capite*, directly from himself, "by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, and the rent of £5 Irish; he to find two horsemen and six footmen well appointed for war, whenever called thereunto by the chief-governor of Ireland, or by the governor of Carrickfergus, for his majesty's service in the province of Ulster."† In the same year, he was permitted to impark in this manor 1000 acres. He was appointed by the lord-deputy Wentworth, who held him in high estimation, to inspect the king's stores and garrisons in Leinster, and to make an accurate report of their supplies, and state of defence.

When the rebellion broke out, his life was in imminent danger, and it was with difficulty he escaped from the surrounding massacre. When, however, after many dangers, he at length arrived in England, he solicited employment in the Irish war, and was appointed to the command of a troop destined for that country. Full of martial valour, and of devoted attachment to the king, his heart was sickened at finding himself entangled in the trammels of the parliament; his troop, along with many others, being pressed into their service. He was appointed major to Sir William Waller's regiment. Waiting only for an opportunity, at the battle of Edgehill he determined to free himself from its detested yoke. He watched for the moment when the king's troops were about to make a charge, and having previously instructed his own, he impetuously rushed forward; when within little more than "a carabine's shot of his own body," he and his followers, discharging their pistols on the ground, joined prince Rupert, and suddenly wheeled round to the dismay of their former associates." "Whether," says the historian, "this sudden accident, as it might very well, and they not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of prince Rupert and the king's horse, or altogether with their own evil consciences, wrought upon them, I know not; but that the whole wing, having unskilfully discharged their carabines and pistols into the air, wheeled about, the king's horse

* Lodge.

† Ibid.

charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying, and had the execution of them above two miles. So that this disorder of their cavalry, occasioned by the going-over of Sir Faithful Fortescue with his troop, must have been fatal to the earl of Essex and his army, if prince Rupert had shown as much conduct as courage."

Sir Faithful remained in England for some years, and continued a steady supporter of the king's cause until after his death. Cromwell was then glad to secure the services of a character of such known fidelity, and of such high and general estimation, and induced him to accept the command of a regiment of horse, which was then preparing to embark for Ireland. The parliament, however, was not destined to profit long by that fidelity, as it again reverted to its more legitimate object. At the battle of Worcester, he assisted Charles II. with this very regiment, and fled with the discomfited monarch to France. At the restoration, he was made a gentleman of the privy chamber, attending his majesty's person, and was so much esteemed by him, that he never suffered him to leave him during the remaining period of his life. His person was strikingly handsome, and his manners prepossessing. He married twice; his first wife, Anne, who was daughter to Gerald, lord viscount Drogheda, brought him sixteen children. His second wife was Ellinor Symonds, a widow.

His grandson, William Fortescue of Newrath, in the county of Louth, was the ancestor of the Clermont family, and took a prominent position during the troubles of James's reign. Having been appointed in 1688 to the command of the town of Bandon, he, with a comparatively small force, repulsed from its gates lord Clancarty's newly reinforced army, attacked and conquered all the Irish out-posts, and after a sharp and bloody contest, remained master of the town, where he immediately proclaimed William and Mary as its rightful sovereigns. This conquest, however, cost him dear; for, when the town had subsequently to surrender, lord Clancarty took a mean and malignant revenge, not only on himself and his property, but also on the unoffending members of his family. In perfidious disregard of the articles of surrender, which had been additionally confirmed by king James on his landing, he confined captain Fortescue in the jail of Cork for eleven months, among thieves and felons; and, during this period, selected the companies out of his army, who had been previously disarmed by him in Bandon, to sack, burn, and destroy his house and property in the county of Louth; they too faithfully fulfilled the savage injunctions; for, having burned his dwelling and stripped his children, they left them so miserably exposed, that they quickly fell victims to the inhuman treatment they had experienced. In 1681, he married Margaret, only daughter of Nicholas Gernon, by whom he left seven children.

Robert, First Viscount Molesworth.

BORN A. D. 1655—DIED A. D. 1725.

THE family of Molesworth had attained wealth and distinction during the reigns of the Plantagenets, and Sir Walter accompanied Edward I. to the Holy Land, to which circumstance there is an allusion in his coat of arms. Robert was a posthumous child, and his father appears to have been one of the first of the family who settled in Ireland. He was accordingly brought up by his mother, and her parents, of whom she was the last surviving child out of twenty-one. He received his education in Dublin college, and was remarkable for his literary attainments, and high and independent character. In 1688, when the prince of Orange entered England, he immediately joined him, and was one of his most zealous and devoted adherents. He was consequently attainted the following year by king James's parliament, and his estate, of near £3000 a-year, sequestrated. On the accession of William, however, he was reinstated; and that monarch, having a personal regard for him, and a high opinion of his political powers, nominated him a member of his privy council, and afterwards sent him as envoy extraordinary to the court of Denmark, where he resided for several years. He there wrote his *History of Denmark*, besides several other works, which were suited to the politics of the period, and were highly estimated, both for their eloquence and the forcible line of reasoning by which his opinions were sustained and established.

In the succeeding reign he became a member of the privy council, and was valued and respected by all parties for his high talents, and incorruptible integrity. His second son, Richard, who subsequently inherited the title, had the honour of saving the life of the duke of Marlborough at the battle of Ramillies. He had been intended by his father for the bar, and was sent to finish his studies at the temple; but being of a very ardent temperament, and loathing the life of inaction to which he was destined, he secured the services of a faithful servant, disposed of his books, and set sail for Flanders, where he served as a volunteer, until the earl of Orkney, who was a particular friend of his father, gave him, in 1702, a commission. His own merit and active services during the war, obtained for him a troop of horse, and he was also appointed aide-de-camp to the duke of Marlborough. On the day of the battle he distinguished himself by many acts of personal daring, and was foremost in accompanying the duke into every post of danger. Various statements have been made of the circumstances connected with the imminent peril, and providential escape of the duke, on that day. Lodge gives an extract from a letter which he says was authenticated by lord Molesworth himself, and which describes both with great accuracy. It is as follows:—"As for the particular account you so earnestly desire of me, I here send it to you, word for word, as related to me by lord Molesworth himself, having carefully taken it down from a conversation that lately passed between us. He introduced his story, by observing that this remark-

able fact, however evident in all its circumstances, was very industriously hushed up in the army; which, he said, was the easier done, because he himself was quite silent upon it.

“He then proceeded to a short description of one particular circumstance of the field of battle, as necessary to my understanding the following relation, and informed me, that from the river Mehaigne, which covered the right flank of the French army and the left of our’s, to the village of Ramillies, which was about the centre of the two lines, the ground was firm, plain, and open; in short, fit for cavalry to act upon; that from Ramillies to the enemy’s left, and our right, the ground, on the contrary, was low, marshy, and cut through by many ditches and streams, not easily passable by either army in the face of the other. That the enemy, who had long been acquainted with this ground, and well saw the advantage to be made of its situation, had extremely strengthened their right wing of horse, not only with numbers, but with their choicest troops; with which having attacked our cavalry on the left, whom they greatly out-numbered, they soon obliged them to give ground in great confusion, their line following in great order. He said, that the duke of Marlborough perceiving this, and apprehending the consequence of the disorder, if not timely remedied, commanded some battalions of foot to advance, and properly post themselves for stopping the enemy; despatched an aide-de-camp to our right wing with orders for a considerable reinforcement of English and other cavalry, to be sent from thence to the left; and, in the meantime, judging it necessary to keep the enemy at *bay*; after he had, with great trouble and fatigue, rallied the disordered squadrons, he put himself at the head of them, and led them to the enemy. And here it was, that our advanced squadrons being repulsed and in great confusion, some of the run-aways, quite blinded by their fear, rode against the duke, who was leading up the other squadrons to sustain them; jostled him off his horse, and rode over him; at which time the remaining body of horse likewise fled, and left the duke lying on the field with none near him but captain Molesworth, then one of his aides-de-camp; who, perceiving not only the enemy’s line to advance upon him, but besides, a small body that had detached itself from the line as for a pursuit, saw that the duke must inevitably fall into their hands, unless he could find the means of getting him off, in which not a moment was to be lost. The duke’s horse, when he was thrust off him, had run away beyond the line; nothing therefore remained for captain Molesworth to do, but the mounting him, if possible, on his, which he at last effected, but with difficulty; for, when the duke was rode over, some horse had trod on his stomach, so that he lay upon the ground almost senseless, and could very little help himself. The captain, however, got his Grace into the saddle, put the rein in his hand, and turning the horse’s head to our line, entreated his Grace to push him that way with his utmost speed, as he accordingly did; but had not cleared the ground above three minutes before the above-mentioned detachment came up full speed over the spot, so eager in pursuit of the duke, whom they had certainly singled out, that the captain then had the good fortune to escape their notice.

“By this time the duke had got within some of our battalions of foot,

and the pursuers pressing pretty close upon the most advanced among them, which was the regiment of Albemarle Swiss; that regiment gave them their platoons very handsomely, and soon sent them back the same way, somewhat faster than they had come on; however, they now thought fit to pay the captain a little more respect than they had done before, and honoured him, as they went by, with a few strokes of their broadswords; but so luckily, that he came off with only carrying their black marks about his shoulders for some time after.

"The regiment of Albemarle, he said, continued firing to the front as long as they thought they might do any damage to the enemy, of whom they dropt a good number to the right and left of him; but upon the first suspension of fire and smoke, he made them all the signal he could, of being a friend, and then went into that battalion, where he was received with great friendship and some surprise by colonel Constant, who said that he was equally rejoiced and wondered at his escape, and that he doubted not but he should soon see him at the head of a regiment.

"He then told him that the duke had got between the lines, and had gone towards the centre. While the captain was making his way as well as he could, on foot, he, by chance, met with a foreign soldier holding the duke's horse by the bridle; who, upon his claiming the horse, and giving him a patacoon, immediately resigned him, and then the captain, mounting that horse, pursued his way in quest of his Grace.

"He found him upon a rising ground fronting the village of Ramillies, with a number of general officers and others about him, to whom he was distributing his orders; and when he saw the captain, he said, he hoped he was not hurt.

"The captain, soon after, observing that his horse, which the duke still mounted, was a little unquiet, showed him his own, and said, *that* might probably prove less troublesome to him; upon which his Grace shifting back to his own horse, and colonel Bringfield, his first *ecuyer*, holding his stirrup, the enemy, just at that time, discharged a battery from the village of Ramillies, which came amongst the group of us, and one of the balls, after grazing, rose under the horse's belly, and took Mr Bringfield in the head;" in other words, shot his head off, and, as it is elsewhere stated, stunned the duke.

The captain's father, the subject of our present memoir, became the object of party jealousy in the latter end of queen Anne's reign, and was removed from the privy council in consequence of a complaint from the lower House, charging him with saying, in the presence-chamber, the previous day, that "They that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also;" and he was besides accused of affronting the clergy in convocation, when they presented their address in favour of the lord-chancellor Phibbs.

Being always a stanch supporter of the claims and principles of the house of Hanover, George I. appointed him a member of his privy council in Ireland, and a commissioner of trade and plantations. He also advanced him to the peerage by the titles of baron of Philipstown and viscount Molesworth of Swords, and accordingly, in 1719, he took his seat in the House of Lords. His zealous and indefatigable atten-

tion to public affairs gradually impaired his health, and he wisely resolved to withdraw from the scene of turmoil, and to spend the remaining years of his life in the bosom of his family, and the enjoyment of those literary tastes he had so highly cultivated. A very limited period, however, was all that was granted for the fulfilment of these hopes and plans: he died in the course of two years, at the age of sixty-nine, and was buried at Swords. His wife was Letitia, third daughter of Richard, lord Colooney, and sister to the earl of Bellamont. She brought him seven sons and four daughters. Two of his sons succeeded each other in the title, one of whom was the captain Molesworth alluded to above. His widow and several members of his family met with an awful fate—being burned to death in 1763. Lord Molesworth left fifty pounds towards the building of a church in Philipstown.

Arthur Dillon.

DIED A. D. 1732.

ARTHUR DILLON was the third son of the seventh viscount of that name, who was a colonel in the army of king James, and suffered much from his adherence to that monarch; his wife, a daughter of Sir Henry Talbot, of Mount Talbot, in the county of Roscommon, having been killed in Limerick, during the siege, by the second bomb thrown into the town, and he himself outlawed in 1690.

The outlawry, however, was reversed by the Court of King's Bench, in 1697, after his death, and his son Richard was summoned to parliament as a peer of the realm.

Arthur, of whom we now write, entered early into the service of France, and commanded an Irish regiment there before he was twenty. In 1705, he was made a mareschal de camp, was governor of Toulon, and distinguished himself in so many engagements, that he was looked up to as one of the first generals of his time. His soldiers loved and venerated him, and followed him with enthusiasm, while the military commanders of his period bore ample testimony to his skill and valour in the field.

He married Christiana, daughter of Ralph Sheldon, Esq., by whom he had five sons and three daughters. The sons inherited their father's valour and military talents, and two of them fell in the service of the French king, who so highly appreciated their devoted zeal, that he declared he would not give the command of the regiment in which they served to any who did not bear their name, and it was thenceforward distinguished by the title of the Dillon regiment.

His two elder sons became successive viscounts, inheriting the family title from their uncle; and his youngest son, who entered the church, was made archbishop of Thoulouse, and subsequently of Narbonne, primate of Gaul, and president of the states of Languedoc.*

He died himself in 1732.

* Lodge.

Almericus de Courcy, Baron Kingsale.

BORN A. D. 1664—DIED A. D. 1719.

ALMERICUS, the twenty-third baron, succeeded his brother Patrick when he was but five years old. He became a great favourite with Charles II., who granted him a pension of £300 a-year, which was continued to him in the following reign. He served in the army of James, first commanding an independent troop of horse, and afterwards as lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Lucan's regiment, for which he was outlawed in 1691; but the outlawry was soon after reversed.

Under these circumstances, it may seem strange that he should be the first personally to assert the privilege to which his family lay claim, of remaining with the head covered in the presence of royalty. We have already related the traditionary origin of this privilege, in the memoir of the first De Courcy who settled in this country.* "Almericus," says Lodge, "being very handsome in person, and of a tall stature, his lordship one day attended king William's court, and being admitted into the presence-chamber, asserted the privilege of being covered before his majesty, by walking to and fro with his hat upon his head. The king observing this, sent one of his nobles to inquire the reason of his appearing before him with his head covered; to whom he replied, he very well knew in whose presence he stood, and the reason why he wore his hat that day, was, because he stood before the king of England. This answer being told the king, and his lordship approaching nearer the throne, he was required by his majesty to explain himself, which he did to this effect:—'May it please your majesty, my name is Courcy, and I am lord of Kingsale, in your kingdom of Ireland. The reason of my appearing covered in your majesty's presence, is to assert the ancient privilege of my family, granted to Sir John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, and his heirs, by John, king of England, for him and his successors for ever.' The king replied, that he remembered he had such a nobleman, and believed the privilege he asserted to be his right; and, giving him his hand to kiss, his lordship paid his obeysance, and remained uncovered."

He died, February, 1719, without leaving any issue by his lady, who survived him, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was succeeded in his title and estates by his cousin Gerald, the son of Miles de Courcy, third son of Patrick, the twentieth lord. This Patrick married a daughter of John Fitz-Gerald of Dromana, in the county of Waterford, when she was but fourteen, and had by her twenty-three children. On the visit of George IV. to Ireland, this privilege was again claimed, and again recognised.

* See Part II. page 319.

Richard Fitz-Patrick, Lord Gowran.

DIED A. D. 1727.

THE subject of our present memoir, was the son of John Fitz-Patrick, Esq. of Castletown, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the lord viscount Thurles, and sister to the first duke of Ormonde. Richard early selected the navy as his profession, and in May, 1687, was appointed commander of the Richmond. He signalized himself on various occasions, by his valour and conduct; and was very successful in attacking and keeping in check the French privateers, which had been previously very destructive to our commerce in the German ocean. In 1690, he was promoted to the St Albans, and in the same year attacked a French frigate of thirty-six guns, which, after a severe contest of four hours, he took, with the loss of only four men belonging to his own ship, while the enemy lost forty; they had also the advantage of having fifty fusileers on board, besides two hundred men belonging to the frigate. In the following year, he drove two more of their frigates on shore, and, in conjunction with some other vessels, took fourteen rich merchantmen out of a convoy of twenty-two. He commanded a ship of seventy guns under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and was detached by him, with several vessels under his command, to attack the Grovais, (one of the islands called Cardinals,) from whence he brought off thirteen thousand head of cattle and horses, besides many of their vessels, and did considerable damage to the property on the island. His elder brother, who had distinguished himself in various military commands from the period of the revolution, was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and king William, in consideration of the faithful services of both brothers, granted to them, in 1696, "the estate of Edward Morris, forfeited by his being killed at Aughrim, which consisted of the towns and lands of Grantstown, Donoghmore, Rahindornagh, Barnaballmoragh, Lower-Derry, Belady, the north-east of Derrylaghlan, Cramrosse, Maherrbegg, Ballinrawly-wood, called Clanconragh, Mongamore, and others in the queen's county." The general, who was in England, made immediate arrangements to take possession of his new property, but was drowned in crossing the channel the very month after he had obtained the joint nomination to this grant. His brother, Richard, accordingly took possession of the entire, to which he afterwards made large additions, both by purchases, and also by marriage.

On the breaking out of the war in the following reign, he obtained the command of the Ranelagh of eighty guns, and was employed in the expedition against Cadiz, and also took part in the attack on Vigo. He shortly after retired from the service; and on the accession of George I., was raised to the peerage, with the title of baron Gowran. He was a zealous supporter of the protestant succession and interests, and was as remarkable in private life for his amiability and unswerving integrity, as he was in his profession, for valour and humanity.

In 1718, he married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John

Robinson of Farmingwood, in the county of Northampton, by whom he had two sons, the elder of whom was subsequently created earl of Upper Ossory.

He died in 1727.

Sir William Jumper.

DIED A. D. 1715.

AMONG the naval heroes of his time, Sir William Jumper stands high for valour and desert. Charnock says, "few men who have not lived to attain the rank of commanders-in-chief, or at least flag-officers, have ever acquired so much renown as this gentleman." He was born in Bandon, in the county of Cork; and was appointed, by lord Dartmouth, second lieutenant of the *Resolution*, in 1688. He served subsequently in various vessels, and in all obtained credit and distinction. In 1694, he was appointed to the command of the *Weymouth*, a fourth rate, and in the June following, he pursued and took a very large French privateer. In the same month he captured a second, and on the 31st of August, took a third, mounting twenty-eight guns. The captain of this vessel being a man of great courage and determination, and having a large and resolute crew to support him, held out long and desperately, and did not yield till he had thirty men killed, and nearly that number mortally wounded. In 1695, he captured two more privateers, and shortly after, a very large one coming from St Maloes, which, being much superior in size to the *Weymouth*, made a desperate resistance, and only yielded when the loss of masts and men made it impossible to sustain the contest. Similar successes followed with astonishing rapidity; but a domestic affliction awaited him, capable of overshadowing them all. His wife, who remained on board during his stay at Plymouth, was returning to the shore in a small pinnace, when it suddenly overset, and she, and captain Smith of the *Portland*, who accompanied her, were both unhappily drowned.

On recovering from the effects of this awful and unlooked-for calamity, he returned to active service, and the same almost uninterrupted success followed his undertakings; privateers, prizes, and ships of war being successively captured. He was at length appointed to the *Lenox*, which was ordered to serve under Sir George Rooke, in his expedition against Cadiz. "In this attack he took a more prominent part than any other naval commander; successfully executing the arduous services intrusted to him, with the most spirited address." In the subsequent brilliant successes of the confederates, he was an active participator. Sir George had scarcely left Cadiz, on his return home, when, as we have already related, he received intelligence that a most valuable fleet of Spanish galleons had put into Vigo, together with their escort, commanded by that well-known officer, Mons. Chateau Renaud. Sir George, in conjunction with the duke of Ormonde, instantly resolved on attempting the capture of the fleet, and they succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations. In this enterprise captain Jumper took a prominent and active part; the treasure, and

articles of merchandise taken and destroyed on this occasion, amounted to between four and five millions sterling, while the injury sustained by the enemies' ships had never been exceeded unless in the instances of the destruction of the Armada, and the battle off Cape La Hogue. Twenty ships and vessels of war, fifteen of which were of two decks, together with thirteen galleons, were included in the destruction and capture made and effected on this occasion. Captain Jumper was eminently instrumental in the reduction of Gibraltar, and was severely wounded in an engagement off Malaga, where he fought and overcame three of the enemy's ships.

On his return to England, he received the honour of knighthood from queen Anne; but what seems strange, he never changed his ship during a service of many years continuance. On his retirement, however, from the service at a later period, he received a handsome pension. While waiting at Lisbon to convoy the fleet to England, he received intelligence that the garrison at Gibraltar were in a state approaching to mutiny, for want of money, their pay having been for some time necessarily stopped, in consequence of no specie having arrived. He accordingly on his own responsibility, despatched one of the vessels under his command with a supply, and thus probably preserved to the government, that important fortress.

His ship was one of those which accompanied Sir Cloudesley Shovel home in 1707, and while he arrived in safety at Falmouth, on the fatal 22d of October, his less fortunate commander, with two other ships of war, was cast away on the Scilly isles, and drowned, or, as has been recently stated from documents in the possession of the earl of Romney, he was inhumanly and treacherously murdered by a woman, on that island, who many years after confessed the fact on her death-bed, when she produced an emerald ring which she had taken from his finger, and which (with other valuables cast upon the shore) tempted her to the horrid deed. The ring is at present in the possession of the earl of Berkeley.

It is believed that Sir William never went to sea again. In 1714 he was appointed commissioner of the navy, resident at Portsmouth, and died the March following.

Sir James Hamilton, First Viscount Strabane.

DIED A. D. 1734.

THE family of Hamilton are amongst the most ancient and distinguished in the kingdom. They are descended from Robert, the first earl of Leicester, who accompanied William the First, from Normandy, and commanded the right wing of his army in the battle of Hastings; after which, William, in dividing the kingdom amongst his followers, gave him no less than ninety-one lordships and manors in the counties of Leicester, Warwick, &c., &c. One of his early descendants took the name of Hamilton or Hambledon, from the place of his birth, which was a manor in the county of Leicestershire.

Sir James, was grandson to Sir George Hamilton, who married the

sister of the duke of Ormonde, and was son to James Hamilton, groom of the bed-chamber to Charles II., to which office his son succeeded at the early age of seventeen. After the accession of James, he became a member of the privy council, and commanded a regiment of horse. On perceiving, however, the king's decided hostility to the protestant cause, and his determination, at all risks, to introduce popery, he resolved at once to sacrifice all personal considerations, and quit his service, rather than compromise those opinions and principles which had been transmitted to him through so many generations, and of which his father had been a strenuous supporter. Unwilling to remain an idle spectator of the important contest which was then in progress, he entered into the service of William at the period of the revolution, and carried arms and ammunition, as has been before related, to the relief of Londonderry, when besieged by the army of king James; it so happened, that his uncle Richard Hamilton, who was then a lieutenant-general, was one of the assailants, and did every thing in his power to aggravate the sufferings of the besieged. Providentially, the supplies brought by captain Hamilton enabled the city to hold out until the arrival of general Kirke, when the siege was raised. After his grandfather's death, he refused to assume the title of baronet; but in the year 1700, was obliged to bear a superior one from the earldom of Abercorn devolving upon him, as next heir to earl Charles, the last male branch of Claud, first earl of Strabane, who was second son of James, the first earl of Abercorn. He was the sixth that enjoyed this honour; to preserve which he went to Scotland in 1706, and sat in that parliament which concluded the union between the two kingdoms, now called Great Britain.*

William nominated him a member of his privy council; and farther, to mark his sense of his services, created him baron of Mountcastle, and viscount of Strabane, by which titles he sat in the Irish parliament, September, 1703, which was the first summoned to meet by queen Anne, of whose privy council he was a member. He was selected in 1709, to draw up an address of condolence on the death of prince George of Denmark, and another of congratulation to the queen for her great successes abroad. He was a member of the privy council in the two succeeding reigns, and a zealous opponent of the claims of the Pretender. In 1686 he married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Reading, bart., by whom he had nine sons and five daughters. He died in 1734.

Sir Eyre Coote.

BORN A.D. 1726.—DIED A.D. 1783.

EYRE COOTE, youngest son of Chidley Coote, D.D. of Ash-hill, in the county of Limerick, early embraced the military profession; and there is reason to believe that he was employed in active service during the rebellion of 1745, when he could have been only nineteen. In the

* Lodge.

beginning of the year 1754, he embarked for the East Indies, and his name is honourably mentioned in the despatches of admiral Watson, when, after describing the warm bombardment of the forts of Calcutta, he states that the enemy was compelled to retire, and that captain Coote of the king's troops landed and took possession.* Sir Eyre, who then held the rank of captain, on the arrival of colonel Clive, had to yield the command; but in valour, skill, and energy, still retained his superiority. He assisted in taking several forts of importance; and, at the battle of Plassey, held a prominent and responsible position, and eminently contributed to the success of that distinguished day. After attaining the rank of colonel, he invested and took Wandemash, repulsed the attack of the French troops, who attempted to retake it, and, pursuing his advantage, completely routed and dispersed them, when they fled in dismay, with their discomfited leader to Pondicherry. In November of the same year, 1760, he laid siege to that important place, which contained a garrison of 1400 European soldiers, and was well calculated to make a long and successful resistance. It however yielded, in less than two months, to his persevering and well-directed attacks, and by this decisive and unexpected blow, he completely demolished the remaining power and ascendancy of the French in India. The town contained an immense quantity of military stores and treasure of all descriptions; and the Court of Directors were so strongly impressed with the value of the acquisition, and the importance of his services, that on his return to England in the ensuing year, they presented him with a diamond hilted-sword, which cost seven hundred pounds, as a mark of their gratitude and respect.

Having been appointed commander-in-chief of the East India Company's forces, he went to Madras in 1770. He did not, however, remain there long, but proceeded to Bussorah, in consequence, it was supposed, of a dispute which occurred between him and the governor of Madras. He shortly after returned to England, overland, when he was invested with the order of the Bath, and afterwards obtained the colonelcy of the 37th regiment, with the governorship of Fort George in Scotland.

A life of inaction being uncongenial to his martial spirit, and the value and importance of his presence and services in India being too well understood by the government, to allow him to remain long unemployed, he was on the death of general Clavering, appointed a member of the supreme council of Bengal, and commander of the British forces in India.

On Hyder Ali assuming a menacing deportment and invading the Carnatic, general Coote was selected to oppose him, and was sent from Bengal with troops and money to the coast of Coromandel. Previous to his arrival, colonel Baillie had been despatched to check his progress, with three hundred European infantry, several battalions of sepoys, and some artillery; they were, however, nearly all cut to pieces after a brave resistance, and the scattered remnants were taken prisoners. Hyder also took possession of Arcot, and seemed to calculate on universal conquest. At this juncture general Coote arrived, and found the army reduced and dispirited. He revived their

* Ryan's Worthies.

drooping courage, led them on minor enterprises in which success was nearly certain; and when their hope and self-confidence were again renewed, he incited them to seek an encounter with the formidable Hyder himself; thus securing to them the enlivening consciousness of being the attackers, not the attacked, and stimulating them by every incentive, capable of acting on the noble and generous impulses of a British army. Hyder, whose army consisted of "twenty-five battalions of infantry; four hundred Europeans; from forty to fifty thousand horse; and above a hundred thousand match-lock men, Peons and Polygars, with forty-seven pieces of cannon," met his advances, confident of success; and, trusting to his own overwhelming numbers, rushed impetuously forward to meet the advancing foe. Successive onsets were met and repelled, and the British troops kept their ground; confident in their leader, they steadily pursued the course he had prescribed, and battalion upon battalion gave way before them. For eight hours the conflict was sustained on both sides with desperate and persevering obstinacy; Meer Saib, Hyder's favourite general, fell mortally wounded; and, the leading officers of the Sultan's army rushing to supply his place, and avenge his fall, shared the same fate. The soldiers, deprived of their commanders, were slaughtered in immense numbers; so that the proportion of the fallen was, as thousands to hundreds of the British. Victory was no longer doubtful, and Hyder Ali never again recovered his ascendancy. The affairs of India took a different aspect, and succeeding conquests established the supremacy of the British sway.

Sir Eyre continued in India about three years longer, when his health began visibly to decline; his military ardour was, however, undiminished; and though in a very debilitated state, he removed from Calcutta to Madras, to assume the command of the army. The effort was too great, and he died April 24th, 1783, two days after his arrival there. His body was conveyed to England the following year, and was buried in the parish church of Rockwood, in Hampshire.

He married, in 1769, a daughter of Charles Hutchinson, Esq., but left no children; and, his property amounting to £200,000, was inherited by his brother the dean of Kilfenora.

Postscript.

FROM the revolution in 1688, until a period included far within a subsequent division of this work, the constitution of this country appears to have settled slowly and silently, into a more quiet, and more strictly political progress of affairs. The perpetual oscillation of open force between the two great sections of the population, in which sanguinary insurrections and revolutionary plots were succeeded by bloody retaliations, and cruel, though not unjust oppressions and deprivations, subsided into a tempered strife between the same classes under other names, and with different weapons. The acute and violent disorders which had deranged and menaced our existence, became chronic and thus continued to cripple and retard our growth. The ordinary resources of party warfare, such as have ever since been generally

resorted to, then began to be systematically employed. The events from this time became far less marked with the definite outlines and features of individual agency and distinct fact: the roots of affairs which were carried on by secret influence, are in a manner twisted together under the surface. As might be inferred from such a state of things, the guidance of authentic documents has in a great measure deserted us: the expositions of those who have undertaken to be the historians of the period are too extreme in their views to be relied on: for the most part, in their zeal to make out a case, they have neglected to keep in view the laws of possibility. It is chiefly from the correspondence of a few eminent men, in those times engaged in the conduct of affairs, that the true underworkings of the system as it existed in their time, can be brought to the test of written authority; and these must, from their nature, be received with allowance and caution. Then, as now, party leaders had little fairness in the estimation of each other in Ireland.

These features of the times are important to be mentioned here, as they must influence our present course. The quietness of this interval, together with the character of the political machinery then mainly in action, was such as to preclude in a great measure that individual prominence of warriors and partisans, which, till now, have occupied our pages. Our government was mainly carried on by the deputies and lords-justices sent over officially, from England. The consequent absence of subjects for biography, such as to fall legitimately within the plan of these memoirs, renders it expedient to fulfil the properly historical part of our undertaking, by availing ourselves of a resource strictly within our limits.

The main events, and the general view of the political history of the reigns of the first two kings of the house of Hanover, will form an appropriate portion of our introduction to the political period next in succession. We may then include in such a statement rapid but sufficient sketches of Carteret, and other viceroys, who were the principal persons in the scene.

In the mean time, there is little of any real permanent importance within the same interval of time, that the reader may not find distinctly related among the ecclesiastical and literary lives which are now to follow in order. The government of Ireland during the time referred to here, was mainly conducted by the counsels of the great officers of the church and law. To these, therefore, and to the more general and methodical statement at the further period of our task, we must now refer the reader.

ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1605.—DIED A.D. 1619.

THOMAS JONES was a lineal descendant from the illustrious family of Herbert.* His father, Sir Roger Jones, was an alderman and sheriff of London, and knighted by king James I., at Whitehall. Thomas was born at the family-seat in Lancashire, and received his education at Cambridge. Having entered into holy orders, he came over to Ireland, and married Margaret Purdon, sister to the wife of Archbishop Loftus, an alliance by means of which, as Mr Dalton justly observes, he probably soon obtained preferment. On this, Mr Dalton quotes a remark of Mr Mason's worthy of repetition—there was “a singular congruity in the events which befell each of these persons. They were educated in the same university, and ran the race of ambition together; both were deans of St Patrick's, archbishops of Dublin, chancellors and lord justices of Ireland, they married two sisters, and each left a numerous progeny; while the elder branch of both families was ennobled in the persons of their immediate heirs.”†

Jones took his doctor's degree in the university of Dublin; was elected dean of St Patrick's in 1581; and in 1584 he was promoted to the see of Meath. In 1605, he was by the special recommendation of king James promoted to the see of Dublin. A few days after, he was appointed lord chancellor.

At the accession of James I., the state of the church in Ireland was one of ruin and dilapidation; neither were its endowments sufficient to give efficacy to an establishment, circumstanced otherwise as it then was, in the midst of barbarism and civil disorder of every kind, and from every cause: nor were its ministers sufficiently qualified to diffuse the light so much wanting, in the surrounding moral and spiritual obscurity of the country. The church of Rome, at the same time, held a station and asserted an influence not much more advanced. But a series of workings and events were from this date about to set in, which was largely to alter and modify the condition of both. The chiefs were ignorant of letters and indifferent about religion: they only thought of recovering, extending, or securing their dominions, and preserving their iron jurisdiction over the people, on whom they lorded it with absolute control. This power was only to be maintained by preserving the friendly outwork of that perfect ignorance, which, in its various degrees, is the fruitful mother of civil degradation. The church of Rome was, through some of its faithful servants, striving for a still denied and contested influence; but the progress which it had made had been hitherto insufficient to enable it to direct its force, with effect, against the rival church of England. It had yet enough to struggle

* Burke's Peerage.

† Dalton's Archbishops of Dublin.

against, in the jealous opposition of the chiefs who had sagacity to perceive, that it might enlighten and must emancipate from their grasp those whom they so firmly controlled. So lax, accordingly, was the actual resistance to the supremacy asserted by the English church, that the laity of the Romish communion in Dublin were regular in their attendance at the parish church; and this attendance, though enforced by a law, which, under other circumstances, might be justly called tyrannical and harsh, was not the object of complaint. Though the law was severe, there had been no severity in the general spirit of its administration: it had been generally the mind of Queen Elizabeth's government to be strong in the assertion of power, but mild in its application; and the principle was preserved in the case of the Romish church in Ireland.

The English church had its own disadvantages to cope with. Insufficient both in its endowments and organization, its parochial clergy were not sufficiently provided in means or attainments, to bear up against the pressure of irreligion and ignorance, by which they were surrounded. It was not easy at that period, to find persons of sufficient spirit, information and ability, to execute so obscure and laborious, yet unpromising a task as that of an Irish country pastor, among a community as lawless as the absence of law can make human beings, and as untaught as the herds they tended or stole. For the reader will recollect that the ancient civilization of Ireland had been swept away by many centuries of internal war. In such a state of its means, and of the obstacles with which it had to cope, it cannot be surprising that an efficient ministry could not be provided, or that they were observed by John Davie to be "such poor ragged ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) that we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many of them are not worth 40 shillings per annum."*

With such a state of ecclesiastical affairs, the beginning and cause of worse, Jones had to bear an important part in struggling: the following long, but not too long extract, contains his valuable testimony on the same subject—"I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered of, which is, that I cannot get curates to supply the service of these churches; the rectories are inappropriate, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to a minister, for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers; for the natives of this kingdom being generally addicted to popery, do train up their children to superstition and idolatry, so soon as they come of age to send them beyond the seas, from whence they return either priests, jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to the state. Such English ministers and preachers as come hither out of England, we do but take them upon credit, and many times they prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care of their placing in the best manner I can. Some livings are fallen void, since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents for the present."†

* Hist. Relations.

† Mant. Hist. Ir. Church.

Jones had the merit of exercising considerable and effective vigilance and activity within his episcopal jurisdiction. He contrived amid the dearth of knowledge which then prevailed, to fill the pulpits of his diocese, and especially the city of Dublin, with persons of competent learning and piety. He repaired and restored the edifice of Christ-church, then fast sinking into ruin.

He died in Dublin, in April 1619, and was buried in St Patrick's church, near the communion-table.*

He left a son, who was afterwards created Viscount Ranelagh, and Baron Jones of Navan.

Matthew de Obeïdo, Titular Archbishop of Dublin.

OF the life of this ecclesiastic, very few particulars have been gleaned by the pious diligence, though aided by the learned research of Mr Dalton. Nor should we think it necessary to introduce here any special notice of one of whom we have nothing to relate, that has not been better told in that learned gentleman's pages, were it not that his peculiar connexion with his church in Ireland, affords a continuous link in the chain of our history.

Duly to understand the brief and summary view which our pledged limits permit us to offer of the ecclesiastical history of the commencement of the 17th century, it is absolutely necessary that the reader should be possessed of, and bear in mind that more general state of the age in this island, which we have laboured to keep in view, through the entire of our previous memoirs. For as we have already noticed, there are two very distinct histories of the same events, which, neither of them being substantially untrue, are yet each calculated to convey views which are diametrically opposed to each other. The long and violent struggle between the English and Irish, and its subsequent result, that between the churches of England and Rome, were in their different stages marked by incidents, which, when isolated from their real causes both in fact, and in the spirit of the respective times, are capable of being constructed into cases of great strength, for the most part very different from the truth of history. There is, however, to look no farther than the principle, this much in favour of the protestant historians, that for the most part they are not controversial—that is, they are not written with an express design to make out any particular case,—their statements are uncoloured by advocacy. There is yet also a previous and more important distinction in their favour: allowing, as we are disposed on much patient study to do, *circumstantial* truth to both, the protestant historians deal less in sweeping omissions of the real moving agencies of the period before us; the statements which they give are the causes and beginnings of those very trains of events, which appear in the writings of the Romish historians, not only disconnected from these causes, but connected with

* Dalton.

other *mediate* incidents in the chain from which they derive an entirely different face. It is evident how in this way, those who have mainly to dwell on a certain class of *consequences*, may preserve the actual truth of facts consistently with that narrow species of candour, which regards not the justice of the construction.

The historians who deal in elaborate representations of the persecutions by which they pretend to imagine that the Romanists of this time were driven into rebellion, are widely remote indeed from the truth, in their statements respecting those persecutions; but totally untrue in the inference. They forget in their narratives the entire state of things then existing. A strict regard to the *whole* truth would in these present times be most desirable for both parties, as well as most just. If instead of attempting to repel severe and bitter charges, by fallacious recriminations and evasive denials, the writer of this day had rather looked on the reality of causes and events, and endeavoured to separate their actual state from most prejudicial retrospects, they might have turned away the eye of political opposition from many questions, from the discussion of which they have derived no advantage to their actual object.

In the end of the 16th century, every denomination of religion had attained the lowest comparative level in Ireland. There was no diffusive spirit either political or religious among any class or rank of the people: there was no pervading system of government, and no uniform administration of law. Altogether there existed a singularly disjointed and disorderly condition of things. Two distinct communities regarded each other with fear, distrust and vigilance. Of the great chiefs, among whom the main part of the island was divided, all were nominally subjects of the English crown. But virtually some held their toparchies in absolute right by the tenures of the ancient law, while others were the acknowledged subjects of the king. Again, of those latter, some were truly and by affection, as well as from interest, subjects of the crown; while others held from motives of present policy, arising out of fear or interest. Some desired protection from the usurpations of their more powerful neighbours. Some had objects of a less warrantable description. The whole was one tissue of intrigue, oppression, violence and circumvention; in which very like the commonwealth of the great deep, the large fishes lived in the perpetual chace and demolition of the smaller. To enlighten the obscurity, and lessen the horrors of this anomalous and diseased constitution of society, the priests of both the Protestant, the ancient Irish, and the Roman churches, laboured in their several vocations. Between them, there were some important differences of various kinds, but no private ill-will or personal antagonism. The whole importance of their differences was not very fully appreciated by either; and both were held in slight veneration by the ignorant and wild populace of the forest and moorish pastures, and their barbaric tyrants, who much disliked and scornfully resisted every influence, which tended, however remotely, towards the equalizing principle of civilization.

In the general state of the country thus described, the particulars of which may be found substantiated in our political section, there was a more continued and more systematic struggle at the same time in

operation, caused by the efforts of the English government, to rule or to reduce to amity and order this heterogeneous mass. From this we have already in detail traced the causes and effects, the necessary and the mistaken severities, the violent resistances and retaliations, and the varied cases of official malversation and private abuse of power, inseparable according to the laws of human nature from such times. Among these, the history of two Irish chiefs is to be referred to here, as mainly influencing and giving a determinate direction to the fortunes of the Irish churches.

Through the entire of our memoirs of the chiefs who were engaged in the wars of Tyrone, we have had to describe the incidents to which we must now be contented to refer. The animosity of Red Hugh O'Donel, the chief of Tyrconnel, had been intensely and permanently excited by the deep personal injuries he had received from the Irish administration. The restless O'Neile was the dupe and victim of his own ambitious and intriguing temper: unwilling to acquiesce in the constraints of the English power, and unequal to cope with it, his life had been a succession of conspiracies, outbreaks and submissions. While these were working themselves slowly into a position of resistance, and collecting form from year to year, by the union of kindred elements; the court of Spain, engaged in war with England, was skilfully and actively engaged in pouring into the fiery but chaotic mixture, an element of life and combination, and in this was seconded effectually, though cautiously, and with apparent forbearance, by the more tempered and long-sighted policy of the church of Rome.

A swarm of Spanish monks of different orders, and in various characters and disguises, sent over to unite, inflame, and at the same time promise, assistance in men, money and arms, gave hope and assurance to the spirit of enterprise; but above all, it was the main duty of their mission to infuse the exalting and combining principle of spiritual animosity. The chiefs, who conspired from ambition or revenge, gladly entered into the pretext which gave a sanction to their insubordination, and a common ground of appeal to their countrymen: they threw heart and voice into the spirit-stirring motive, and instead of being rebels, rejoiced to find themselves champions of the Catholic church.

The results are known to our readers. The bait was taken, and although the Irish chiefs failed to attain the real objects for which they took arms, the pretended views were in the event more successful. The power of the Irish aristocracy was for ever broken, and their sway over the people handed over to their priests, who from this period began to acquire that vast and irresistible influence which they have hitherto been skilful to retain.

At the time of which we write, it is but just and fair to state, that the influence here attributed to a foreign priesthood, cannot be fairly imputed to the secular clergy of the Irish church. Of these it will be at present enough to quote Leland, the most authoritative historian of Ireland. Having stated in his text the fact that "intelligence was daily spread by popish ecclesiastics of the vast and terrible preparations made by Spain, to overwhelm all England at once, by an irresistible invasion," he adds this note, "Candour obliges us to acknow-

ledge that the Romish clergy at this period did not uniformly concur in exciting the Irish to insurrections. Sullivan himself confesses (though it was his business to represent the zeal of his countrymen in the most favourable point of view), that a considerable party among this clergy recommended a dutiful submission to government, and opposed the practices of their more intemperate brethren."

We have already related the train of events which, in the year 1579, and the following years, led to the downfall of the princely but rebellious house of Desmond in the south. Of these, the peculiar historical interest is derived mainly from the part taken in the contest which led to this event by the king of Spain, who sent over a small force accompanied by several Spanish ecclesiastics: and the interposition of popes Pius and Gregory, who successively sanctioned the adventurous undertaking, by the formal authority of their bulls, in which the projects of James Fitz-Maurice, and John of Desmond, were duly consecrated by an authority which was fast gaining a most fatal preponderance in Ireland. The struggle was for the occasion, soon closed by a bloody fight, in which the jesuit Allan, who had raised the papal standard and promised certain victory, was slain: and the other leaders, military and ecclesiastical, who led or cheered the Irish by their presence, scattered in irretrievable dispersion, to meet their deaths by the various accidents of famine or capture. Among the Spanish priests who were sent over on this occasion, Matteo Oveido was one; and on the suppression of the insignificant outbreak, which in Spain had been magnified into a national rebellion, he contrived to find his way home. In this he was perhaps favoured by the arrival of two more of his brethren, with arms and ammunition from Spain, who returned immediately on learning the true state of affairs.

A second time in the year 1600, Matteo returned on a similar mission, but in more dignified character and with higher authority. The incident has been already described in our memoir of the rebel earl of Tyrone, to whom on this occasion he brought from the pope messages of encouragement, and exhortations to activity, confirmed by the gift of a consecrated plume of Phœnix feathers. To give the utmost weight to the apostolic mission, he came in the character of archbishop of Dublin. Justly considering that his mission had a larger scope, he proceeded without pause into Ulster; and the hope of Desmond having by this time been extinguished by the valour and conduct of Carew, he hastened to "deliver his credentials" to O'Neile and O'Donel.* Having obtained from these chiefs the solemn assurance of their co-operation, he returned to Spain, and once more came back with the well-known expedition of Don Juan de Aquila, in October, 1601.†

We have already, with sufficient fulness, stated the events of the time and the main particulars of the course pursued by the several parties. It belongs more particularly to our present purpose, to state that a proclamation, printed in Spain, was immediately circulated. It strongly impressed the sin and danger of fighting for Queen Elizabeth, "an excommunicated heretic"—and menaced as a consequence that the Spanish general would treat those who fought against him as

* Dalton.

† Vol. II. pp. 137, 138. Hib. Pacata.

heretics, and as such *persecute them to death*. But the time had not then arrived when the Irish people were to be effectively roused by the trumpet of heresy: this liability was an after result of a chain of causes, of which the beginning is to be sought in these same struggles, and in the ministration of men like Matthew de Oveido. The Irish people were in the main little moved, and the priesthood of the Irish church was on the whole unfavourably inclined to a cause mainly sustained by the efforts and rapidly increasing influence of the foreign regulars, whose policy was greater and their piety less.

We refrain from lengthening this memoir, by quoting at length the curious letters in which this missionary of insurrection addresses the chiefs from north to south, to excite them to battle for their faith and liberty. On the conclusion of the rebellion, he returned to Spain, and passed the remainder of his life in obscurity.

It is unnecessary to pursue the train of reflections strongly suggested by our perusal of the few incidents, among which we have selected this scanty and yet sufficient memoir. One alone, we would anxiously press on the attention of those writers, whose statements have suggested them, when such documents, as they are fully aware of, have been published on the real or pretended authority of the church of Rome—when such were the grounds of rebellion urged upon the people. Supposing them to have been but the accident of the moment and to have virtually ceased to retain any operative effect; how could the protestant rulers or ecclesiastics of the very same generation be expected to see so clearly into changes which would be now so hard to comprehend, as to be uninfluenced by the recollection of great political dangers, expressly emanating from the church of Rome and its branches and adherents? If we grant, as we have hitherto granted, the impolicy as well as cruelty of persecution, we are yet inclined to think the admission was at that period far beyond the knowledge and spirit of the age. And, unless the reader will really insist that every standard of policy and public opinion in any way fixed by experience is to be rejected—and that the acts, declarations and professions of men are absolutely of no weight—we are not sure that much that now seems only hard, may not be maintained as then essential to the peace of England, and the security of her church.

Henry Usher, Primate of Ireland.

DIED A. D. 1613.

THE family of Usher is traced from a gentleman who came over with king John. His name was Nevil, but having remained in Ireland, he took the name of Usher, from the title of the office which he had filled in the court of John.—He appears to have settled near Dublin, and to have transmitted the name thus assumed, through a long succession of descendants, of whom many occupied situations of public honour.

Henry Usher was a native of Dublin. He studied first at Cambridge, and afterwards at Paris; and after his return to Ireland, having



James Usher, D.D.

Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland

Engraved by J. Smith, from a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

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entered into holy orders, became archdeacon of Dublin. While in this situation, he was instrumental to the foundation of the university of Trinity College near Dublin, having been sent over to England by archbishop Loftus to solicit the queen's license for that purpose, as already related fully in our account of that prelate.—He is here commemorated on account of this distinguished office. But on the death of archbishop Garvey, he succeeded to the primacy in 1595. Henry Usher died in 1613, and was succeeded in the primacy by Christopher Hampton.

James Usher, Primate of Ireland.

BORN A.D. 1580.—DIED A.D. 1656.

MR ARNOLD USHER, brother to the primate Henry, last noticed, was one of the six clerks in the Irish chancery; he married a daughter of Mr James Stanyhurst, a master in chancery, recorder of Dublin, and speaker in three parliaments.

From these parents, James Usher was born in Dublin, in 1580. In his early infancy he had the good fortune to be brought up by two aunts, who being blind from their youth, were domesticated in his father's house. Shut out by their infirmity from the excitements and vanities of the world, they had also escaped its corruptions, and found their refuge and consolation in the sequestered ways of salvation: and their blindness was enlightened by the purer inward light which is derived from divine truth. From such teachers, the infancy of Usher was from the earliest dawn of childish thought, nurtured in holy knowledge and love: and habits as well as tastes were imparted, which now may appear to have been the providential, as they surely were the appropriate, training for a high and responsible calling in times of great trial. The soil was good ground in every respect: young Usher was as apt to learn as he was afterwards to teach: he showed a quiet, submissive and studious disposition, a retentive memory and quick apprehension, with a peculiar aptitude to receive religious impressions. Nor can we have any doubt in tracing to these peculiar and most interesting circumstances, much of the affecting and impressive piety which, at a remote period of his afterlife, sustained him in so many and such great trials and adversities.

Such a childhood and such a life, indeed, offer the truest illustrations of the wisdom of the inspired precept, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," &c.; for, omitting the trite truths of the power and permanence of youthful habits, and the obvious advantage of pre-occupying the heart with the impressions which are best, and least found in the ways of life, there is a natural return of the affections to the conversation of early years, which increases the more man finds disappointment in the attractions of life. And it is a happy coincidence when this bright spot in the retrospect is a hallowed spot. It is one way of converting the natural affections into alliance with that spirit, against which our earthly nature is too much at war: and it is a blessed thing, if in a world all the hopes and desires of which

are strongly repugnant to every holy desire or good counsel, the memory of those parents and friends and seasons, to which every heart of human mould must from time to time turn most fondly, should come laden with still higher and holier thoughts, and carry up the heart to that seat on high, where the teachers of holiness have gone to their reward.

Such was the happy lot of that illustrious prelate of whose earthly pilgrimage we are now to trace the trying and difficult path. And if his infancy was thus happy, his subsequent education was at least attended with some curious and interesting circumstances. On his tenth year, he was sent to a school kept by two very remarkable men.

Mr Fullarton and Mr Hamilton were two Scotchmen of considerable talent and learning, sent over by the king of Scotland, to cultivate an interest in favour of his claim to the crown. And as the jealousy of Elizabeth on that point was so well known, it was both safe and prudent to adopt some specious pursuit to cover their true design. They set up a school: and considering the dearth of education in Ireland at the time, there was perhaps no course more favourable to that purpose, than one which must have rendered them at once objects of interest to all who were likely to be in any way serviceable, by influence or information. They quickly established the species of intercourse and correspondence, which was considered desirable for their employer's cause. When he came to the throne upon Elizabeth's death, he knighted Fullarton, and raised Hamilton to the peerage by the title of viscount Claudebois.

To the school thus opened, James Usher was sent. And there, for the term of five years, he distinguished himself by his rapid proficiency in latin and rhetoric, the chief school acquirements of the age. He of course attracted the favourable attention of his masters, whose care of his instruction he often afterwards mentioned with gratitude.

It is stated on his own authority, that Usher while at school, had a great love of poetry; and, considering the imitative tendency of youth, this would be a natural result of the first acquaintance with the latin poets. We have already noticed the curious and grotesque imitations of his cousin Richard Stanyhurst. English poetry then offered few models, and though these were no less than Chaucer, Spenser and Shakspeare; yet considering the state of literature in Ireland, and the "great scarcity of good books and learned men" then complained of there, with the usual course of school discipline, it is not likely that Usher had formed any conceptions of style more tasteful than those of his cousin. He says, that he laid poetry aside, as likely to interfere with his more useful and solid pursuits, and to those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not appear to have been his calling.

The afterpursuits, in which he has acquired permanent renown, were according to his own account of himself, determined by the chance perusal of a book written by Sleidan. Of the state of learning in that period of our history, it would be difficult to speak, as we would wish, within the moderate compass afforded by the task we have in hand; but happily, the expansive literature of the age in which we live, requires little digression into collateral topics. It was one of the characteristics of the learned histories and treatises of an early age,

that they were replete with far-sought and multifarious erudition : it was a maxim, that a book should contain everything in any way connected with its subject ; such was indeed the essential condition of a contracted range of knowledge and a scarcity of books. To write a book commensurate with the demands of that period, was the work of a life spent in research and diligent study ; and perhaps required far more than the average of intellectual power now employed in similar undertakings. Such powers are for the most part of a nature to impose a determinate direction on the faculties ; the force of genius will impel on, or create its way, because it cannot fail to have some decided tendency. In the life of Usher, the marks of such a tendency are distinct enough ; but there is a deep interest in the contemplation of the spirit of the several times, in which the great master-builders of the fabric of human knowledge have severally grown up to the fulfilment of their tasks. We shall hereafter have occasion to enter on a more complete and extended view of the academic discipline of Usher's period : a few remarks may here sufficiently illustrate his entrance on the laborious and useful pursuits of a long life, spent in researches of the utmost importance to the ancient history of these isles.

For some time previous to that in which we are now engaged, a considerable revolution in literature had been slowly in progress. The recent cultivation of the literature of the ancients was beginning to improve the taste, as also to give more just notions of the use of human reason than seem to have been entertained in the middle ages, when words became invested with the dignity of things, and the forms of logic were confounded with the ends of reason. In that obscure transition of the human mind, the end of intellect had been lost in a thousand nugatory refinements upon the means. But though the world was then rapidly emerging from this chaos into daylight ; yet, it was rather to be perceived in the beginnings of new things than in the disappearance of the old. Of polite literature, it would be a digression to speak ; the fathers of English poetry stood apart from the obscurity of their times, and the great dramatic writers of the Elizabethan age had not as yet received any place in the shelves of general literature. The impulse of modern letters was to be received independently of all pre-existing progress, and to emanate more strictly from the standards of antiquity, than from the irregular though splendid models of the previous periods. A single glance into the best writers of the early part of the 17th century will not fail to illustrate the rudeness of men's notions of style in prose or verse : the higher efforts of intellectual power as yet rejected the undefined powers of the English language, and the works of learned men were composed in the Latin. From the pure and perfect models which had been embalmed to perpetuity in a dead language, more permanent and systematic forms of literature were to arise, in the very period at which we are arrived : Virgil and Tully sat like the ruddy and golden clouds on the edge of dawn, while the earth lay yet in a glimmering obscurity. In the university of Dublin, by far the most honourable and illustrious incident in the history of the age, this state of things may be considered as fairly represented : as it is now on the advance of human knowledge, so it then possessed the best knowledge proper to the date of its founda-

tion; though this indeed was little more than the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, with the logic and rhetoric of the schools. The only knowledge besides these which could be said to offer any scope to a student like Usher, were theology and history. But of these, it is to be observed that neither of them had been yet exhumed from the imperfect, scattered, abstruse and ponderous mass of voluminous or impracticable reservoirs, in which they lay buried. They had not been dug from the mine of antiquity, and reduced into academical order: to effect this, and embody materials for the student, was the work of Usher, Stillingfleet, and a host of laborious and gifted contemporaries, and successors, from their time down to that of our illustrious countrymen, Magee and Graves.

Again, the mathematical sciences, which, expanded as they now are to the utmost powers and capacities of human reason; and embracing in their grasp all realities below revelation, had little existence beyond their forms and principles; and these but cumbrously and inadequately developed. They must have attracted, but could not satisfy an intellect that tended to results; as manifesting the clearest and most satisfactory exemplifications and exercises of reasoning, they could not fail to become a temporary discipline or entertainment; but they terminated in comparatively slight results and common uses—they did not lead as now, to the temple of divine power and wisdom, and open to the wonder and curiosity, the illimitable heights and depths of the creation. The far-searching and subtle resources of transcendental science were profoundly concealed; the superb structure of reason, observation, and mechanical skill, which makes astronomy the triumph of human intelligence, was but in its dilatory foundations; the wondrous results of electro-magnetism, and of physical optics, with a host of brilliant and useful applications, of which the very names are additions to language, and which make the realities of modern science more wonderful than the fictions of old magic—had no existence then. They are the results of the intellectual labour and genius of after-times, and the light and glory of our modern universities.

From this summary sketch, it is easy to pass to the consideration of the natural direction which the genius of Usher would be likely to receive from the state of knowledge in his time. Naturally addicted to the pursuit of truth, and rather constituted for research than invention, he followed that broad track on which the best and most practical intellect of his day was sure to be impelled. It is stated, in the dedication of his work on the British Churches, that he was first determined to the study of history by his admiration of a passage in Cicero, "*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit est semper esse puerum,*" and having Sleidan, as already mentioned, at the same time put into his hands, he determined to devote his study to antiquities. We can ourselves well recollect the impression made on an intelligent youthful assembly of students in Dublin University, by a judicious citation of Cicero's remark.*

* The Historical Society, a spontaneous shoot of the university, more clearly marking, than anything we can here say, the real working of that great and solid institution. It was the exuberant overflow of its instructed intelligence, and such

The first stone of the university of Dublin was laid in 1591: in two years after it was ready for the reception of students. On the admission of students, in 1593, James Usher was one of three who matriculated, and his name stands first on that roll which may be regarded as the chronology of Ireland's progress in learning. Loftus, in a memoir of whom we have already given some account of the foundation, was appointed first provost. Hamilton, one of Usher's masters, was also appointed a fellow, to the great advantage of his pupil. When he entered college, Usher had reached his thirteenth year: he took his degree of Bachelor in 1596. The interval was creditably marked by its fruits. Before he had more than completed his sixteenth year, he had already drawn up the plan and chief materials of his "Annals of the Old and New Testament." Thus, from the very foundation of the university, may be said to have emanated a great work, which laid the solid foundation of chronology. The Bible he was wont to call the Book of books; and considered it as containing the true rule of life,—a sentiment which, though unquestionably involved in the profession of a Christian faith, as being directly inculcated in the Bible itself, yet either then or now, practically recognised by few. Few, indeed, there are, who, like James Usher, take upon them the example of the Son of God in the wilderness, who met every wile of Satan with an answer from the word of Scripture.

But Usher lived in a day when the follower of Christ was to be assailed, not only by those trials which address themselves to the ordinary frailties of the human heart. His church was in a state of controversy, and invested by no slight array of the hosts of spiritual darkness. It was especially necessary that a scholar, whose knowledge and zeal were so eminent, should be ready to give an answer for his faith. This truth was the more feelingly pressed on the mind of Usher by the state of religious profession in his own family. His maternal relations were members of the Church of Rome, and his uncle, Richard Stanyhurst, was a man of distinguished talent. As there are proofs extant of the anxiety of the family, and especially of Stanyhurst, to prevail on their young relative to conform to their creed, it may with certainty be inferred, that numerous efforts for the purpose must have been made, and that conversations of a controversial nature must frequently have taken place. Such a position—and in Ireland most protestants have more or less experienced it in their circle of friends, if not among their kindred and connexions—would naturally impart to the zealous temper some direction towards such

as, if justly considered, to exhibit to the reflecting spirit the true essential tendencies of the course of instruction adopted by the university. On this ill-understood question we should be happy to make some remarks; but on consideration we abstain. There is too much to be replied to, and too much to be explained. One remark we must make: they who have fully availed themselves of the prescribed course of academical discipline, are never found wanting in whatever knowledge their position requires. The occasion to which we have above referred, was one of the annual addresses from the chair. It was delivered by Mr Sidney Taylor, since an eminent member of the English press and bar; but whose advance in his profession is far below the just expectation which his high endowments had raised among those who knew him best.

investigations as might best supply the means of defence. In the case of Usher, this motive was quickened by incidents: his uncle was not only in the habit of holding disputations with him, but there is evidence that he even studied and made extensive notes for these: among his writings occurs the title, "*Brevis premonitio pro futurâ concertatione cum Jacobo Ussero.*" But these facts are the worthier of our notice here, because it was from this very controversy with his uncle, that his mind and studies received their immediate colour. He was yet engaged in his under-graduate course, when his uncle, still anxious to serve him according to his own views, gave him to read, "*Stapleton's Fortress of the Faith,*" the object of which is stated to have been the proof of the catholic antiquity of the Church of Rome—a fortunate incident, as in this controversy, it is the only question which is likely to lead to a decided issue. Points of doctrine will, until mankind changes, ever afford latitude for clouds of evasive rhetoric, the subtle fallacies of language, easy misunderstandings of isolated texts of scripture, and the wilful sophistry that appeals to ignorance. The antiquity of the church of Rome, considered with reference to its doctrines, pretensions, and constitution, &c., is a point of historical fact; excluding ignorance, prejudice, and metaphysics, and referring the question to the ever competent tribunal of testimony; and in the instance before us such was the result. Usher, on the perusal of this work, quickly resolved to refer to the only direct testimony on the point, and diligently engaged in the study of the Fathers—a study which we earnestly wish that the more zealous students of every Christian profession would cultivate; and the more, because these voluminous and recondite writings are liable to a perversion from the dishonest controversialist, from which they would be thus in a manner protected. Relying on the common ignorance, such persons have occasionally thought that it did no dishonour to their profession to support it by the most fraudulent and disingenuous quotations, in which these ancient writers have been made to support the very contradictory of their actual opinions.

Long before he had thus arrayed himself from the armory of antiquity; but strong in the surer panoply described by St Paul, and well-versed in the resources of academic disputation, James Usher, though yet but in his 19th year, was ready to meet the most formidable adversary. At this time, the learned Jesuit, Henry Fitz-Symonds, was, according to the barbarous policy of the day, confined in the castle of Dublin: he complained that, "being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him:" the words being repeated, were generally understood to convey a challenge. Usher had at the time attained a high collegiate reputation; his learning and controversial skill, his faculty of language, and the peculiar direction of his studies were known, and every eye was turned upon him, as a fitting champion for the church. The parties met; Usher waited on the Jesuit, and they agreed upon the selection of three topics from the controversies of Bellarmine, and the first topic chosen was concerning the antichrist. On the result there are several statements; we shall, therefore, only place before the reader the most authentic means from which a probable opinion may be with much confidence arrived at—

Usher's letter to the Jesuit. It is as follows:—"I was not purposed (Mr Fitz-Symonds) to write unto you before you had first written to me, concerning some chief points of your religion, (*as at our last meeting promised,*) but seeing you have deferred the same, (for reasons best known to yourself,) I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind, concerning the *continuance of the conference begun* betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from him, who in my presence pretended so great a love and affection unto me. If I am a boy, (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me,) I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister unto you no occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is in your own conceit a weaver's beam, and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the Hosts of Israel, and therefore (like the Philistine) you contemn me as being a boy; yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor now do come unto you, in any confidence of learning that is in me, (in which, nevertheless, I thank God I am what I am,) but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, (whose companies you have reproached,) being certainly persuaded that, even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, he is able to show forth his own praise; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that (setting aside all vain comparisons of persons), we may go plainly forward, in examining the matters in controversy between us; otherwise, I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also for my own part may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess, freely to make known whatever hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you, in a few lines, to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, and, praying the Lord, that both this, and all other enterprises we take in hand, may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of his Son, Jesus Christ.

"Tuus ad aras usque,

JAMES USHER."

The inference from this letter is decisive and peremptory. Considering the respective characters of the parties, there can be no doubt of the fact that Fitz-Symonds, of whose mission truth formed no part, dealt disingenuously, to ward aside the imputation of having slunk from the contest. In the preface to his "*Britonomachia*," he endeavours to transfer this disgrace to his youthful adversary; but his insinuations are inconsistent with the authentic statement contained in the document above cited. The statement of the missionary is yet valuable for the graphic glimpse it affords us of the person and manner of Usher at the period:—"There came to me once a youth, of about eighteen years of age, of a ripe wit, when scarce as you would think gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute on the most abstruse points of divinity;" but when he tells his reader, with reference to the same incident, "he did not again deem me worthy of his presence," we must at once discern the

anxious purpose of misrepresentation. He afterwards saw and acknowledged the weight of Usher's character as a scholar, in a compliment of no slight value from a Jesuit of his day, having in one of his works called him "*Acatholicorum doctissimus*."

In 1599, a public act was held in college, for the entertainment of the earl of Essex, who came over in April that year as lord-lieutenant. Such exhibitions, in the palmy days of scholastic art, when the jejune pedantry of the categories stood yet high among the accomplishments of the scholar, were objects of fashionable interest; the tilt of wordy weapons between two distinguished doctors was a display as attractive to the cumbrous gaiety of that pedantic age, as the rival strains of Pasta and Grisi are now to ears polite. As the pomps of feudal chivalry, these formidable solemnities of the schools have left their forms behind, like antique carving on the structure of our time-built institutions: but then, these acts were far from idle form. No commencing undergraduate then stood conscious of absurdity, under the smile of the proctor, vainly trying to decypher his paper of syllogisms, the wholesale ware of some garret in Botany Bay, and retailed by the jobber of caps and gowns. Then the youthful disputant stood up ponderously mailed in the whole armour of Ramus and Scotus. Here Usher was at home, a champion at all weapons ever forged from the mine of Aristotle to perplex the reason of the world for half-a-dozen centuries: and in the character of Respondent, won approbation from the polished and graceful courtier of Elizabeth.

Such distinctions must have awakened high hopes of future eminence among his friends. His father, himself an eminent legal functionary, naturally saw in the distinguished university reputation of his son, the promise of forensic fame, and high judicial preferment. But young Usher's tastes led to a different end. The love of real knowledge, once thoroughly attained, is sure to repel the dry and barren labour of a purely artificial system, which, notwithstanding its vast practical utility, is but remotely connected with knowledge, and leads to no permanent truth. The maxims of law, resulting from expediency, contemplate but narrowly and obscurely those primary principles in human nature, from which the expediency is itself the consequence; and in our first acquaintance with the rules of practice, the reason is frequently shocked by numerous instances, which indicate the feebleness and darkness of the connexion. Even the rules of evidence, by their purpose necessarily connected with the truth of things, are cramped in legal practice, so as to exhibit an imperfect, and sometimes erroneous view of the laws of probability. To an intellect fitted by its breadth and depth to explore more spacious realms of research, the subtlety, compactness, and precision of such a science, could not be a compensation for such wants: Usher must, from the nature of his acquirements, be supposed to have looked with infinite distaste on a field of exertion, in which the powers which could investigate the depths of time and event, might be exhausted on the validity of a doubtful title or a paltry question of personal right. He did not, however, question the wishes of his father, who fortunately died before any decision could severely test his filial obedience.

The death of his father left him free, and possessed of a respectable

fortune, with which most men would have been not unreasonably content to relinquish the hopes with the toils of professional life; and few indeed would have taken the high unselfish course of Usher. Having set apart a moderate portion for his own wants, and to supply him with the books necessary for the course of study to which he felt himself pledged, the remainder he disposed of for the maintenance of his sisters and brother.

In 1600, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was elected proctor and catechetical lecturer of the university. The distinguished manner in which he discharged the duty of an office for which he was in every way so peculiarly fitted, added to his reputation, and confirmed the election of his course and calling. Another step to his advancement offered at the same time. The reader is already aware of the ill-provided condition of the church in Ireland at that dark period. A want of preachers made it necessary to select three young men from among the students of Trinity College, to preach in the cathedral of Christ Church, before the lord-lieutenant. Richardson, Walsh, and Usher were chosen. To Usher was allotted the afternoon sermon, the subject of which rendered it then an object of the most attractive interest, as it was controversial, and intended to satisfy the members of the Romish communion on the errors of their church; and in this he was so successful that many were brought over to the church. In his catechetical lectures he also made it his business to explain the main articles of the protestant churches, as distinguished from those of the church of Rome. In the previous year, the people of this communion had, under a fine of twelve pence, been compelled to attend divine service in the churches, by virtue of a clause in the act of uniformity. The enactment was at this time enforced, in consequence of the alarms caused by Tyrone's rebellion, and the rumour, not quite unfounded, of a massacre which was designed to follow the victory, if gained by Don Juan. The defeat of this unfortunate leader in 1601, tended greatly both to quiet the apprehensions of the protestants, and to impart a more willing and cheerful feeling of acquiescence among the papists. To render the measure effective, the Dublin clergy were directed to arrange their Sunday duties so as to have a sermon adapted to the purpose of their instruction, at each church, on the afternoon of every Sunday.

Usher was among the most active in this service; having, in the interval, been admitted into holy orders by his uncle the primate. This was, in some measure, in opposition to his own inclination, as he was unwilling to enter prematurely on the sacred calling, before he had attained the lawful age; but the necessity of the time, and his ripeness of attainment, made it plainly desirable; and he yielded to the urgency of his friends. A special dispensation was therefore obtained for the purpose. He seems, however, to have confined his ministration to the pulpit, justly sensible that the part which he had allotted to him in the Christian church, was wider and more permanent than the essentially confined range of duties which are allotted to the parish clergyman. Not, indeed, we feel it necessary to add, that these latter have less vital and essential importance: the defence of the faith—the integrity of Christian doctrine—the constituted authority and dis-

cipline of the church—are but the outward system of that great interest of souls, of which the faithful cure is the vital and essential use and practical end. But there is yet a great distinction: though the ablest development of genius and scholarship that ever yet appeared in the form of a book, cannot, in intrinsic worth, be weighed against the salvation of a soul, yet it is a false estimate, and founded on a vulgar fallacy, that would weigh these results in the scale of opposition. It is enough that the book is wanting, and fills a necessary place in the whole system of the ecclesiastical edifice. The humblest and commonest talents are, by the blessing of God, when rightly directed by proper preparation, and the co-operation of grace, fully competent to perform all that human effort can do in the cure of souls. The encounter with the infidel, the heretic, and the schismatic, demand rare and singular powers and attainments, only the result of long and secluded study and intellectual training. Such faculties, and such capabilities, when they occur, are not to be inappropriately expended on the work that wants not labourers; but to be sedulously devoted to the purpose for which, it is to be presumed, from the known economy of God, they are designed. God is to be served with the best powers of the mind, applied in their most effective mode of exertion. Nor, unless on the presumed opinion that men like Usher are the mere result of chance, can it be presumed that they act in conformity with any view of the divine will, when they resign their peculiar gifts, and take those parts in which they are, indeed, often inferior to ordinary men.

We have already noticed, with the requisite fulness, the political condition of the times, and it is a topic to which we would not willingly return. To an intellect like that of Usher, it must have conveyed clearer indications of its tendencies, than to understandings of ordinary gauge. Men most conversant with affairs seldom have sufficiently the power of just generalization, to look beyond immediate consequences; they are sunk in the complication of detail; and small things, from their nearness, obstruct the mental vision. But the historical intellect soon learns to look on large processes moving in the distance of time, and like the far-sighted vision of astronomy, as compared with common observation, to separate the true motions from the apparent. It is to an impression originating in such habits of mind, that we are inclined to attribute the curious facts connected with Usher's sermon in 1601, in which he applied a prophecy of Ezekiel's to the politics of Ireland. His text was Ezekiel iv. 6:—"Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days. I have appointed thee each day for a year;" which he applied to his own country in that remarkable expression, "From this year I reckon forty years, and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." As Usher claimed no inspiration, and as the prophecy is, by the admission of all, misapplied, the coincidence might therefore be deemed accidental; and unless we presume some unconscious interposition of divine power, not very likely on the occasion or in the manner, it must be admitted to be partly so. But we have no doubt of the real nature and true source of the impression, from which Usher was so led to apply the prophecy; an application which, we must confess, raises our wonder not

the less, from our opinion of its fallacy; for it strongly shows the force with which Usher's intellect was impressed by the actual indications from which, while they were beyond ordinary sight, he derived the impression. Nor, making this allowance, does the actual error in the least abate our respect for his critical character; for if the reader will consider the phenomena in that case present to Usher's observation—a church largely intertangled with, and affecting the visible church of Christ, and a nation peculiarly the scene of a great conflict, arising from that connexion, and then looking on the prophecies, as tracing by anticipation the whole history of the Christian church—it is no wonder that so vast a working as he saw, and so dreadful a crisis as he anticipated, should seem to be foreshadowed in a prophecy so aptly coincident. The force of Usher's impression, and perhaps, also, the clearness of his observation, is enforced by further testimony from Bernard's life:—"What a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country I can witness, that from the year 1629, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the time every year, the more confident, to my often wonder and admiration, there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it." Even in the widest grasp of human powers, we can find illustrations of the narrowness of our discernment. To see more fully the common want of political foresight in the actual conduct of political affairs, "with how little wisdom the world is governed," a better example cannot indeed be found than in the whole policy of that age. The government was assuredly equally injudicious in its mercies and severities to the church of Rome in Ireland.

It was in the year 1603, that the English army in Ireland, desirous to establish some appropriate memorial of their success over the domestic and foreign foes of Ireland in the battle of Kinsale, subscribed with that intent £1800, and appropriated it to the library of Trinity College, Dublin. For the outlay of this munificent subscription to the true interests of the country, Usher, with two fellows of the university, were commissioned to visit London; and thus was opened, in fact, a new era in his life. London then, as since, the real centre of human attainment, must have opened a wide field of interest, of which inadequate conceptions can now be formed, when literature is universally diffused, and the ends of the civilized world are virtually nearer than the limits of the British isles were then. Then books were few, knowledge rare, and genius moved "separate as a star," through the surrounding intellectual vacuity and darkness. While Usher and his colleagues were in London, it chanced that Sir Thomas Bodley* was there in the same pursuit: and it is stated, that he contributed to their object by valuable advice, such as his local information and habitual acquaintance with that avocation might be supposed to afford. "It is a pleasing reflection," observes bishop

* Sir Thomas Bodley was a native of Exeter: he received his education at Geneva, and in Oxford. He was much employed by queen Elizabeth, on embassies chiefly. He is worthy of memory for having re-built the library of Oxford University, and bequeathed his fortune to maintain it: he died in 1612, in the 68th year of his age.

Mant,* “to the members of the two universities in aftertimes, as it was to the delegates of each at the time, that the Bodleian library of Oxford, and the library of the university of Dublin, designed as they were, each in its respective place, to be the instruments of disseminating sound religion and useful learning over the church and empire, began together with an interchange of mutual kind offices.”

On his return, Usher was promoted to the chancellorship of St Patrick’s by his early friend Loftus, then archbishop of Dublin. He thus acquired the means of enlarging his own collection of books, with the valuable experience derived from his recent employment. The cure of Finglas was attached to his office in the cathedral, and he applied himself to the diligent discharge of its duty, by preaching in the parish church every Sunday. His natural and characteristic liberality was in this also, shown in a provision for the future discharge of the same duties, by endowing the vicarage of Finglas.

In 1607, Camden came to Dublin to collect materials for the description of Dublin, afterwards published in the last edition of his *Britannia*: in the conclusion of this description, his obligations to Usher are acknowledged, where he attributes his information chiefly to “the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of St Patrick’s, who in various learning and judgment, far exceeds his years.”

In the same year, having taken his degree of bachelor of divinity, he was then at the age of twenty-six appointed professor of divinity to the university, an office which he filled with credit and extensive usefulness for the next thirteen years. His lectures were directed by the consideration of the spiritual and doctrinal necessities of the age, and with still more especial relation to Ireland. The work of a lecturer in divinity, was then, in some respects, such as to task more severely the memory and theological scholarship as well as the controversial abilities of the lecturer. There were then none of those well-digested compendiums containing the history and exposition of every question and controversy from the beginning, which now adorn the country curate’s shelf, and make knowledge easy: the materials of instruction were to be gathered from the vast chaos of antiquity, which may be aptly dignified with the character of *rudis indigestaque moles*. The age was then but recently beginning to emerge from the unprofitable logomachy of school divinity—the *vox et præterea nihil* of the brethren of St Dominic and St Francis—of Scotists and Thomists, and all the motley and metaphysical fraternities within the comprehensive unity of the see of Rome. The theology of the middle ages had rejected alike the authority of Scripture, and of the scriptural expositors of the early churches:—the facts which might have been unmanageable, the authorities, which could hardly be subtilized away by the eloquence of Aquinas, or darkened by the logical distinctions of our countryman Scotus, had been by common consent laid aside, and consequently forgotten. It was the pride and policy of the schools to maintain their theological tenets on the basis of first principles, and by the powers of reason, with a subtilty competent to maintain any con-

* Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

tradition. But the Reformation had brought back the war of tongues from the verge of the seventeenth century, to the documents and authority of the early church. A broad glow of morning light was opening fast upon the swamps and labyrinths of the human intellect: and other weapons were become necessary to meet and encounter the palpable and formidable realities which were obtruding themselves upon Europe; these were no longer to be obscured by the mere phantasmagoria of human ignorance, or knocked aside by the jarring perversions of Greek philosophy. Yet how far the reformers were to be directly encountered at their own weapons, was yet questionable in the judgment of a policy which has seldom been far diverted from prudence by any dogmatical predilection. In this nice emergency the order of Jesuits arose, with a new organization, to meet the dangers of the time. This illustrious order, though early and without intermission exposed to the hatred of the Benedictines and Dominicans, soon added as largely to the power and extent of the papal domains, as their rivals by their ignorance and other demerits had lost; and though fiercely attacked by the resentment of these rivals, were soon found so effective in their resistance, so subtle and dexterous in their use of means, that it was observed, that even when defeated in the controversy, they contrived to keep possession of the field. Of this order, cardinal Bellarmine, yet living while Usher held his professorship, was then the most conspicuous for ability and learning. There however seems to have belonged to this great man a vein of hardy moral frankness, more consistent with his strong and clear understanding, than with the interests of that great power of which he was the most illustrious champion. It had been among the ruling principles of that great power, not to allow too close an inspection into its fundamental authorities and credentials: and when forced from the hold of politic reserve, it was possessed of unnumbered outlets for evasion in the consecrated obscurity of its retreats: and what the manœuvring of a well-matured system of controversial strategy could not effect, other resources of a more tangible kind were ready to secure. In a controversy, thus conducted as it had till then been, rather by policy or force than by the weapons of reason, and more by evasion than by direct defence, the difficulty was to bring the adversary upon fair ground. The confidence of Bellarmine, founded as it was, on the consciousness of strong reason, and great native fairness of temper, afforded an advantage not to be recalled. He published an extensive and voluminous treatise on the several controversies which had then arisen between the church of Rome and its adversaries the Protestant churches. In these volumes, this illustrious Frenchman threw aside the flimsy but safe resources which had so long been the bulwarks and battlements of human error, and ventured to collect and state the arguments of the protestant divines fairly, and without any important abatement of their force. These he answered with eloquence and skill; such as, indeed, to render his work no unfair representation of the facts and intrinsic value of the cause of which he was the ablest and most respectable supporter. This achievement was, however, far more effective in drawing upon him the force of the adversary, than winning the approbation of his friends. The pontiffs shrunk aghast from a

work in which with more practical wisdom than the great Jesuit, they saw the real effects to be so far from the intention: and he was then and after censured by more politic doctors of his church.

It was by means of this inadvertent honesty of the great leading controversialist of his own day, and Romish authority since, that Usher was enabled to perform the master-stroke of bringing an adversary into court. The infelicitous boldness of the cardinal offered many of the most important questions, fixed beyond the subtle tergiversations and evasive shifts of polemical dexterity. To what extent Usher actually availed himself of this advantage, so judiciously seized, we cannot discover. It is certain that he went very far in labouring on a favourite topic, of which it will now be generally admitted, that it occupied the time of more profitable questions. The fallacy of the effort to identify Antichrist with the Pope has exercised the ingenuity and learning of later divines, but may now be considered at rest: we should be sorry to disturb its repose; but having long ago read much controversy upon the subject, we must venture so far in behalf of our professor, as to say, that the mistake was one not well to be avoided, as its detection has in fact been the result of further discoveries of subsequent commentators, by which the characteristics assigned to one prophetic person, have been since divided between two. Though the fulfilment of the prophecies has been clearly shown to be accurate to a degree which has proved prophecy to be a rigidly faithful anticipation of history,* yet in no instance has anything to be called precision or even near resemblance been attained in the interpretations of unfulfilled prophecy. Of the failure of human interpretations the Jewish history offers one sad and notorious example, though the prophecies of Daniel were least liable to misapprehension.

It was during the period of his professorship, that he is mentioned to have written a "digest of the canons of the universal church," a work which has never been published, though still extant in MS. As we can conceive the scope and execution of such a work, there could be none more laborious in the performance, or more universally salutary in its uses.

In 1609, Usher again visited England in the quest of books: his general reception, the gratifying intercourse with persons of learning and genius, the various opportunities of extending his acquaintance with authors and men; and last, in all probability, the obvious circumstance, that there lay the great high road to fame and preferment, which though secondary objects to men like Usher, cannot be overlooked altogether without some obliquity in the understanding: all these so far interested and attracted him, that his visits to England were afterwards periodically repeated. On these occasions he seems to have evidently made the most of his time; a month at each of the universities, and a month in London, was but enough to satisfy the moral and intellectual craving which had accumulated in the mental seclusion of three years, and to maintain the kindness and respect

* The reader is referred to Mr Keith's two works on the Prophecies, in which this point is proved with a clearness, precision, and fulness, which leaves nothing wanting of certainty.

due to such a distinguished visitor. On these occasions, it may be superfluous to add, that in each place every collection of books was freely opened to his curiosity; and wherever there was learning or talent, he was eagerly sought and enthusiastically received. Just before the visit here particularly referred to, he had composed a dissertation inquiring into the origin and foundation of certain estates, supposed to be derived from the church in early times. These were the *termon* or *Tearmuin*, privileged lands, which though held by laymen, were exempted from taxation, and subject only to certain dues to bishops or ecclesiastical corporations, from or under whom they were originally supposed to be held. Concerning the precise origin of this tenure, there is yet much ground for dispute. Nor after perusing many statements, should we venture to decide whether the lands in question were possessed in virtue of an original right reserved in the patrons, or an usurpation founded on the abuse of an ecclesiastical office originally administrative simply, or on the encroachments of power under the pretext of protection. The question at that time became important, by reason of the poverty of the sees and endowments of the Irish church, and the anxiety of the king to secure the foundations of the settlement of Ulster—the only real prospect of Irish improvement—by giving extended influence and efficacy to the church. Usher took that view of a difficult subject, which was most favourable to these important views: and to those who weigh the command of authorities, with which he treated the subject, and consider the high integrity and sound judgment of Usher, it will appear that he was as sincere in his inference, as his object was in itself important and beneficent: to him the extension of the church appeared, as it was, an inestimable interest: on this point his zeal is known. But we think that every essential step of his inquiry is encumbered with doubtful questions: and we are by no means inclined to coincide in the sweeping application, by which the ancient estates of ecclesiastical foundations were to be resumed, in favour of king James's churches and sees. Whatever be the true history of the *Tearmuin*, the disputants, ancient and recent, overlook a great principle, which is the foundation of all rights,—prescription: which after a certain lapse of time fixes the right without regard to the manner of its acquisition. This principle, however, may operate in contrary directions, at periods remote from each other: and considering this, the writers who would resist Usher's conclusion, with a view to present right, have perhaps overlooked the principle which makes the discussion nugatory. The property was to be resumed, on the ground that it was still *de jure* ecclesiastical: and the argument could only be met by maintaining some species of usurpation. On this latter supposition, there would be undoubtedly, in the days of James I., a prescription in favour of the persons who were immemorially in possession: but the resumption would in a few generations, by a parity of reasoning, take the place of the original wrong; and the actual right in being become as fixed as that before it. And hence it is, that we see no reason for now going at large into an argument in which the antiquary alone can have any concern. Nevertheless, as the reader may be curious to learn some particulars of the facts of

this question, we shall, without undertaking to do more than our authorities, mention a few of the leading points.

In ancient times we learn from Giraldus and other antiquarian writers, that the endowments of the ancient abbeys and churches fell under the care or protection of their powerful lay neighbours. In times when rights were uncertain and feebly guarded, and when arbitrary proceedings and usurpations constituted rather the rule than the exception, protection, naturally subject to abuse, stole into encroachment, and encroachment into usurpation: the ecclesiastical lands became gradually the possession of the laymen, by whom they were protected and administered, subject to a certain proportion, we believe a third, for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical corporation: and prescription, the mother of right, confirmed this species of estate. The lay proprietor thus constituted, did not, however, suffer any lapse of the privileges attendant upon the original tenure, and the property thus held retained the ecclesiastical privilege of being exempted from taxation. It was thus, according to some antiquarians, called *termon* or *privileged*; in Usher's words, "tearmuin is used in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary." He seems to think the word may have been "borrowed by the Irish, as many other words are, from the Latin, *terminus*, by reason that such privileged places were commonly designed by special marks and bounds: *Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se.*" So far this ancient state of things is tolerably free from any essential difficulty; but from this so many nice differences exist between antiquarian writers, that we should exhaust pages in endeavouring to cast the balance between them, without after all arriving at any certainty. The holders of the estates above described were called Corban and Eirenach, which latter were inferior in dignity. The Corban, it seems agreed, were sometimes lay and sometimes clerical; but the times and other circumstances are liable to question. We believe the rationale to be this; that in the primitive signification, the words implied certain ecclesiastical offices and dignities connected with the estates, and by an easy and natural transition passing with them into a lay character. The Eirenach were, by the admission of most antiquarians, the archdeacons whose office it was to administer the estates of the church. Concerning the Corbes there is more difficulty: but it is clear, that they were at times lay and at times ecclesiastical; and also that they were persons who held some right in the estates of bishoprics and abbeys. Usher is accused of confounding them with Chorepiscopi, who were monks raised to the episcopal order, without the ecclesiastical power, province, or temporal dignity and estate. The Corban, as well as we can understand writers who have themselves no very clear understanding on the subject, come so nearly to the same thing, that the dispute as to their difference, may well be called *de lana caprina*: according to those learned writers who would make this weighty distinction, they were *successors* to ecclesiastical dignities, and it is further admitted that they were possessed of the estates of the dignitaries in subsequent times, when it is testified by Colgan, that they were mostly laymen. Now considering these premises, we think that the writers who would convict Usher of having

confused these ancient offices, have proceeded on very slight and not absolutely authoritative grounds. It must, however, be admitted, that these offices were not absolutely in their whole extent identical at any time, from the impossibility of the thing. And it must be allowed, that the Corbans were mostly laymen in the time of Colgan, who deposes to the fact. But in reasoning back to their earlier history, we should in the absence of more minute information, incline to agree with Usher's notion, granting it to be insufficiently guarded. The importance of the point then was that it evidently tended to establish the ecclesiastical character of estates vested in the Corban. But we are led beyond our purpose.

As we have said, the difficulties experienced by the king in the ecclesiastical settlement of Ireland, were increased by the conflicting claims of different parties, lay and ecclesiastical: while the clergy put in their claim to considerable portions of his grants. The lay lords possessed, and would, if they were suffered, have held with a firm gripe the lands of the church: according to the king's complaint, "he found the estate of the bishoprics in Ulster much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops; partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords made to the church's patrimony within their countries, thereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and the place of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts."*

The condition of the livings, and of the churches, was equally deplorable. To remedy this state of the Irish church, the king ordered a general restitution of these possessions, and that such lands as could be ascertained to have been ecclesiastical, should be restored. At the same time, he ordered that composition should be offered those who held abbey lands, or sites belonging to cathedrals, or other episcopal property. Or in such cases, where a fair equivalent should be refused, that the patents should be vacated by a regular process: in this, proceeding on the not unwarranted assumption of the illegality of the patent. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were engaged to give up their impropriations and their tithes, in consideration of a full equivalent from the crown lands.†

Usher's discourse, which, with great force of reason, and a copious pile of authentic proof, appeared satisfactorily to clear the fact on which the entire arrangement was reposed as its principle of decision, could not fail to be acceptable to the king, who alone is responsible for the application. It was presented by Bancroft, and received with approbation. And such was its importance deemed, that it was translated

* Carte, I. 17

† Carte, Leland, Mant.

into Latin by the celebrated antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, in whose glossary it was published.

In 1611, when he had attained his 30th year, he was offered the situation of provost in the university. In the infancy of this noble institution, neither the emolument nor dignity of an office which has since, in dignity at least, risen to a level approaching that of the episcopal chair, could be considered as offering a fair compensation for the sacrifice of learned pursuits, of which the extent, interest, and importance, were enough to exact all the time which could be so appropriated; and Usher was independent of the consideration of emolument, so that his refusal may be considered nearly as a consequence. The reader may justly consider the claims of literature at any time, or under any circumstances, insufficient to excuse the refusal of so important a duty; and as an excuse, little reconcilable with the sacred calling, we might refer to the remarks already made in this memoir. But we notice such an objection here to recall the fact, that in Usher's time religion and literature were nearly commensurate; the taste of the age was theology—a fact on which, were we engaged in the history of England or Scotland, we should feel compelled to take a wide range, for the purpose of tracing its vast effects as a political element. Here we need only say, that the structure of our ecclesiastical foundations was still incomplete; and the obscurity of a rude age was filled by a vast mass of floating controversies which embroiled church and state, and finally rushed together like conflicting torrents in the abyss of the civil wars: but the reader will more appropriately recollect the palpable fact of that struggle between adverse churches, on which the fate of his own country then depended: these, and many such considerations, on which we forbear to enter, will convey some sense of the strong leading influences which overruled the course of one who has many claims to be placed high among the most eminent controversial writers of his time. That as a controversialist, such a position may be assigned to Usher, will be admitted on the authority of Milton, who mentions him with bishop Andrews, as the ablest of his opponents in the controversy on Episcopacy.

Of this portion of the eventful life of Usher, we find scanty notices of any personal interest. The growing reputation of the polemic and scholar, is indelibly traced by monuments of toil and genius, and this is doubtless as it should be: such men live in their studies, and survive in their works.

In 1613 he took his degree of D.D., on which occasion he preached his two sermons on Dan. ix. 24, and Rev. xx. 4. These were probably discourses on the topics which they obviously suggest—topics in every way accordant with Usher's views and qualifications, leading as they do into the depths of church history, and largely abounding with the materials for the controversies then most agitated. Of this a reasonable conjecture may be formed from the subject of a great work which he commenced, and in part published in the same year, being his first treatise on the state and succession of the christian churches: a work of great reach and compass, in which, commencing from the termination of the first six centuries, an interval on which

Jewel had perhaps left nothing material unsaid, he showed that a visible church of Christ has always existed, independent of the church of Rome, and untainted with its errors: and that the British islands did not derive their christianity from that church. In the course of his argument, he gives a full and satisfactory account of the Waldenses;—his exposition of the prophecies, as bearing on the history of the christian church, is not in some respects such as to harmonize with the views of modern expositors. This, assuming him to be in this respect erroneous, demands no deduction from our estimate of Usher: the ablest minds have gone astray in the mysterious depths of revelations, which, in a few brief verses, comprehend the events of unborn ages: the dissent of the most powerful and gifted intellects which have enlightened the church, proves how little human faculties can cope with a subject which might have been more plainly delivered, if it were designed to be more surely read. We cannot venture to speak of the quantum of truth or error in the doctrines of the able writers on such a subject as the Millenarian controversy, and this is not the place to express our own views on any topic of controversy. But we ought to observe, that as vast lapses of time are in the Almighty mind compressed into minute points; so on the contrary, in the bounded comprehension of human thought, a little time with its events are expanded into a compass and an importance inordinately large; and thus it seems to have happened that the human mind has in every age been disposed so to narrow the prophetic periods as to conclude the wide drama of time, with the events of the existing age. Of this, there could not indeed be a better illustration than the delusions of the world in every age on the subject of the Millennium, which has always been a dazzling but retreating vision to human enthusiasm. In Usher's expositions on the subject there was undoubtedly none of this alloy; but there was a strong controversial zeal, which found in such views an important accession to his argument. It was, undoubtedly, an adjunct of no slight efficacy against the church of Rome, to find the close of the Millennium with its concurrent events in the eleventh century. In a few years more, this argument might have served a different end. The Millennium has ever been a snare to the passions and imagination: unable to rise to the conception of spiritual objects, men too often make an effort to bring down the promises of divine revelation to the level of their senses; and the passions seldom fail to steal in and give their own carnal colouring to the picture. To the truth of this representation, many a dark page in church history bears witness. Usher lived to see an awful example, how such vain and sinful adulterations of divine truth might become an awful ingredient in the caldron of human crime and wrath, when the fifth-monarchy men, in the frenzy of no holy fanaticism, rushed knee-deep in blood and blasphemy to realize their dream of the saints' reign on earth.

Usher's work was presented by Abbot to the king, to whom it was dedicated. The king had himself, some years before, written a book to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, and was highly pleased with the presentation. The main line of argument is one which the labour of after-time has not deprived of its value, either by successful rivalry or opposition. The proof, that there have existed in every age, churches,

founded on the doctrine and testimony of scripture, independent of and opposed in vain by the Roman see, remains beyond the reach of controversy. Many able modern writers have taken up this important subject, and it is one which cannot be too often brought forward by such writers as maintain the side of protestantism. But little can be said that Usher has left unsaid. The work was only pursued to the fourteenth century: in a letter, written some years after, he mentions his intention to complete it, on the appearance of his uncle Stanyhurst's work in answer to the first part, then sent to be printed in Paris. This intention was never carried into effect, it is said owing to the loss of his papers in the confusion of the rebellion.

In this year Usher married the daughter of his old friend Chaloner. This marriage had been earnestly desired by Chaloner, who is said to have expressed the wish in his last will. Both parties were inclined conformably to a desire which was founded on his anxiety for the happiness of his daughter, and his deep impression of the worth and sterling value of his friend. The marriage was celebrated, and we believe added essentially to the happiness of both.

The next affair in which Usher appears to have taken a part, which strongly indicates the rising ascendancy of his character, demands notice also by reason of its importance in the history of the Irish church. From the first introduction of the reformation into Ireland, there had formally at least been a strict agreement of doctrine and discipline between the protestant churches in the two countries. The English articles and canons, as well as the liturgy, had been received and agreed to in this island, and there was a generally understood, if not formal, acknowledgment of subordination to the superior authority of the English church. Many circumstances arising out of the state and changes of theological opinions; and the peculiar constituency of the Irish clergy at this time led to a considerable revolution in this respect. Of these causes, a slight sketch will be here enough.

Soon after the reformation, a vast change came over the character of theological studies, which cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, upwards of fifty elaborate works were written, to explain and apply the scriptures and writings of the earlier fathers of the church. But under any combination of circumstances, human nature, still the same, must be productive of the same fruits. The same disposition to frame systems, to give a preponderant weight to unessential points, and on these to run into divisions and sects, which first enfeebled and obscured, and afterwards continued through a long train of ages to overrun with briars the dilapidated walls of the church, still continued in its revival to manifest its fatal efficiency in various ways. The protestant church was unhappily not more free from divisions than that from the communion of which it had departed: but the light and the liberty which were after ten centuries restored, had the effect of making these divisions more perceptible. From this many consequences had arisen, of which we can here notice but a few which are involved in this period of our church history. We need not travel back to trace the progress of dissent in England, after the clergy, who, during queen Mary's

reign, had fled for refuge from the rack and faggot into the shelter of foreign protestant churches, at her death came back laden with the tenets of those churches: from that period religious dissent in England grew broader in its lines of separation, and more decisive in its consequences, till times beyond those in which we are engaged. In Ireland the difficulty of finding qualified ministers for the poor and barbarous livings of the country, excluded much nicety of selection on the part of the government, and numerous ministers were imported, of whose practical qualifications in every respect it is impossible to speak justly, save in terms of profound reverence and courtesy: christian in life, spirit, and teaching, they were nevertheless variously distinguishable by their dissent on some points of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity on which the articles of agreement in all christian churches must needs be distinct and explicit within certain limits. Though entitled thus to all our respect as christian brethren, a question mainly political in its nature arises (with reference to the period), how far an apparent schism in the bosom of the protestant church, at such a time and in such circumstances, must have been detrimental to Ireland. Among the prominent facts which may be specified, as of immediate importance to this memoir, was the general disposition of the Irish clergy to the doctrinal tenets of Geneva. This tendency probably gave activity to their desire of independence of the English church, which, considering the distinct polity of the two kingdoms, their common government, and the consequences essentially resulting from these two conditions, was natural. To secure this independence, a strong temper had therefore been some time increasing, and in 1614, when a parliament and convocation were held in Dublin, the Irish clergy gave their consent to one hundred and four articles drawn up by Usher, whom superior learning and authority had recommended as the fittest person for so nice and difficult a task.

Of these articles, it is neither the business of these memoirs, nor our inclination, to say anything in detail—we must keep aloof from the labyrinth of pure polemics. Our business is with history. The history of these articles may, and must, here be told in a few words. They were founded on the well-known articles, drawn up by Whitgift in the year 1594, in concert with deputies from the university of Cambridge, then the centre and stronghold of English dissent. They are known by the title of the “Nine Articles of Lambeth,” and as may be inferred from their source, were favourable to the views then uppermost in the Irish church. In England, it should be observed, that they never became law, having been rejected by the queen, advised by Andrews, Overall, and other eminent divines, and withdrawn by Whitgift, who proposed them as private articles of agreement between the universities, to reconcile the differences of which is said to have been the ostensible pretext of their composition. They were again proposed by Reynolds, the puritan divine, at the conference before the king at Hampton court, among other less important (though still vital) conditions of agreement between the church and the puritan clergy, who had not then in England adopted the principle of presbyterian government, although it was on this celebrated occasion sufficiently involved,

so as (perhaps) to be the principal means to secure the rejection of the whole.

The Lambeth articles were ingrafted by Usher into the draught of articles adopted by the Irish convocation, and by the king's consent these were confirmed as the articles of the Irish church. We cannot further stop to detail the character and scope of these articles.* They were in the highest degree Calvinistic. In proof of this it may be enough for us to state, without any comment, a portion of the article "of God's eternal decree and predestination," as follows:—"By the same eternal counsel, God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."

Other peculiarities of these articles we shall again have occasion to notice, when after no long interval they once more were brought into discussion. They were now received and confirmed in this convocation, and for a time continued to be received and signed as the articles of the Irish church. They had the effect in Ireland of setting at rest all present differences between the two main bodies of the protestant clergy. In England, however, this act appears to have been very much looked upon as the result of a conspiracy to strengthen the party of the English Calvinists, by obtaining a strong party in Ireland.

Such was probably the spirit in which the agency of Usher on that occasion was censured in the English court. The king's sense on the subject was actuated by opposing considerations. He had professed his assent and favour towards the doctrines of Calvinism, while he hated the puritans, whose views of church government he considered as inconsistent with the rights of kings—the point on which alone he cherished any sincere zeal. It was conveyed in whispers to the royal ear, that Usher was a puritan, and it was understood that the king entertained towards him a distrust unfavourable to his hopes of preferment. But Usher stood far too high at this time, in the esteem of all who were in any way influential in either country, for the whispering of private rivalry to be long suffered to remain unchecked by contradiction. Such prejudices as may have been thus raised, had but time to become observable, when, in 1619, the lord-deputy (St John) and council took up the matter with creditable zeal, and urged him to go over to England, with a letter which they wrote to the privy council, to vindicate his character. In this letter they mentioned the reports and calumnies which were supposed to have influenced the king, and testify to the truth, in the following high and strong representation:—"We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your lordships, as a man orthodox and worthy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be presented, and his majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being a man who has given himself over to his profession, an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, [con-

* To those who wish for general information, enough may be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church; in which, by judicious selection, a fair outline is given of a subject otherwise beyond the compass of common readers.

formable with each other,] as those who agree not with him, are yet constrained to love and admire him."

With this favourable testimony, Usher passed over to England, and had a long conference with the king, who was highly satisfied with his opinions and delighted with his learning, judgment, and masterly command of thought and language. Happily, during Usher's sojourn in London, the bishoprick of Meath fell vacant, and the king nominated him at once to that see, and boasted that "Usher was a bishop of his own making; and that, although indeed the knave puritan was a bad man, the knave's puritan was an honest man."

The appointment gave universal satisfaction; for by this time Usher stood high with the learned of Europe. By the learned he was respected for his talent and erudition, while his worth obtained friends, even among those to whom his profession and known doctrines were ungrateful. "Even some papists have largely testified their gladness of it," wrote the lord-deputy, in a letter of congratulation on the occasion. He preached soon after in St Margaret's church, before the English house of commons, who ordered the sermon to be printed. It was a discourse on transubstantiation, from 1 Cor. x. 17. The occasion was such as to set in a very strong aspect the general respect for Usher's controversial ability. The commons had, it seems, conceived the idea that some of the Romish communion had obtained seats, and it was considered that the most satisfactory test would be afforded by the sacrament, for which the house appointed Sunday, 18th Feb., 1620. The prebendaries of Westminster claimed their privilege, but the house, with its characteristic tenacity, insisted on its own choice. King James was at the time engaged in a matrimonial negotiation for prince Henry with the Spanish Infanta, and shrunk from a proceeding which set in a glaring public light the national creed, which, it was feared, might offend the bigotry of that superstitious court; but having been appealed to on the occasion, he signified his preference of Usher. On the Tuesday previous to this anxious occasion, "being Shrove-Tuesday, Usher dined with the king, and had much conversation on the subject." Of this his own account remains:—"He [the king] said I had an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied, on so short a warning, to receive the communion on a day: all could not be in charity after so late contentions in the house. Many must come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: that himself required his whole household to receive the communion, but not on the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and their country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat, qui cito dat*." This practical concluding application of the royal divinity, so ludicrously characteristic of the speaker, must probably have exacted some power of countenance in his hearers.

On returning to Ireland, Usher was consecrated by primate Hampton, 1621, at Drogheda, where consecrations by the primate had

commonly been solemnized, on account of the jealousy of the archbishops of Dublin, while the point of precedence remained yet undecided between the sees of Armagh and Dublin. Usher entered on the duties of his see with the alacrity and prudence which had till then marked his character. The conduct he pursued to the members of the church of Rome was gentle but firm: their conversion had ever been one of the principal objects of his life, to which his researches and preaching had been mainly directed. He now endeavoured to win them by gentleness and persuasion. It was his wish to preach to them: they objected to coming to church, but consented to attend and hear him anywhere out of church. Usher borrowed the sessions' house, and his sermon was so impressive and effectual, that the people were forbidden by the priests to attend any more.

On the proceedings of the missionaries of this church in Ireland, at the period at which we are now arrived, we have already had occasion to offer some notices: some little further detail will now be necessary to explain justly the conduct of our bishop in a proceeding which drew upon him some very unmerited obloquy. At this time it so happened, that numerous friars had begun to flock into the kingdom, and the see of Rome had begun to assume a determined and earnest line of policy, with reference to the extension of its pale, and Ireland came in for an ample share of the mighty mother's regard. This fact may itself be generally explained to the reader, by an event of distinguished importance in the history of the Roman see—the institution of the congregation of the Propaganda, fertile in consequence, and itself the consequence of a vast infusion of fresh life, which took place in the year following Usher's promotion. On this point, a letter written in 1633, from the bishop of Kilmore to the bishop of London, gives an authoritative view of the essential particulars. The writer mentions, "That in that crown [of Ireland] the Pope had a far greater kingdom than his majesty had; that the said kingdom of the Pope was governed by the new congregation, *de propaganda fide*, established not long since at Rome; that the Pope had there a clergy depending on him, double in number to the English, the heads of which were bound by a corporal oath to maintain his power and greatness, against all persons whatsoever; that for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, there was a rabble of irregular regulars, most of them the younger sons of noble houses, which made them the more insolent and uncontrollable; that the Pope had erected an university in Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, one Harris being dean thereof, who had dispersed a scandalous pamphlet against the lord-primate's sermon preached at Wanstead, (one of the best pieces that ever came from him,) anno 1629; that since the dissolving of their new friaries in the city of Dublin, they had erected them in the country, and had brought the people to such a sottish negligence, that they cared not to learn the commandments as God spake them and left them, but flocked in multitudes to the hearing of such superstitious doctrines as some of their own priests were ashamed of; that a synodical meeting of their clergy had been held lately at Drogheda, in the province of Ulster, in which it was decreed, that it was not lawful to take the oath of al-

legiance, and therefore, that in such a conjuncture of affairs, to think that the bridle of the army might be taken away, must be the thought, not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man, which whosoever did endeavour, not only would oppose his majesty's service, but expose his own neck to the skeans of those Irish cut-throats."* This is but one of many such authentic documents, from which it appears that a change of tone and spirit began to elevate in Ireland the head of a power and party so often subdued in vain. Fears began to be excited among those who had lived long enough to recall the miseries and terrors of old times: the authority of Usher was insulted, by a repetition of scenes which had often signalized the approach of troublesome times, and the reader may recollect the long-cherished anticipation to which every year had added new strength in his mind. He saw in everything that occurred the pregnant signs of the war to come: and whatever was his error in theory, his conjectures were at least coincident with events, and the inference is not unworthy of attentive consideration. A true anticipation, though it should be the chance result of human error, is still as certain a clue to appearances, as if it had been derived from the infallibility of demonstration. Usher, if at first right by error, must have looked with an enlightened eye on passing events; for in the sequence of human affairs, the causes are easier to deduce from the consequence, than the consequences from the cause: a cause may undergo a thousand modifications, which may any one change the event, but the event necessarily fixes the series of which it is the result. It is thus easy to apprehend how, in adopting a consequence truly, Usher became possessed of a principle of interpretation, which, however obtained, must have opened his eyes to the future. Had he been inclined to sleep on his post, as an overseer of the church, the authorities of the papal power in Ireland were to be accused of no relaxation, and there was no mixture of fear or conciliation in the course of conduct which confronted him even in his own diocese. They had not only forbidden attendance on the protestant churches, but went so far as in some places to seize on them for their own use. They also had erected or repaired ecclesiastical edifices at Multifernan, Kilconnel, Buttevant, &c., &c., as also in the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny, with the express intention of restoring the "ancient religion" in its imagined splendour of old times. These significant indications had, in Usher's time, not diminished under the increasing relaxation of civil vigilance. The relaxation was doubtless in itself salutary, and the result of a great natural process of society, by which severe and harsh laws fall into disuse as the necessity for them decreases—a provision for the advances of civilization. But in Ireland such processes have been ever unhappily neutralized by interferences as wise as the attempt to promote the growth of a plant by a mechanical force; and no sooner were the fears and animosities of troubled times beginning to lose their force, than they were doomed to be re-excited into a festered vitality, by the renewal of the ancient indications of the periodical eruptions of national folly and fury; and the inefficiency of the Irish executive government supplied no counterbalance to this deeply and widely gather-

* *Life of Laud*, by Heylin.

ing evil. A mist of perpetual infatuation hung suspended over Dublin castle—artful misrepresentations, fallacious appeals, and the abuse of general principles, the misunderstanding of which has ever constituted a large portion of the wisdom of public men—false equity, false clemency, and false public spirit, with wrong notions both of human nature and the social state, united with private interest, timidity, and indolence, to preserve the still and dignified repose of the administration, till the moment of danger was present. To the class of imbecile officials, of which an Irish government has been too often composed, tardy to meet danger, though often ready enough to be vindictive in the hour of triumph, Usher had no affinity: he was neither yielding from weakness that fears, or vanity that courts the popular sense. As he had been zealous to conciliate by love, and convince by reason, so he was ready to repress, by just and salutary exercise of the law, when he considered that the necessity had arisen. That such was the real import of every indication of the times was indeed a truth, but it is enough that it was the impression of his mind, and this consideration may satisfy the reader of the real character of the conduct which at this period of his career excited much clamour among his enemies, and surprised some of his friends, when he made a strong appeal to the lord Falkland, on being desired to preach before him on his arrival as lord-deputy, when he received the sword of state. On this occasion, Usher took for his text, “He beareth not the sword in vain,” and so strongly urged the duty of enforcing the laws, that an outcry was excited. He was accused by foes and reproached by friends; but the fury of those against whom the weight of his counsel seemed levelled, was such as to create considerable alarm. Nothing less than a massacre of the papists was reported to be the subject of his advice. It was strongly urged upon him to prevent, by a “voluntary retractation,” the complaints which were in preparation against him, and for a time to withdraw into his diocese. Such was the sum of the advice of the good primate Hampton, his old friend and patron. Usher was a man of more firm mettle, or if not, at least more truly awake to the real emergencies of the time. He addressed a letter to lord Grandison, in which he firmly maintained his own conduct, and vindicated himself from the perversions of his sense. He pointed out and insisted on the fact, that he had guarded against such misconstructions, and deprecated persecution. Indeed, considering the actual attitude of defiance which had at that moment been taken by the Romish friars, the mere notion of persecution having been thought of by any party sincerely, is extremely absurd. Usher’s representations were not only just and wise, but moderate; but no moderation can silence the clamour that is never sincere, or be enough for those who prefer inaction, or who can see no danger less than a tempest or conflagration. Nevertheless, Usher’s vindictory letter had the effect of silencing many who had no desire to provoke inquiry, and all who were open to reason; and as there were many who entered fully in the same views, the effect was that of a triumph. The primate in his letter seems to have delicately impressed upon Usher his opinion on the inclination which appeared in his conduct, to pass his time in the city rather than in his diocese; and it will be generally allowed, that for the most part, the proper place for

a bishop is among his clergy, where his duties lie. But we have already, in this memoir, expressed at sufficient length the grounds upon which men such as Usher must ever be looked on in some measure as exceptions. In that early stage of literature, when the structure of our theological foundations demanded so much of that ability and skill which were yet more difficult to attain, men like him must have felt the call to fill the place of master-builders. It may, we grant, be said, that there is no necessity why they should be bishops, and in our own time we should be inclined to allow something for the point; for the demands of christian theology are very much diminished. It seems, indeed, hard, that the most able writers should at any time be excluded from the highest stations. This is, however, but specious; such persons may find their reward and their vocation elsewhere.

The position of the protestant church in Ireland was then peculiar; and we know not whether we must give credit to Usher's sagacity, or suppose his mind and temper cast providentially for the exigency of the times; but his conduct with regard to the presbyterian clergy was not only indulgent, but marked by a liberality which, though called for by the state of the Irish church, might in other times have exposed him to the charge of being somewhat latitudinarian. He allowed several who yet continued to be presbyterians, to retain their cures, though they rejected the liturgy; and allowed presbyters to join him in the ordination of such as adhered to that communion. In answer to the objection which seems to be suggested by this departure from the fundamental principle of the existence of a church, (the strict maintenance of its own constitution,) it must be said, that without this he should have had many benefices utterly unprovided with a clergyman. And it must be allowed, that when such an alternative is unhappily imposed, the essential interests of christianity should be considered beyond all comparison above the minor, though still important question of churches. Not to be ourselves open to the same charge, we should distinctly say that this allowance is evidently limited by the assumption which the immediate case admits of—that both churches agree in those articles of doctrine which are essential to the christian faith.

Less equivocal were the exertions he made to reform and recruit the ministry of his diocese, by the care he took as to their qualifications for the sacred calling, and the assiduous exertions he made to ensure the improvement of those who were in preparation for holy orders. He omitted no proper means to ascertain the moral and spiritual character of those who came to his ordinations, acting with conscientious strictness in the spirit of the apostolic precept, "*Lay hands suddenly upon no man.*" The judicious advice which he gave to the theological students, we may for brevity here offer, as given by Dr Parr.

"1st, Read and study the scriptures carefully, wherein is the best learning, and only infallible truth. They can furnish you with the best materials for your sermons—the only rules for faith and practice—the most powerful motives to persuade and convince the conscience—and the strongest arguments to confute all errors, heresies, and schisms. Therefore, be sure let all your sermons be congruous to

them; and it is expedient that you understand them as well in the originals as in the translations.

“2d, Take not hastily up other men’s opinions without due trial, nor vent your own conceits; but compare them first with the analogy of faith and rules of holiness recorded in the scriptures, which are the proper tests of all opinions and doctrines.

“3d, Meddle with controversies and doubtful points as little as may be in your popular preaching, lest you puzzle your hearers, or engage them in wrangling disputations, and so hinder their conversion, which is the main end of preaching.

“4th, Insist more on those points which tend to effect sound belief, sincere love to God, repentance for sin, and that may persuade to holiness of life. Press these things home to the consciences of your hearers, as of absolute necessity, leaving no gap for evasions, but bind them as closely as may be to their duty. And as you ought to preach sound and orthodox doctrine, so ought you to deliver God’s message as near as may be in God’s words; that is, in such as are plain and intelligible, that the meanest of your auditors may understand. To which end it is necessary to back all the precepts and doctrines with apt proofs from holy scriptures; avoiding all exotic phrases, scholastic terms, unnecessary quotations from authors, and forced rhetorical figures, since it is not difficult to make easy things appear hard; but to render hard things easy, is the hardest part of a good orator as well as preacher.

“5th, Get your heart sincerely affected with the things you persuade others to embrace, that so you may preach experimentally, and your hearers may perceive that you are in good earnest, and press nothing upon them but what may tend to their advantage, and which yourself would enter your salvation on.

“6th, Study and consider well the subjects you intend to preach on, before you come into the pulpit, and then words will readily offer themselves. Yet think what you are about to say before you speak, avoiding all uncouth fantastical words or phrases, or nauseous or ridiculous expressions, which will quickly bring your preaching into contempt, and make your sermons and person the subjects of sport and ridicule.

“7th, Dissemble not the truths of God in any case, nor comply with the lusts of men, nor give any countenance to sin by word or deed.

“8th, But above all, you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the gospel, that so you may teach by example as well as precept, and that you may appear a good divine everywhere, as well as in the pulpit; for a minister’s life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine.

“9th, Yet, after all this, take heed that you be not puffed up with spiritual pride of your own virtues, nor with a vain conceit of your parts and abilities; nor yet be transported with the praise of men, nor be dejected or discouraged by the scoffs or frowns of the wicked or profane.”

“He would also,” says Dr Parr, “exhort those who were already engaged in this holy function, and advise them how they might well

discharge their duty in the church of God, answerably to their calling, to this effect:—You are engaged in an excellent employment in the church, and intrusted with weighty matters, as stewards of our Great Master, Christ, the Great Bishop. Under him, and by his commission, you are to endeavour to reconcile men to God, to convert sinners, and build them up in the holy faith of the gospel, and that they may be saved, and that repentance and remission of sins may be preached in his name. This is of the highest importance, and requires faithfulness, diligence, prudence, and watchfulness. The souls of men are committed to our care and guidance, and the eyes of God, angels, and men, are upon us, and great is the account we must make to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the supreme head of his church, and will at length reward or punish his servants in this ministry of his gospel, as he shall find them faithful or negligent. Therefore it behoves us to exercise our best talents, labouring in the Lord's vineyard with all diligence, that we may bring forth fruit, and that the fruit may remain.

“This is work we are separated for and ordained unto. We must not think to be idle or careless in this office, but must bend our minds and studies, and employ all our gifts and abilities in this service. We must preach the word of faith, that men may believe aright, and the doctrine and laws of godliness, that men may act as becomes Christians indeed. For without faith no man can please God; and without holiness no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven.”

From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn that it was his custom to preach in the church on the Sunday mornings, “after which,” says the Doctor, “in the afternoon this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lessons, spend about half an hour in briefly and plainly opening the principles of religion in the public catechism, and after that I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the creed alone, giving but the sum of each article; then next time at thrice, and afterwards each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it; and so proportionably, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments, the good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people upon their approach unto the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it.”

By these extracts from the memorial of an eye-witness, it is evident that however assiduous he was in his important studies, Usher cannot be described as remiss in the duties of his sacred vocation. He visited his clergy—instructed them—reproved and controlled when it was necessary—directed and aided their efforts—and, when in the discharge of their duties they met with such resistance and incurred such reproach, as was a natural result from the state of the country, he stood up firmly in their behalf. He also gave much attention to the correction of abuses which had become established in the ecclesiastical courts. In this his sound prudence, however, restrained him, and prevented his going to the length to which Bedell was led by his zeal for right, and primitive simplicity of nature.

During his continuance in the diocese of Meath, many interesting

instances of the benevolent sagacity of Usher's character have been transmitted; we may here select a case, which is rather curious in itself, as a specimen of that derangement which not unfrequently clouds the retirement of studious persons of weak understanding and enthusiastic temper. A clergyman of the diocese, a man of very retired and studious habits, had fallen into the notion that the restoration of the Jews was to be effected by his instrumentality. This insane delusion was reported to Usher, who has given his own account of the circumstances, together with an account of his treatment of another case of the same nature:—"I sent for the party, and upon conference had with him, I put him in mind that his conceits were contrary to the judgment of the church of Christ, from the beginning of the gospel unto this day, and that of old they were condemned for heretical in the Nazarites. But finding that for the present he was not to be wrought upon by any reasoning, and that time was the only means to cure him of this sickness, I remembered what course I had heretofore held with another in this country, who was so far engaged in this opinion of the calling of the Jews, (though not of the revoking of Judaism,) that he was strongly persuaded he himself should be the man that should effect this great work, and to this purpose wrote an Hebrew epistle, (which I have still in my hands,) directed to the dispersed Jews. To reason the matter with him I found bootless. I advised him, therefore, that until the Jews did gather themselves together, and make choice of him for their captain, he should labour to benefit his countrymen at home, with that skill he had attained unto in the Hebrew tongue. I wished him, therefore, to give us an exact translation of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew verity, which he accordingly undertook and performed. The translation I have by me, but before he had finished that task, his conceit of the calling of the Jews, and his captainship over them, vanished clean away, and was never heard of after.

"In like manner I dealt with Mr Whitehall; that forasmuch as he himself acknowledged that the Mosaical rites were not to be practised until the general calling of the Jews, he might do well, I said, to let that matter rest till then, and in the mean time, keep his opinion to himself, and not bring needless trouble upon himself and others, by divulging it out of season. And whereas he had intended to write an historical discourse of the retaining of Judaism under Christianity, I counselled him rather to spend his pains in setting down the history of purgatory, or invocation of saints, or some of the other points in controversy betwixt the church of Rome and us." This advice so far prevailed with Mr Whitehall, that he "offered to bind himself to forbear meddling any way with his former opinions, either in public or in private, and to spend his time in any other employment that should be imposed upon him."

A little after his accession to the see of Meath, a work written by Malone, a Jesuit, had attracted very considerable attention. In this the protestants were challenged to try their church by the test of antiquity: a daring test assuredly, to be appealed to by a church splendidly conspicuous for the well-marked chronology of every portion of its own vast and powerful architecture. Usher took up the

challenge, and wrote a reply which exhibited the extent and precision of his ecclesiastical and theological reading: in this he successively passed in review all those tenets the growth of several centuries by which the church of Rome is distinguished from that of the Reformation.

Some time previous to this incident, he had produced a tract, to which we have had some occasion to refer in the first division of these memoirs, upon "the religion of the ancient Irish and Britons." It unanswerably established the independence of the primitive churches of the British isles: and has never been met unless by that class of reasonings which in raising a cloud of uncertain learning about minute details, contrive to shut out of sight the entire question. The effect of this sketch, was a great accession to the high reputation of the bishop; and the king, who justly considered the importance of the subject, and desired to see a work of greater extent and scope, ordered that Usher should have a license from the Irish counsel, releasing him from attendance in his diocese, that he might be enabled to pursue in England, the literary researches which such a work would require. Usher accordingly passed over to England, where he was engaged in the assiduous pursuit and acquisition of the most ancient and authentic materials, which give such inestimable value and such high authority to his great work on the antiquities of the British churches.

He was thus for some time engaged, and had returned from a visit into Ireland, which was signalized by the above-related adventure with Malone: when primate Hampton departed this life, Jan. 3, 1625. On this occasion the king raised Usher at once to the head of the Irish church. This occurred but six days before the death of king James, which took place March 27, 1625.

"The reign of king James," writes bishop Mant, has "exhibited the church of Ireland with features similar to those which marked it under the preceding reign, but exemplified in a greater variety of instances. In the province of Leinster from the archdiocese of Dublin, and from the suffragan united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, the like complaints have been heard of an insufficiency of ministers, of an incompetency of clerical income, and of a want of material edifices for the celebration of divine worship; and the complaints have been echoed through the province of Ulster, from every diocese, with one solitary exception, which there is no reason to suppose occasioned by any peculiar advantages which it possessed over the others.

"In Ulster, indeed, the king testified his desire to improve the condition of the church, by grants of land to the clergy, but in many cases his good intentions were defeated by an inadequate execution—and although in some instances efforts were made for fixing the clergy in their proper residences, and for supplying them with buildings for their official ministrations, the existing evils do not appear to have been ever fairly grappled with by the governing powers, or to have called forth a great and simultaneous effort for their remedy, so that the members of the church were left in a condition of lamentable destitution, as to the means of assembling for public worship and instruction, or receiving the aid of pastoral guidance for themselves or their children; and the rural districts in particular are described as presenting a spectacle of almost total abandonment and desolation.

"The same observations as to the absence of co-operating and combined exertions, under the auspices of the authorities of the kingdom, applies to the attempts made for the instruction of the people at large by the instrumentality of the Irish language. Many instances have fallen under our own notice, of the existence of Irish incumbents or curates, of Irish readers, and Irish clerks: but these provisions seem to have been the result of individual projects of improvement, rather than of a general and united effort of authority. At the same time they were met by united and vigorous exertions on the part of the popish emissaries."*

Among the numerous causes which we have from time to time had to trace or enumerate, as contributing to the protraction of the calamities and sufferings of this island, as well as to the tardiness of growth which has characterized our advance in the progress of civilization, there is none which demands a larger portion of the attention than that described in the preceding extract. But the reader must ere this be aware that it offers topics of reflection, and demands statements and reasonings which are in a great measure inconsistent with the tone of a popular history. In some measure it is true, our facts are so broad in their necessary connexion with the whole fortune of the country: and her history so essentially turns upon the collisions of opposing creeds and the policy of the Roman see, that some may read with a smile our frequent profession of impartiality. We are compelled to state our opinion, that the inadequacy of the machinery of the protestant church in Ireland, for the discharge of its humanizing functions, was the radical defect in the conduct of the legislature and administration. The violent actions and re-actions of insurrection and oppression—the frenzy of the deluded populace, or the sanctioned plunder of official knavery, were but nearer or remoter effects of one elemental force that raised the waters of confusion. If it must be admitted that the evils of an insecure tranquillity and a control inefficient without the aid of arms and military intervention, on one hand, or on the other, the anarchy of civil commotion must be the necessary alternatives resulting from a state of things, in which an alien jurisdiction was maintained by a democratic influence, wholly distinct from and inconsistent with the constitution of the national polity; and such an inference cannot be avoided: then it must be admitted, that the *political* agency of the church of Rome in Ireland, was irreconcilable with the welfare of the country; and that a liberal extension and due support of the Reformed church—at that time the powerful engine of human advance in all respects, moral, intellectual, and social—was the only means of remedying the wretched condition of the country. If any of our enlightened readers, may by a momentary forgetfulness of history, or by losing sight of the fact that we are speaking of a remote period, think that there is anything illiberal in the spirit of these inevitable reflections, let us remind them, that there was once a time when the supremacy of the Roman see was a real and undisguised empire over the councils of kings, and that this power had been attained and was exercised by the very instrumentality then so con-

* History of the Church of Ireland.

spicuous in the troubled vicissitudes of Irish affairs. On this point no educated person of any creed or party is deceived. And even if the devoted member of the Romish communion may demur as to the principle which would lay any stress on civil prosperity, or any merely secular consideration in a question which he may reason on purely spiritual grounds, yet he must be compelled to admit, that the extension of the church which would for ever have put an end to the internal striving of an external spirit—the force irreconcilable with the law of the system in which it worked, would in a secular sense have been a great and manifest advantage to Ireland.

Usher's appointment to the primacy, was followed by a severe fit of illness, which retained him in England to experience the favour of king Charles, who ordered him four hundred pounds out of the Irish treasury.

But his delay in England led to an incident of much interest, which had a very material influence on his after-life, when the foundations of society, and the fortunes of individuals came to be turned up and scattered into confusion by the civil wars. Here received and accepted an invitation to the seat of lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough. Lord Mordaunt was a member of the church of Rome, but his lady was a protestant. As it commonly happens, the lady was perhaps more earnest in her spiritual convictions than her lord, and therefore more alive to an uneasy sense of the difference of faith between them. Usher's character was universally renowned as the great champion of his own church, and his visit was looked for with anxious hope by lady Mordaunt, as the likely means for the conversion of her lord. Such an effect might, perhaps, have been of more difficult attainment than her sanguine trust might have foreseen: the tenets of most men are little dependant on their foundation in reason or authority, and are as little to be shaken by mere argument: there is a conventional sense among the bulk of men, that every side of a question can be made good until the opposite side is heard, and large deductions are mostly made by the ignorant for sophistry and probable misrepresentation. An antagonist is therefore no unessential requisite for popular conviction, and such an advantage was not wanting on the occasion to Usher's success. Happily for the wishes of lady Mordaunt, there lived with the family a man of reputed learning, piety, and controversial skill, and a jesuit. It was soon arranged that this person should engage in a regular disputation with Usher. Each was for three days to maintain the defensive against such objections as his antagonist should think fit to bring, and in his turn assume the offensive and urge his own objections. For the first three days, Usher carried on his assault, with what vigour and learning may be estimated from his known writings. The jesuit seems to have been decidedly shaken by the force of his attack; for when it came to his own turn to be opponent—which it will be recollected is necessarily the easiest part—he sent the strange but yet characteristic excuse, that he had been deservedly punished by the forgetfulness of his arguments, for having presumed to engage in such a contest without the permission of the superior of his order. The result was such as should be expected: lord Mordaunt soon declared his adhesion to the reformed

church, and the archbishop obtained a fast and faithful friend, and a providential asylum in the hour of need.

The new archbishop was congratulated on all sides on his promotion. But the letter of the bishop of Kilmore upon the occasion, may be here extracted as the most convenient and interesting illustration of the preceding reflections, and as best fulfilling the historic portion of our task. It is cited by Dr Mant, as "opening a general prospect of the actual condition of the Irish church" at the time.

"Most Reverend and my honourable good Lord

"I do congratulate with unspeakable joy and comfort, your preferment, and that both out of the true and unfeigned love I have ever borne you for many years continued, as also out of an assured and most firm persuasion that God hath ordained you a special instrument for the good of the Irish church, the growth whereof, notwithstanding all his majesty's endowments and directions, receives every day more impediments than ever. And that not only in Ulster, but begins to spread itself into other places; so that the inheritance of the church is made arbitrary at the council table; impropiators in all places may hold all ancient customs, only they, upon whom the cure of souls is laid, are debarred. St Patrick's Ridges which you know belonged to the fabric of that church, are taken away: within the diocese of Armagh, the whole clergy being all poor vicars and curates, by a declaration of one of the judges this last circuit, (by what direction I know not,) without speedy remedy will be brought to much decay, the which I rather mention, because it is within your province. The more is taken away from the king's clergy, the more accrues to the pope's; and the servitors and undertakers, who should be instruments for settling a church, do hereby advance their rents, and make the church poor.

"In a word, in all consultations which concern the church, not the advice of sages, but of young counsellors is followed. With all the particulars the *agents* whom we have sent over will fully acquaint you, to whom I rest assured your lordship will afford your countenance and best assistance. And, my good lord, now remember that you sit at the stern, not only to guide us in a right course, but to be continually in action, and standing in the watchtower to see that the church receive no hurt. I know my lord's Grace of Canterbury will give his best furtherance to the cause, to whom I do not doubt, but after you have fully possessed yourself thereof, you will address yourself. And so, with the remembrance of my love and duty unto you, praying for the perfect recovery of your health.

"I rest your lordship's most true and faithful servant to command,
"THO. KILMORE."

March 26th, 1625.

"Being now returned into his native country," says Dr Parr, "and settled in this great charge (having not only many churches but dioceses under his care), he began carefully to inspect his own diocese first, and the manners and abilities of those clergy, by personal visitations; admonishing those he found faulty, and giving excellent advice

and directions to the rest, charging them to use the liturgy of the church in all public administrations, and to make the Holy Scriptures the rule, as well as the subject of their doctrine and sermons. Nor did he only endeavour to reform the clergy, among whom, in so large a diocese, and where there was so small encouragement, there could not but be many things amiss; but also the proctors, apparitors, and other officers of his ecclesiastical courts, against whom there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his predecessor's time; nor did he find that popery and profaneness had increased in that kingdom by any more than the neglect of due catechising and preaching, for want of which instruction, the poor people that were outwardly protestants were ignorant of the principles of religion, and the papists continued still in a blind obedience to their leaders. Therefore he set himself with all his power to redress these neglects, as well by his own example, as by his ecclesiastical discipline; all which proving at last too weak for so inveterate a disease, he obtained his majesty's injunctions to strengthen his authority, as shall be hereafter mentioned."

In the next year, the English government, at war with France and Spain, was under strong apprehensions that efforts would be made, as on former occasions, to make Ireland the stage of contest, by the use of that influence which had ever been found effective for the purpose. To meet such a danger, means were adopted of a most questionable character, and resisted on the part of Usher and the Irish church, by a protest no less questionable. To make the papists ready to contribute to the maintenance of the additional forces which were thought requisite for security against the apprehended danger, it was proposed to grant several privileges which would amount to a toleration of their church. But whatever may be said for a liberal toleration on just grounds, it must be admitted, that the grounds assumed were neither just nor politic. If the papists were entitled to the questioned privileges, they should have them without compromise; if not, no political expediency could justify a compromise, such as was designed. We are clearly of opinion, that considering the peculiar political machinery of the papal power in that age, with its power and the real intent of all its workings, the toleration desired was inconsistent with sound policy: but we are as decided in opposition to any constraint or disability of a political nature, on the score of spiritual demerits. For this reason we cannot concur in approving the following protest, entitled, "The judgment of divers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion.

"The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church in respect of both apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

"For, 1st, It is to make ourselves accessory, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and in a word to all the abominations of popery; but also, which is a consequent of the former, to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy.

"2d, To grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

JA. ARMACHANUS.

RICHARD, CORKE, CLOYNE, ROSSES.

MAL. CASCHELLEN.

ANDR. ALACHADENS.

ANTH. MEDENSIS.

THO. KILMORE & ARDAGH.

THO. HERNES & LAGHLIN.

THEO. DROMORE.

RO. DUNENSIS, &c.

MICHAEL WATERFORD & LYSMORE.

GEORGE DERENS.

FRAN. LYMERICK."

To contest the conclusion of the bishops, we do not think it necessary to deny their premises. The word Mahometan may be put for Papist, and our comment would have the same force. If it can be shown that persecution or oppression or any species of legal disability has ever been the means of suppressing heresy, the case will be found to stand on its own peculiar grounds; the exception and not the rule. A merely prudential confession of faith, may, we grant, be silenced by motives such as legal intervention may supply: but conscience, however misinformed, will resist the terrors of persecution, or the impediments of legal coercion. The divine principle in man's nature, obscured and turned from its first great object and the design of its endowment, will yet retain its natural law of operation, and whether under the crushing wheel of the Indian idol or the proscription of law, give forth its hidden energy of heroic endurance and sustaining fortitude. We cannot acquiesce in the grounds of this episcopal protest. And we are the more earnest in the expression of our conviction, because we think it contains an error, too long maintained, and highly pernicious in its operation and effects. It has been a fatal error to place the question respecting the penal laws on false grounds. It has had the ill effect of imposing on both parties a fallacious view which has not only introduced a false principle of opinion and feeling, but prevented the diffusion and working of right views. It would have made an essential difference in the feelings of the lay community, had they been aware of the fact, that the penal laws were grounded on a *political* necessity, arising out of the first principles of social existence. Neither would the exasperation of pride and sectarian animosity have been roused to the support of the papal policy on one side; nor on the other, would a strong sense of justice have been excited among the large party of protestants, who, being insensible to any theological motive, would have seen the real question on its true grounds, in a different spirit. There can be no doubt on any informed mind of whatever communion, that in any system of social polity, an acquiescence in the fundamental laws of the system must be the first condition of right and privileges. The ecclesiastical system of the papal see, such as it both was, and *overtly professed to be*, was illegal, not

merely because it was opposed by enactments, but because it was in its very nature irreconcilable with any system, the constitution of which implied its independence of the papacy.*

Having thought it right to express our opinion so far, we consider it necessary to add, that we do not mean to censure the act of Usher and his brethren. It was according to the sense and spirit of the time in which they lived. The ground they took was, that rites and ceremonies which they held to be idolatrous, and which were contrary to law, should not be permitted for money. And in this they were strictly right. It is also to be here noted, that however the question of toleration may be decided, there is an error opposite to that we have here noted. The principle of toleration taken up by its political advocates is manifestly wrong; for it is essentially grounded on an infidel assumption. It is not toleration but latitude, and takes for granted, that the supremacy of the divine will specially declared, is to be made secondary to human policy. This old mistake, growing as it does out of human nature, is ever to be combated, as it ever exists; pervading the political theory of the present day, as much as when lord Falkland would have set to sale the supposed duties of the government to the church. The distinction is this: the laws of spiritual obligation are not designed *to be enforced* by human laws: their very scope and intent reject a tyrannical and inquisitorial control, which cannot be effective for any spiritual end, and is contrary to the spirit of God's word, and inconsistent with the welfare of man. But the recognition of the declared will and institutions, founded on the authentional revelation of God, is the first obligation of the state, because it is the first obligation of every individual. The consequence cannot be evaded: God is not to be adored in the closet, and denied in the senate. Nor can any one who thinks it a sacred obligation to go to church on the sabbath-day, consistently think himself at liberty to vote on Monday, that the interests of the church are to be trifled with on the ground of any temporal expediency. God is as absolute in the privy council as in the cathedral; and if he holds in his grasp the fortune of nations—the wisdom which would exclude his sovereignty from its councils, is, it is to be feared, of that short-sighted kind that is described as “foolishness with God.”

And such, when reduced to its real elements, was the opinion enforced by Usher and his brethren. Rightly stated, it would be—“We protest against setting to sale certain rights, which we are in conscience bound to withhold.”

Such too, was the general impression created by this protest. The Irish government found itself forced to recall the offer, and lord Falkland applied to Usher to endeavour to persuade the protestant community to remedy the deficiency of means by a liberal contribution. Usher for this end addressed an assembly summoned for the purpose. The effect was not, however, considerable, though of the speech which

* We take this occasion to observe, that it is for this reason that we use the term *Papist*, not as a term of reproach, but as expressive of the true ground on which we have throughout laboured, to place and preserve the great fundamental question of our history.

he delivered on that occasion, it has been admitted, that it merited the success which it could not command.

Among the good deeds of the primate may be reckoned the discovery and promotion of a man like Bedell, whom he brought over, with much persuasion, this year, from his living in Suffolk, to place him at the head of the university. Such a promotion was then, in the infancy of the institution, not so inappropriate as it may now appear to many of our readers. The university of Dublin had not, as yet, brought forth its harvest of learned men, nor matured into that amplitude of human knowledge which now places it so high in the scale of institutions;* and the acquisition, from any source, of a mind like that of Bedell, must have been viewed as a desirable object.

Usher's promotion enabled him now to prosecute his favourite pursuit of ancient literature; for which purpose he employed a British merchant, resident at Aleppo, to procure for him oriental writings, and by this means he obtained several rare and curious additions to his library. Some of the manuscripts thus imported were of the highest importance to biblical literature. Among these was a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the first which had been brought into Europe, and a perfect copy of the Old Testament in the Syriac. Nor was Usher remiss in the liberal application of these treasures, which were open to the use of those who were engaged in sacred literature. They were placed at the disposal of bishop Walton, when he was engaged in the compilation of his Polyglott, and are now (many of them) in the Bodleian library.

The archbishop paid another visit to England soon after Bedell's appointment. He is said about this time to have manifested considerable anxiety about the course of political occurrences in both kingdoms, and to have watched the indications of public feeling with more than his wonted anxiety. We have already dwelt at some length on the peculiar foresight which he had obtained of the political events which were still slowly but surely labouring into birth. The civil wars in England, and their result, were far too extreme and unusual in their

* The system of instruction which has been adopted by our university is a subject liable to some favourite mistakes, which appear to have met with a tacit assent, because they have not appeared with authority sufficient to challenge refutation; having, indeed, been mainly confined to common conversation. We shall hereafter have an occasion, of which we shall freely take advantage, to discuss the subject with the fulness it merits; but here we may observe, that there is, in the greater universities, a tendency to fall into some one-sided method of study, by no means adequate to the intellectual wants of society. A bias to a course may suit a profession; but the university of Dublin has taken a central position, from which every course may be most conveniently followed, and a broad universal basis, which comprehends so much of the elements of all knowledge as is consistent with an academical foundation. Any one whose time has been rightly employed in our university, has studied and mastered an extensive course of the most select reading, in classics, in science, in logic and metaphysics, and in theology. If more should be demanded, it is to be observed, that every person of competent understanding, who leaves the university thus prepared, is in no want of academical training for any special pursuit. Professional education is only to be finished on the path of professional discipline, and in the school of practice. The student who has not learned the art of study—the real art of academic discipline—is not likely to be much advanced by any modification of school-training.

character, to fall within the scope of human foresight, although now traceable with rigid exactness to the train of casual incidents of which they were the event. But in Ireland it was otherwise: no more than ordinary sagacity was necessary to obtain a reasonably precise notion of the results of a state of feelings, and of an underhand, yet hardly concealed agency, which was in active operation. Such feelings can always, it is true, be diverted into safer channels, and such agencies can be suppressed; but one of the conspiring causes of political convulsion is the blindness, resembling infatuation, by which the councils of kings and governments seem paralyzed and misled in such times. Of Usher's feelings, his letters, seldom political, give imperfect evidence. On the dissolution of parliament, in June, 1626, he writes to Dr Ward,—“The dissolution of parliament hath amazed us, all men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking on those things which are coming on the land. The Lord prepare us for the day of visitation, and then let his blessed will be done.”

The influx of foreign ecclesiastics was at this time increasing, and though yet not made publicly known by any express indication, the rising which in a few years after was to take place, was distinctly contemplated by the Irish at home, and its preparations kept at least in view, in Spain and Italy, but more especially in the former. To whatever construction it may have been liable, the conduct of the Romish clergy was not considered as matter of doubt by Usher, or generally unnoticed by the more intelligent observers. In consequence of the representations of the primate, and those of the Irish bishops who joined with him in the protest already mentioned, a proclamation was sent over, in which the actual state of the circumstances is expressed very precisely.* A letter from lord Falkland to the primate states the circumstances attendant on this proclamation:—“A drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken sergeant of the town, both being made, by too much drink, incapable of that task, (and perhaps purposely put to it,) made the same seem like a May-game.” So confident were the friars and their partisans in the remissness of the government, that such verbal denunciations were only met with open expressions of contempt. They exercised their jurisdiction with unabated force, and “not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the confidence to erect a university in Dublin, in the face of the government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England.” At the same time, this daring resistance to the law on the part of the papal church was not less prominent, than the union of inefficiency and neglect in the protestant establishment. The miserable dilapidation and disorderly abuse of the churches is almost beyond belief, yet amply proved and illustrated by the known condition of the cathedrals and principal churches in the metropolis. The utmost laxity prevailed in the disposal of the benefices, and in the ordination of the clergy. Of these we cannot here afford sufficient space for the particulars,† some of which may recur in some of the succeeding memoirs.

Among other incidents of the same period, connected with the

* Cox. Mant.

† See Mant's Hist. pp. 448—464.

archbishop, was the final decision of the old dispute for precedence between the sees of Dublin and Armagh. The settlement of this question, which had been at various times agitated, was now considered an essential preliminary to the meeting of convocation. Archbishop Bulkeley had revived this ancient controversy in 1623, with Hampton, mainly resting his cause "on the ground that a protestant king and council would confirm the patent granted by a protestant king to his predecessor, Browne, and abolish that of a popish queen to primate Dowdall."* Hampton's death interrupted the dispute; but it was revived after two years, on the occasion here mentioned, by Bulkeley: and the king directed letters, empowering lord Falkland and the council to hear both parties, and finally decide between them, in order that the scandal arising from such a contest might be avoided. Such a scandal, we ought to observe by the way, could only arise from the ignorance of some of the lookers-on, and the prejudices of others, who might attribute to the pride of the individuals a rightful assertion of the privileges appurtenant to an office, and not to be abandoned without a cowardly and compromising neglect of duty. The bishop is the legal guardian, in whose person is perpetuated the corporate existence of the see; and any surrender, unless legally authorized, is a breach of trust.

Thus revived, the matter lay in suspense until 1634, when Strafford, who was not likely to suffer any question relative to the Irish church to rest, took it up before the meeting of parliament, and summoned Bulkeley and Usher before the council. There he investigated their claims for two days, with the most searching and rigorous minuteness, and a close inspection of every document or allegation. His decision, which terminated for ever this important question, was the following:—"That it appeared, from divers evidences, that from all antiquity the see of Armagh had been acknowledged the prime see of the whole kingdom, and the archbishop thereof reputed, not a provincial primate, like the other three metropolitans, but a national; that is, the sole primate of Ireland, properly so called. That in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the archbishop of Dublin did constantly subscribe after the archbishop of Armagh. That in the statute for free schools, in the 12th of Elizabeth, the archbishop of Armagh is nominated before the archbishop of Dublin, as he is in that of the 27th of Elizabeth, where all the archbishops and bishops were ranked in their order, as appeared by the parliament rolls. For which reasons he decreed, that the archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, should have precedency, and be ranked before the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, as well in parliament and convocation house, as in all other meetings; and in all commissions where they should be mentioned; and in all places, as well within the diocese or province of Dublin, as elsewhere; until upon better proof on the part of the archbishop of Dublin, it should be adjudged otherwise."

Nearly forty years later, a similar controversy arose between the titular archbishops of the same sees, and being referred to Rome, was considered in a full meeting of the cardinals, and decided in favour of Armagh, as "the chief see and *metropolis* of the whole island."

* Vol. ii. pp. 240.

Another event in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland the same year was, the canon for the adoption of the thirty-nine articles. As the circumstances attending this measure are important enough to demand a full and methodical relation, we reserve the whole for the memoir of Bramhal, who sustained a distinguished and principal part in the arrangement. It will be enough to give a brief notice here of the general nature of proceedings, in which the primate had much and anxious concern, and being the author of the previous articles of 1615, must be felt to have been delicately placed. Generally, then, the matter was thus,—there was felt in England a wish, still more anxiously entertained by the king and the earl of Strafford, to see the English and Irish churches placed on a footing of perfect unity, in spirit and discipline. Against this there was a strong feeling among the Irish clergy, in which the primate is with reason believed to have shared. The vigour of Strafford, aided by the bishop of Derry, however, bore down all opposition, so far as to secure the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, but without the express repeal of the old articles, which Usher had about twenty-four years before drawn up, on the foundation of the articles of Lambeth. The reluctance of the clergy is accounted for by their known Calvinistic leaning. The primate, however—though such at an earlier period had been the complexion of his theological opinions, and though some of his notions of ecclesiastical government, must be admitted to be rather of the liberal order—was yet, in point of doctrinal views, certainly, at a period long anterior to that in question, altogether anti-Calvinistic. This is rendered clear beyond controversy, by the unexceptionable evidence of his letters, of which one extract may not be superfluous, as very explicit on the fundamental criterion of the doctrine of justification. On this subject, among other remarks of parallel force, he states, “All men may be truly said to have interest in the merits of Christ, though all do not enjoy the benefit thereof, because they have no will to take it.” “Many,” he writes, “who do believe the truth thereof, [the gospel,] are so wedded to their sins, that they have no desire to be divorced from them, and *therefore* they refuse the gracious *offer that is made unto them,*” &c. This is explicit enough, and was written two years after his articles. To this might be added, a long string of testimonies from others who could not fail to know his opinions. His reluctance arose from no doctrinal difference, but partly from his earnest desire to preserve the strict independence of the Irish church, a wish distinctly stated in the discussion as to the reception of the English canons; but perhaps still more from a consideration, to which much regard was due, arising from his knowledge of the Calvinistic constituency of the Irish church, as it then stood, a view strongly confirmed by the notorious anxiety of the Irish clergy to resist the meditated change.

In this period occurred a controversy with his friend Bedell, of which we are compelled to take some notice, by the uncandid tone in which the subject has been related by Burnet. On this it is necessary to make a few remarks, as Burnet, who seems to have taken the defence of Bedell as a vehicle for his own, has been thus led to misrepresent the conduct of his great contemporary. In extracting the passage, we include the high and just commendations of the primate, with which his censure

is qualified. After strongly noticing the abuses introduced by the canonists, Burnet goes on to say, "He [Bedell] laid those things often before archbishop *Usher*, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his chancellor and to the other officers of the court, called the spiritual court. No man was more sensible of those abuses than *Usher* was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them; and together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian—for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature—so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived; he spent much of his time in those two best exercises—secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses—and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him, showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment, so that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men of that age, or perhaps the world has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses, and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily, yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on, and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great humility, that God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. It is not without great uneasiness to me, that I overcome myself so far as to say anything that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who in other things was beyond any man of his time; but in this only he fell beneath himself: and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him, which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. His physician, Dr *Bootius*, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, 'If our primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the gospel, he might, without doubt, deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom.' But this was necessary to be told, since history is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little, for I was never so tempted in anything I ever writ, to disguise the truth, as upon this occasion; yet though bishop *Usher* did not much himself, he had a singular esteem for that

vigour of mind which our bishop expressed in the reforming these matters. And now I come to the next instance of his pastoral care, which made more noise, and met with more opposition than any of the former."

The praise of Burnet may well be allowed at its full value, for it was disinterested; but as to any charge against Usher of a weak acquiescence in a state of things which he admitted to be wrong, it is to be set down to advocacy: it is notorious that Burnet's observations were designed to reflect on his own known conduct and opinions. But he was engaged upon an elaborate portrait; and it is perhaps the duty of a biographer, as of an artist, to preserve the features and characteristic expression of his subject in the most favourable point of view. We may here, in observance of the same duty, remind the reader of a principle now more fully understood than it was in the time of Bedell and Usher,—that there exists in no office a discretionary power of altering the existing form or operation of institutions, unless in absolute governments. A power so arbitrary, however exercised for good or evil, would be wholly inconsistent with any stage of the British government since it became a limited government. The abuses in the ecclesiastical courts were unquestionably great; but the discretion by which these abuses were perpetuated had long escaped from ecclesiastical control, and was actually vested by prescription, the basis of common law, in a lay jurisdiction. The bishop's power had become nominal, and he had no more right to interfere than the king has to take his seat on the king's bench, where he theoretically presides, and to reform the defects of the law. In those courts, the power of the bishop was subject to the interpretation of his chancellor. In the actual instance, zeal for justice, and a sense of natural equity, which widely differs from the equity of our courts, based as it is upon a complication of established and necessary conventions, misled the understanding of a man who was more zealous for right, than versed in constitutional distinctions. It is, therefore, highly to the praise of Usher, that, in those ignorant times, when constitutional principle was little understood even by lawyers, and not much regarded in Ireland, he had the candour to acknowledge his error, and the firmness to avouch and maintain the principle when he saw it; though, assuredly, it must, after all, be allowed, that the abstinent discretion which refused to disorganize the consistorial courts, would scarcely appear to demand much credit, were it not made the ground of censure. With Burnet, as well as his own biographers, we have no doubt in affirming, that Usher lamented the grievous abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, and looked forward with anxiety for that reform which the legislature alone had the power to effect; if it were not effected by a judicious reform in the selection of such officers as would conscientiously abstain from abuses to which the temptations were great. We must add, that it is not our opinion that the reform ought to have been effected by the means then contemplated by the Irish bishops. It is not that we entertain the smallest doubt of the efficacy of such an arrangement: it would have improved the administration of the laws, but it was a jurisdiction quite alien from the real character and more essential offices of the episcopal character; and if it was so then, the discrepancy has

been widely increased. But this would lead us into a useless disquisition: we shall give a little more detailed account of this affair in our memoir of Bedel.

In the year 1639, the primate published his celebrated treatise on the antiquities of the British churches, in which he introduces an account of the "pestilent heresy against the grace of God, introduced into the church by the Briton, Pelagius." The reader may, by chance, be aware that Pelagius has by some been given to Ireland, and though not considering that there is any satisfactory proof on the point, we have, with judicial impartiality, allowed him the benefit of the doubt, in a memoir mainly drawn from Usher's account. This work was composed in Latin, printed in Dublin, "*Ex officina Typographica Societatis Bibliopolarum*," &c., and dedicated to king Charles. It treats on many points on which no certainty can be attained; but when its matter is doubtful, the obscurity is qualified by a modesty and sobriety of statement, which seldom, if ever, fails to reduce it to its real value. Throughout there is a clearness, justness of thought, and sagacity of perception, exercised on a wide range of curious and far-sought material, so as to inspire a confidence that the primate's investigations approach as near to truth as their nature and materials admit of. His work has accordingly been the basis of succeeding labours, on which we shall here decline any comment. Those writers who are to be regarded as his adversaries have seen ample reason to treat him with deference. Having had to consult some of these writers for the purpose of this history, we have been led to observe, that while with much speciousness, and not without some array of authorities, they have questioned some of his statements respecting the early history of the Irish church, they almost uniformly present a marked deficiency in those qualifications of scope and sagacity by which he was so admirably fitted for such inquiries. There is a working of uniform principles, and there is a broad analogy in the course of human occurrences, which offer the safest guidance in the dim distances of antiquity; but to catch these lights upon the wide and glimmering obscurity of time, needs an eye endowed with length of vision and capaciousness of light. Such was the sagacity of Usher: his critics have often been too negligent of the fact that they have been but wandering astray in a labyrinth of small seemings, on which there can be no certainty, while facts of far wider scope are prominently emerging above the mists and fogs of old traditions, such as to remove the very ground from their inferences, and indeed reduce the questions they discuss to very slight importance. There is one general fact of great importance, with relation to the numerous questions which present themselves in the perusal of those ecclesiastical writers who have gone over Usher's ground. His statements, and the inferences at which he arrives, whether in the special instance rigidly correct or not, are yet uniformly maintained by that antecedent probability which arises out of the nature of things, and the general history of the times. To this general rule we would especially refer all the questions which arise on the primitive christianity and first bishops of the Irish church.

We must now enter upon a different aspect of the primate's fortunes. Hitherto we have seen him advancing in a uniform course of

prosperity, and holding the position of dignity and public respect due to his learning, genius, and worth. We may now complete our notice of his history, so far as it belongs to Ireland, by the few scanty gleanings which we have been able to find of personal interest, relative to his residence and domestic habits in the see of Armagh. From his chaplain, Dr Bernard, we learn, that "the order observed in his family as to prayer, was four times a-day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at each of which he was always present. On Friday, in the afternoon, constantly, an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion in the catechism, for the instruction of the family; and every Sunday, in the evening, we had a repetition of his sermon in the chapel, which he had preached in the church in the forenoon. In the winter evenings, he constantly spent two hours in company of old manuscripts of the Bible, Greek and Latin, when about five or six of us assisted him, and the various readings of each were taken down by himself with his own hand." To this we may add, that he was "given to hospitality," and that his guests, both friends and strangers, were uniformly impressed with his frank and courteous demeanour, and the frank and ready communication of his overflowing knowledge. His table was such as became his means and dignity, but still marked by the plainness and simplicity of his character, and the sobriety becoming his office.

When in town, he was in the habit of preaching in St Owen's church every Sunday.

Though as a public man and a writer he may be considered as the great antagonist of the church of Rome, his private conduct to its adherents was uniformly characterized by his benignity of temper and his truly christian spirit. His opposition was untainted by a spot of party or sectarian feeling: his sole desire was the salvation of souls and the truth of the gospel. He left no honourable means untried to conciliate and convince them; by private kindness he won many to receive his instruction: and notwithstanding his known character as an opponent, he was loved and respected by those who were within the circle of his personal influence. The primate knew the distinction, so apt to be lost sight of, between charity to persons and compromise with public bodies.

In the beginning of the year 1640, he was called to England, and never returned to his native country. A long succession of stormy changes, which had for many years been preparing in both kingdoms, at last broke forth in a prolonged and awful confusion of the order of things. The events preceding the rebellion of 1641 have already been fully detailed: we must now follow the primate into England.

The events connected with the entire of this stormy period are among the most generally known portions of English history; and as our immediate subject cannot be considered as much involved in those events, we shall, through the remainder of this memoir, endeavour to confine our narration to the few incidents of his personal history.

On his arrival in England, the primate first travelled with his family to London, from which, after a few days' delay, he went to Oxford. Everywhere he found political and religious animosities

possessing men's minds, and having hoped for peace at the university in vain, he soon returned to London, in the resolution to discharge his own duty, by endeavouring to bring back the people to some sense of their duties, by the bold and free exercise of his tongue and pen.

The impeachment of the earl of Strafford followed soon. In Ireland, the earl had looked on Usher with a jealous eye, as one not well-affected to his policy. But he had judged with his wonted wisdom of the primate, and now showed his reliance upon his ability and judgment, by consulting him confidentially on the line and topics of defence which he was preparing. The primate was also consulted on the same occasion by king Charles, and urgently pressed his majesty to refuse his consent to the bill of attainder. On this occasion it is mentioned, that when the king sent for the primate, it was Sunday, and he was found preaching in Covent-Garden church. He came down from the pulpit to learn the emergency which could authorize so untimely a call, and when he received the royal message, he replied, "He was then employed upon God's business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon his majesty." Having strongly urged the king to refuse his consent, he, after it was weakly given, remonstrated with tears, "O Sire, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble upon your conscience; and pray God that your majesty may never suffer for signing this bill."

When Strafford was doomed by an unjust sentence, he selected the primate as his spiritual counsellor, and considering all things, it is impossible to find a higher testimony to exalted worth and spiritual efficiency. The primate was assiduous in his attendance, and passed the last evening in fortifying the illustrious sufferer in faith and courage. Next morning he attended him to that portentous block, and kneeled in prayer with him on that scaffold which was to be moistened with the first drops of so much English blood. He then received the earl's courageous and affecting last words, and having witnessed his death, carried the account to Charles.

In this year Usher was occupied with bishop Hall in the celebrated controversy on Church Government, in which the opposition was sustained by Milton, then in his 31st year, together with five puritan divines, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; the finals and initials, of which names were combined into the word *Smectymnus*, in the title of the joint answer which they wrote to Hall's "humble remonstrance." The "answer by *Smectymnus*" was replied to by Usher, whose reply called out Milton's treatise "of Prelatical Episcopacy." This controversy was carried on in a succession of defences, confutations, and animadversions, which excited a keen and lively interest in a period of which they discussed some of the great actuating principles. The reader is fully informed on the political interest of this great controversy: there is not here any sufficient motive for entering upon the long narrations and various disquisitions into which it would lead us. But it was then the main ground on which was brought together soon after into a resistless combination, all the popular elements of wrath and ruin, which overwhelmed for a season the constitution and church of England. One of Milton's

biographers has given his voice in favour of Hall's wit, and Usher's argument, against the copious eloquence and angry abuse of Milton and his colleagues. "If the church," writes Dr Symmons, "indeed, at this time, could have been upheld by the abilities of its sons, it would have been supported by these admirable prelates; but numbers, exasperation, and enthusiasm, were against them:" he also remarks, "the tone of this debate was far from mild, and all the combatants, with the exception of Usher, seem to have been careless of manners, and not less intent on giving pain to their adversaries, than on the discovery or the establishment of truth."

Towards the close of the year, the Irish rebellion broke out, and the primate received accounts of the destruction of his property. He was in a measure prepared for calamities, which had for many years been present to his anticipations. A mind like his could not but be heavily afflicted for the ruin of his country, the crimes and perfidy of the people, the suffering of his friends, and most of all, the danger of the church which he had so long been labouring to build up. Yet there mingled with these regrets and sorrows, a sense of gratitude to the hand that had so seasonably removed him from scenes of horror and violence, which were so unsuited to his age and habits.

His library escaped by the firmness of Drogheda, which as the reader is aware, held out against the miscreant O'Neile, until relieved. But except this and whatever furniture he possessed in his house in that city, all his moveable property suffered destruction. The outrages which were perpetrated against the good Bedel, his dear friend whom he had himself brought into Ireland, was a heavy blow to his tenderest feelings: it showed him all that he had escaped more strongly than the report of a thousand atrocities; for Bedel was loved by the very people who were deluded by their infamous and brutal advisers into the commission of outrages against him, difficult to conceive true. Nor is there, amid all the heartless villanies of every description which are crowded together in the record of that time, a record so hapless for Ireland in its after effects, or so dishonouring to its perpetrators, as the mixture of cowardly violence and insult which brought that honoured head in sorrow to the grave. But of this hereafter.

Under these trials, the primate, whose life had been one season of prosperity and honour, now bore up with the meek and tempered dignity which became a christian prelate of the church. As his learning and literary labours had obtained for him a reputation as wide as the civilized world, his misfortunes soon attracted universal sympathy. He was invited by the university of Leyden, to fill one of its professorships, with an augmentation of the salary, in case of his acceding to the offer. Cardinal Richlieu, sent him an invitation to France, with the offer of a pension and the free exercise of his religion. These offers were honourable to those who made them; but it was perhaps a higher honour to have declined them under the circumstances. Usher might have availed himself of a refuge, which being a testimony to distinguished worth, would have conferred high distinction; but he preferred his duty and his religion. In that age too, when loyalty was exalted by a prejudice into a virtue of a nobler order than can

now be well understood, and when it involved no lowering imputation to regard the person of the king, rather than the constitution of the monarchy, it may be no injustice to Usher, to say, that his attachment to the king, and his reverence for the royal cause, weighed much in influencing his conduct. It is, indeed, quite apparent through the entire of his conduct, that his own comfort and safety were but a secondary consideration in his breast.

It was, nevertheless, apparent enough, that some means of support were necessary to one, whose want, a disgrace to England, had been supplied already by the sale of such effects as he had brought with him, or which had been saved from the wreck of his affairs. The king offered him the bishopric of Carlisle, which he gladly accepted: it conferred at least a sphere of usefulness, and the exercise of his sacred functions; though inadequate as to its temporalities, as the *armies of the north* were quartered upon it.

During the course of the calamitous struggles which succeeded, the conduct and character of the divine or the scholar were of little weight. The efforts of that felon parliament which overthrew the monarchy were with equal success directed against the church of England; but this is not the place to enter into details which have but an incidental connexion with our subject. In the course of events, the bishopric of Carlisle suffered the same seizure and sequestration as every other church possession: the lands were seized, and the palace dilapidated by parliamentary agents commissioned for the purpose. The parliament voted a compensation of £400 a year for the support of Usher; but only consistent in crime and madness, they forgot to carry this ostentatious liberality into effect.

Wearied with the increasing tumult of fear and party strife, which, daily increasing, left no scene unimbittered in London, the primate retired to Oxford in 1642. Here, in a house with which he was accommodated by the kindness of Prideaux, he enjoyed a grateful interval of calm. This habitation was close to the Bodleian library, and he was thus enabled to take up the thread of studies which affliction had broken, and to prepare several valuable papers for the press. During this residence he had also the unspeakable satisfaction of finding a useful field for his ministerial gifts. He preached every Sunday at some one of the churches, and his preaching was blessed with great and unequivocal proofs of good effect. He not only was thus the means of awakening many to a spiritual sense, but, in a great measure, of correcting by his example the vicious style of pulpit oratory, then becoming fashionable in England. His fervent and unaffected manner, the strong simplicity of his natural eloquence, supported by the fulness of his knowledge, and the apostolical sincerity of his faith and charity, had both the effect of winning souls, and by a striking contrast exposing the fustian exuberance of sparkling affectation and tinsel metaphor, which till then passed for eloquence. Of this Dr Parr relates the following instance:—"I remember that there was a person in the university, very much famed for that (florid) kind of preaching, who, after he had sometimes heard the lord primate's sermons, and observing how plain and yet moving they were, and being sufficiently satisfied that it was not for want of wit or learning

that he did not do otherwise, was soon convinced that his own was not the most ready way of gaining souls; and therefore quitting his affected style, and studied periods, took up a more plain and profitable way of preaching; so that coming afterwards to visit the lord primate, he gave him many thanks, and told him that he had now learned of him how to preach, and that since he had followed his example, he had found more satisfaction in his own conscience, and comfort in his ministry, than ever he had before."

"And I remember one sermon above the rest, which he preached in Exeter college chapel, about that time, upon the text, Prov. xviii. 1. 'Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom;' in which sermon he so lively and pathetically set forth the excellency of true wisdom, as well human as divine, and that desire which every ingenuous and virtuous soul ought to have for it, that it wrought so effectually upon the hearts of many of the younger students, that it rendered them more serious, and made them ply their studies much harder than before."

In the summer of 1643, the parliament, pursuing the course which it had entered upon for the destruction of the monarchy, consistently proceeded to revise and new-model the church. To give a semblance of legislative deliberation to this proceeding, they called together a formal convention of divines, of all sects, parties, and denominations, "an assembly of a very strange mixture, consisting of a certain number of the lords and commons, with a greater proportion of divines, some of which were prelatical, some independent, and the greater part presbyterians," &c. The ostensible purpose of this assembly was to consult with, and advise the parliament, on the bills to be passed for "settling church government." Among the prelates summoned to this assembly, the primate was one; but he no sooner ascertained the purpose and unlawful constitution of the assembly, than he declined attending; and his name was, by a formal vote, erased from their list. This incident, it may be well conceived, was not much adapted to conciliate good-will for the primate soon after, when the rebel parliament had succeeded in their usurpation, and became the ruling authority of the land.

It was in the same summer that the primate administered the holy communion to the king at Oxford, when, immediately before receiving, his majesty made a public and solemn declaration of his intention to support the "establishment of the true reformed protestant religion," &c.

He also preached during this period, with great eloquence and effect, against the proceedings of the parliament; and at last they became so incensed, that an order for the seizure of his books, which had been deposited in Chelsea, was made and executed. This act of petty malignity was defeated by Dr Featly, who had at the moment some influence, and secured the books for the primate by purchasing them as for himself. This worthy divine was soon after discovered to be a correspondent of Usher's, and expelled from their assembly for "adhering to the enemy." His livings were sequestrated, his property seized, and he himself imprisoned and treated with a severity which soon put an end to his life.

It will readily be conceived, at a time and in a country where the great controversy of church government had come to hold a place as important as that which the church of Rome had held in his own country during his previous life, that the primate was not likely now to be an idle spectator of the contest. To some of his labours in this cause we have adverted. His residence at Oxford was now employed in a work for the maintenance of episcopacy, and his studies were assisted by Dr Hammond. He produced a treatise, in which he showed that the bishop of Ephesus exercised a jurisdiction similar to that of an archbishop in the English church.

It is among those circumstances, which in the highest degree should be remembered to the honour of the primate, that while in just and forcible terms he reprehended the foul crimes which were then in their progress, he no less firmly exposed the scandalous amusements of the court party. He delicately, but forcibly, impressed the truth that while the crimes of their enemies appeared to them in all their true enormity, they forgot to look to their own sins, and overlooked the awful fact, that evil instruments were sometimes used to execute the judgments of God. And, indeed, the hypocrisy of those plundering and murderous fanatics might well be balanced in wickedness, by the profane and licentious cavalier, whose conduct, though less revolting to the feelings of humanity, or the laws of society, were at least as far from grace. Among the fanatics, it would be unjust to affirm that numbers were not sincere, humble, and pious Christians: crowds were the slaves of a misdirected enthusiasm, and followed their leaders in the simplicity of their faith: but the unhappy conjunction of religion with rebellion of the blackest dye, had the most demoralizing influence for many years, not only on their opponents, but on the moral and spiritual state of England. A confusion of principles, to which the human mind is ever tending, seemed thus to derive an unfortunate sanction from the association, by which the most sacred and eternal truths were made to serve as the guise of all that is inconsistent with social order, and even in contradiction to the very first principles of christian truth. The language of divine truth, dictated to the holiest of mortals by the Spirit of God, thus divorced from its intent, and used to decorate the most unholy ends and tempers with the veil of spurious sanctity, obtained the name of cant and sanctimonious hypocrisy; and those who were glad to escape the pure jurisdiction of gospel truth, were but too happy to find it guilty of all the vice, and folly, and baseness, that walked in its name. Hence by a spurious yet not singular circle of moral causes, which it would here be refining too far to trace out minutely, religion and moral virtue became opposed in the mass of social prejudices and conventions of which human opinion is made up. Those duties which flow from social affections and interests, and have only this transitory state for their end, became first opposed to religion; and then, by a natural compromise, substituted in its stead, to the exclusion of all that higher range of graces and duties which have a further and nobler end in the destination of man for a higher service and happier state. And this religion of society was soon adopted by the church, which, thus deprived of its indwelling spirit, thenceforth began, for several generations, to

dwindle into an institution. Such was the more permanent and serious revolution which lay involved in the inner shrine of the tempest then about to break upon England, and against which the primate, and men like him, were then lifting up their testimonies in vain.

In one of his sermons before the king, the primate dwelt strongly on the increasing vice and licentiousness of his friends; and observed, that "as no prayers or fastings in the world can sanctify a rebellion, nor tempt God to own an unjust party, so neither will a good cause alone justify us, any more than a true religion without practice." And after some further obvious exposition of this plain truth, he turned upon the wickedness of the time, and reprobated "the looseness and debauchedness of manners which he had observed in too many, who believed that being on the right side would atone for all other faults."

In the beginning of 1645, the siege of Oxford was expected; and as the primate was become an object of inveterate hate to the parliamentarians, it was generally thought advisable that he should betake himself to some more secure retreat. Accordingly he determined to take refuge in Cardiff Castle, which was then commanded by his son-in-law, Sir T. Tyrrel. He left Oxford with the prince of Wales, with whose escort he proceeded to Bristol, and from thence he safely reached his destination, where he was joyfully received by his daughter and son-in-law. Having taken care to bring a good collection of books with him, he was here enabled for a year to pursue his studious labours in happy and contented retirement, and composed a considerable part of his annals.

During this sojourn, his studies were for a time partially interrupted by a visit from the king, who, after he had left the unfortunate field of Naseby, fought on June 14, 1645, proceeded to Ragland castle, the princely seat of the marquess of Worcester, from which, after a few days of painful indecision, he retired to Cardiff. Here, in the sad conviction of ruin, expressed in his reply to the sanguine suggestions of the fiery Rupert, but still throwing his dependence on God and the justice of his cause,* Charles found, in the conversation of the primate, a consolation suited to such a frame of mind. It is likely, that like the devoted monarch, to whose breast he then endeavoured to supply the balm and strength which, when human counsels fail, are to be derived from trust in divine wisdom, Usher indulged in hopes founded on the same reliance; true in principle, but ever misapplied in the narrow scope of human foresight. The monarch and the prelate justly conceived that truth, justice, religion, and piety, must be the ultimate objects of providential care. They did not mark the vast evils bound up with the existing system of a monarchy grown too narrow for the ever-advancing progress and expansion of society, and could not conjecture that the end of that awful confusion was to be the means of breaking up old steel-bound conventions and deep-seated rights, which nothing short of the earthquake could dissolve. They looked on the rights and wrongs of the time as men, and with a view to the crimes or claims of individuals, and failed perhaps to reflect on the great truth, that the wisdom and equity of the Supreme Ruler are dispensed

* Clarendon.

upon a larger scale than the fortunes of individuals, for whose sins or sufferings there is another place of compensation. The violated laws and the persecuted church were to be restored, after they had been purged by fire. Those tyrannical courts, and despotic stretches of power over the freedom and conscience of the subject, which a pious king like Charles thought it his right or duty to enforce or maintain, were to be swept away only by the dissolution of the bonds of honour and principles of opinion, with which they were inextricably entwined.

The primate deeply felt the present condition of the king's prospects, and bitterly lamented the overthrow of the church; and when the king left the castle, he expressed his feelings strongly to Dr Parr. But he was shortly after himself compelled to abandon a retreat which had in many respects been so grateful to his feelings. The king's diminishing resources required the concentration of the wrecks of his army; and the outlying garrisons were many of them in consequence drawn away from their posts. Among such cases was Cardiff: the place was abandoned, and the primate was for some time perplexed whither to turn for refuge. Oxford was the desire of his heart; but between him and Oxford there lay a country possessed by the rebels. He had received several kind and flattering invitations from France and Holland, and was balancing them in his mind, when he received an invitation from the dowager, lady Stradling, to her castle of St Donat.

The invitation was seasonable; but it was known that the Welsh had risen in large bodies, estimated to be not less than ten thousand, and occupied the country through which the primate was to pass. Still, among the various defiles of the mountainous districts which lay around, it might be perhaps possible to find some unfrequented way, so as to pass without any interruption from the insurgents: such a path was suggested, and the inhabitants about Cardiff collected together to escort the primate on his way. Unhappily, they did not go far before they fell upon a straggling party, who, having surrounded and seized them, first perhaps with the intention of plunder, but finding the quality of their prisoners, they carried them to the place where the main body lay: there the primate and his party were dragged from their horses, and his baggage and effects were opened, scattered, and rifled of whatever appeared to these lawless insurgents to have any value. The most valuable remains of property, in his possession, consisted of those books which had hitherto been saved to him through every trouble: the chests which contained them were on this occasion broken open, and the books, with numerous manuscripts of inestimable value, scattered through the crowd. It is hard to say to what extremity this outrage might have been carried,—a crowd gathers exasperation from its own actions; and when the work of cupidity was done, the primate and the party who accompanied him, consisting of lady Tyrrel and other ladies, offered incentives enough for all the brutal passions of a mob. But happily, the arrival of several of the officers put a stop to further indignities. These were all gentlemen of the country, and were shocked and indignant at the scene of brutal outrage which presented itself. They instantly threw themselves among the people, enforced order, and compelled the instant restitution of all the property that could be recovered; and having remounted the

party on their horses, they escorted them with great courtesy and respect to the mansion of Sir John Aubrey. Here they met with the most hospitable reception. On retiring to his chamber, the primate naturally hastened to examine the state of his most valuable manuscripts, and was mortified and grieved to find that many were missing. These he mentioned as the heaviest and most distressing of all the heavy losses he had till then sustained. "I never," writes Parr, "saw him so troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself, said that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter, and those that endeavoured to comfort him, 'I know that it is God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; for I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advantage of learning and the good of the church.'" It demands but a slight effort of reflection to enter into the feelings thus expressed; and, unless in some afflicting disaster, which strikes the deepest affections of our nature, it would not be easy to devise so trying a calamity. Pain and disease are trials which all are born to sustain, and for which the wise and good are prepared; the loss of fortune can be borne with equanimity by ordinary minds, and in proportion to the sufferer's virtue and wisdom, takes little away, and for a short time; but he who labours to achieve great and perpetual additions to the wisdom of his kind, and the improvement and extension of human knowledge, has learned to identify his labours with great and permanent ends. The years thus spent are not reckoned in his thoughts as merely so much time wasted on the fleeting purposes of common life: they are measured by the durability and importance of their fruits; and when, by some accident, these fruits are lost, the heart is struck with the vastness and irrevocable nature of that loss; for the trifler who wastes life in weaving the sands of human folly, and the philosopher who builds for all future time, have alike but a few measured moments of eternity for all that is to be done on earth, and he who would effect much, soon learns to look with tremulous anxiety on the swift and uncertain succession of his years. We are aware that beyond these feelings of the studious mind, there expands a wider and more profound system of truth: but it is beyond our present scope; we speak but of a sentiment—the error, perhaps the disease, of the philosopher. A loss like that under which Usher's christian spirit bent but for a moment, was the annihilation of a large portion of that for which he had lived: the pile which twenty years had raised for remote posterity was suddenly struck down, and all earthly losses seemed light in comparison.

But this heavy blow, at least, was averted, from the decline of his honourable age. The most respectable inhabitants of the country crowded the next day to pay their respects, and on hearing of these losses, they promised their most active co-operation for the purpose of recovering the primate's manuscripts. A large party was soon assembled, by whom he was conducted to his destination at the castle of St Donat. The gentry of the country, and especially the clergy, were

not remiss in the performance of their promise: the manuscripts, so valuable to their owner, had fallen into the hands of persons to whom they were of no value, and were thus easily recovered. Notices were publicly read and posted at the churches, that any who possessed them should deliver them up to the clergy or to their landlords; and thus, before two months, they were nearly all recovered, and restored to their owner.

Sir Edward Stradling was himself a studious and learned antiquarian, and had been industrious in the collection of rare books and curious manuscripts. Here therefore the primate was enabled to pursue his studies with advantage, and discovered some new and valuable materials. His studies were, however, after a time, interrupted by a violent and dangerous hæmorrhage, which continued for eighteen weeks, so that for a time his life was despaired of. But in the suffering and danger of this illness, it is mentioned by his chaplain that he was still patient, "praising God, and resigning himself up to his will, and giving all those about him, or that came to visit him, excellent heavenly advice, to a holy life and due preparation for death." While thus calmly awaiting the death which he imagined to be near, he was visited by a gentleman related to the family of St Donat, who was a member of the rebel parliament. He addressed him thus:—"Sir, you see I am very weak, and cannot expect to have many hours; you are returning to the parliament, I am going to God; I charge you to tell them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the king."

The parliament was destined to proceed in its career of madness and guilt to far more fearful lengths: but the primate happily recovered. It quickly became apparent that England was likely soon to contain no refuge for learning, loyalty, or sanctity. The arena of civil war was clearing on every side, and it was suggested to Usher to seek refuge in some of those foreign universities from which he had often received pressing invitations. A vessel was soon found; but when all was ready for embarkation, a squadron of rebel ships, commanded by a parliamentary leader, came in sight, and approached so near as to render any further proceeding impossible, without the permission of the commander. Accordingly, Parr was sent to this person, and received a rude and contumelious answer, refusing to let the primate pass, and threatening that if he should fall into this ruffian's hands, he would carry him prisoner to the parliament.

Thus baffled in his purpose, the primate was for some time longer detained at St Donat's, but in considerable doubt as to his future proceedings. At last he received a very warm invitation from lady Peterborough, expressive of her continued gratitude for the great service she had formerly received from him, when his controversy with the Jesuit had been the means of converting her late lord—for she was now a widow. He accepted the kind invitation, and left St Donat's, where he had continued for nearly a year. It is mentioned, that on this occasion large sums of money were privately sent to him by several of the gentry in that part of the country, to meet the expenses of his journey. Nor were these acts of private, unostentatious, and disinterested bounty, superfluous: the primate was, at the time, absolutely

destitute of all pecuniary resources. It is surely gratifying to read of deeds so honourable to human nature, and affording so admirable a testimony to the resplendent worth and sanctity of the character, which seems to have awakened and called forth such active and universal benevolence. Nor is the occasion less illustrative of the providential protection so often to be recognised amid the trials of good and holy men, whose care is ever cast on that power by which the righteous is never forsaken.

The primate set out with an anxious mind on his dangerous journey, and arrived without interruption in London, in the month of June, 1646, at the house of the countess of Peterborough. London was at this time completely in the power of the rebels, but with this main difference from the condition of remoter places, that here, whatever there was of learned or noble in the parliamentary party, exercised a restraining influence. The violence of rebellion is always, in some degree, sure to be tempered by those just and true principles which must be recognised to reconcile the better portion of a party to their own conduct, and as this rebellion was unusually strengthened by a mixture of such principles, it was largely tempered by the admixture of good and able men, who had been either carried away by political theory, or by their opposition to the abuses of the prerogative, and who still entertained the hope of first reforming, and then restoring, the disjointed powers of the constitution. In the metropolis, too, the frame of society still held together, though much and rudely shaken, and among the many institutions and corporate bodies, which were still indispensable to order, many persons were allowed to live in quiet at the price of a respectful silence. Here, therefore, the despotism of popular power was broken by forms and restraints, and a respect for opinion enforced more moderate and more humane proceedings towards those who took care to afford no specious handle for outrage. In such a place, the venerable years and high reputation of the primate were comparatively safe: yet such indignity as circumstances permitted was not withheld. The parliament had issued an order, that persons coming from any of the king's garrisons to town, should appear and give notice of their arrival to a committee, which sat for the purpose. To comply with this mandate, the primate sent his chaplain, Dr Parr, to acquaint the committee of his arrival and place of residence. The committee, however, refused to receive the intimation, and insisted on the personal appearance of the archbishop. On a summons he appeared in person, and underwent a strict and curious questioning as to his sojourn and occupation during his absence from London, and whether he had been using any influence with the king in favour of the papists. They then tendered an oath, which had been recently framed for suspected loyalists, but he demanded time to consider it, and withdrew. As he had several friends in the house, there was speedily an interposition of friendly influence, which protected him from further annoyance on this, or any other trouble from the same quarter. Immediately after, he removed with the countess to her residence at Reigate, in Surrey.

In the following year, leave was, with some difficulty, obtained for the primate to preach in London, and he was elected preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, who appointed him a handsome

and commodious suite of apartments, to which he removed the remains of his library. He there attended and preached every Sunday, for the following six years, to the Benchers, among whom, at the time, was Mr Hale, afterwards one of the most illustrious ornaments of the king's bench in England. The primate's condition now became one of comparative ease: though deprived of the extrinsic advantages of wealth, station, and authority,—though an exile from his country, and deprived of the presence of the connexions and friends of his life,—yet he was still cherished by the reverent respect of all that remained of wisdom and goodness in these disjointed times; and even in the helplessness of poverty and old age, like a venerable ruin, he was hedged round by the respect even of the enemies of his church. A letter which he at this time wrote to the learned Vossius, gives an affecting sketch of the sufferings of the last few years. Adverting to the Irish insurrection, he writes:—"Thereby, in addition to the public losses, and the most barbarous and savage massacre of protestants that ever was perpetrated, I am myself despoiled of all those external possessions which we commonly denominate goods. My library alone was snatched from the flames; but even that is not yet in my possession; for I again met with tumults and excesses in England, which drove me from Oxford into Wales, where I suffered under a distressing disease for full eighteen weeks, and was at length saved, as it were, from the very jaws of the tomb, by the great mercy of God. I am unwilling to say anything about my reception on my return to London; nor would I have recalled to memory those other sad occurrences, were it not with a view to show you how I have been withheld from literary pursuits, and communication with men of letters."

In September, 1648, the presbyterian party, who constituted a majority in the house of commons, were desirous to secure their apparent preponderance, by a treaty, with the king, then confined in Carisbrook castle. Although there seems to have been little intention of discussing, on terms of equality, the questions of difference there to be proposed, they ordered that a certain number of the clergy of the episcopal church should be admitted, for the purpose of informing his conscience on ecclesiastical affairs; and of those who were summoned on the occasion, primate Usher was one. At this time the king had been a prisoner since the beginning of the previous year, and his friends were much shocked at the change which grief, bodily fatigue, and severe mental exertion, had made in his appearance. Within a year he had become quite gray; but his spirit, unbroken by trial, had collected vigour and firm endurance; and it is mentioned by Hume, and other historians, that on this occasion he astonished the commissioners by the surprising skill, readiness, extent of knowledge, and command of all the resources of reason, through a controversy in which he was for two months compelled to maintain his own side singly against all the commissioners. Yet on that occasion, there was perhaps a deeper anxiety to bring matters to a conclusion among his antagonists, and their position was more affected by a sense of present emergency. The king must have become aware of the unsubstantial value of any conclusion to which he might come with them: they were but a section of his enemies; one of the two great parties leagued

in rebellion against the crown, but deeply opposed to each other; and the struggle between them and their antagonists was at this time approaching a crisis so imminent, that it was a matter of deep interest to bring the conference to a speedy termination. The presbyterians had set this conference on foot, for the purpose of strengthening themselves against the independents. The former possessed the majority in parliament; the latter possessed the army; and it was while Cromwell, the great leader of the independents, was pushing forward, and endeavouring to conclude the war in the north, that the presbyterian party obtained the vote by which this conference was appointed. It is now easy to see how little more than a little additional bloodshed could have resulted from any concession on the king's part. Had he tamely resigned all for which he had so long held out, on the grounds of conscience, the time was past when those who really directed the storm would have closed with any terms short of their own secret views of personal ambition. When the work of such men is to be done by force, it is easy to find just reasons to satisfy the crowd; and, indeed, it should be observed, that the demands of the presbyterians, on the score of religion, were far from commensurate with the latitude claimed by the preaching and canting soldiers of Cromwell, who, having overthrown episcopacy, would have called out for the overthrow of presbytery with equal fury. The king went far in concession, but not enough to content his opponents; but Usher is mentioned to have proposed the concessions of the king, and suggested a compromise on a different basis. His main proposal was, to retain the bishops, and render them subservient to the counsel of the clergy; but this was insufficient. It was thought generally by the opposite party, that the king would have yielded to the apparent emergency of his situation, and given up all to the commissioners, but for the presence and counsel of Usher; and the primate thus, and by a sermon preached during the conference before the king, drew upon himself much censure and violent enmity.

Having taken leave of the king, Usher proceeded on his return to London. At Southampton, he received an application from the inhabitants to preach, but was not allowed by the parliamentary magistrates to comply. Not long after, he was accidentally among the spectators of the king's last earthly pains. The incident is told with much affecting and graphic truth, by Parr. "The lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then lived, being just over against Charing-cross, divers of the countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my lord primate of it, and asked if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling; but was at last persuaded to go up, as well out of his desire to see his majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the king was in his speech: the lord primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his majesty had done speaking, and pulled off his cloak and

doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizors began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away; so they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz., prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings."

During this interval, the primate was mainly engaged in his great work on chronology, which, together with his duty as preacher to Lincoln's Inn, occupied his days, and in some measure diverted his mind from the calamities of the time. These labours were, it is true, in some measure made heavier by the increasing infirmities of his advanced age; among which the most distressing was, the rapid decay of his sight, so that he could only write in strong light, and was mostly compelled to follow the sunshine from room to room. He found solace also in the correspondence of many of the worthiest and most learned men of his day, and though firmly attached to his principles, was yet restrained by no uncharitable prejudice from free and kind intercourse with the good and wise of every communion. Among his friends was the celebrated Richard Baxter, who wrote the most popular and useful of his numerous writings at the suggestion of the primate, leaving indeed thus a valuable testimony to the critical sagacity of his adviser. With Hall, Hammond, and other eminent ecclesiastics, whose names are honourably associated in those days of tribulation; as also with Causabon, Vossius, and other celebrated scholars, he kept up a friendly intercourse to the last.

In the family of the countess of Peterborough, whose name is rendered venerable and illustrious by her pious and affectionate care of his last declining years, the primate was attentive to the spiritual welfare of the household, and took a uniform part in their devotions. He was earnest in impressing the necessity of spiritual meditation and private prayer, without which public worship is but a form; and his counsel was maintained and enforced by the consistent tenor of his conduct. As the perceptible progress of decline appeared to bring more near the mysterious barrier at which the cares and trappings of mortality are put off, his spirit was more exclusively and more strongly upheld by faith in the only refuge which can rationally avail against the terrors of that awful approach. When Cromwell found his own power established and firm against the warring crosswinds of creed and faction, he seems for a time to have entertained the idea of relaxing the persecution against the ministers of the church: and it was by many thought to be indicative of good, when in 1654 he invited the primate to visit him. This invitation may, however, with more likelihood be attributed to the increased intercourse with respectable men of every class, which followed his elevation. The primate hesitated; but in addition to the hope of good, he must have felt the contrary result which might follow on a refusal, which could not but carry with it

some portion of contempt. He therefore very reluctantly made up his mind to pay the expected visit.

He was received by Cromwell with the respect and courtesy due to his character, and was consulted on the best means for the general advancement of the protestant religion both at home and abroad. Such a conversation can easily be conceived to have passed with much cordiality, and even unanimity of sentiment; it is probable it was confined to the consideration of political means. But on a larger view, it is plain enough that there were suggestions enough to be avoided with some degree of tact and forbearance. The consideration of Cromwell was more substantially shown; the allowance which the parliament had made for the primate's subsistence, had been suspended for some time; but about this time it was renewed by the Protector's order. He also promised him a lease for twenty-one years, of a part of the lands in his diocese of Armagh: but the promise, when claimed by Sir T. Tyrrel, was afterwards refused, on the suspicion of his being infected with loyalty.

In 1655, Cromwell felt himself strong enough to cast aside even the stern and captious connivance which he had till then maintained towards the church of England clergy; and issued from his council a declaration in which they were excluded even from the private exercise of their ministry. The blow was as deeply felt, and as cruel as it was needless; for the ministry of these persecuted men was purely spiritual, and in no way involving any political agency, further than the general connexion then supposed to exist between episcopacy and the monarchical constitution of England—but this indeed was perhaps enough. The supposed influence of the primate pointed him out as the fittest person to plead the cause of the suffering clergy: he undertook the mission, and, in his first interviews with Cromwell, obtained a promise that the clergy should not be molested, if they would abstain from political interference. But when the primate again went to have the promise confirmed in writing, he found Cromwell in the hands of the surgeon, who was dressing a boil on his breast. He asked the primate to sit down, saying that he would speak to him when dressed. In the mean time, he pointed to the boil and said, "If this core were out I should be quickly well." "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart which must be taken out, or else it will not be well," replied the primate. "Ah! so there is indeed," said the lord Protector with a sigh. After this characteristic colloquy, when the surgeon departed, and the primate proposed his errand, Cromwell cut him short with the statement that he had consulted with his council since their last interview; and they had advised against granting liberty of conscience to men whom he considered to be implacable enemies to his government—and the matter ended. The primate felt deeply wounded by the falsehood of the proceeding, and still more afflicted for the sake of the persecuted men who had committed their cause to him. He retired with a heavy heart, and shut himself up in his chamber. To the friends who came to inquire of his success, he said, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his

wickedness, for he will not continue long. The king will return: though I shall not live to see it, you may."

Evelyn, in his diary, mentions some particulars of an interview with the primate a little after the last mentioned incident:—it is on many accounts worthy of being transcribed, "1655, Aug. 21. I went to Ryegate to visit Mrs Cary, at my lady Peterborough's, in an ancient monastery, well in repaire, but the parke much defaced; the house is nobly furnished. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was the property of Hen. VIII.; and was taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Ryegate was now y^e archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He received me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew, there was little fruite to be gathered of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable; that the best text was y^e Hebrew Bible; that y^e Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; but St Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; and that the 70 translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr Selden's best book was his 'Titles of Honour;' that the church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in poperie. In conclusion, he recommended me to the study of philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wooton."

But the hour of rest was fast approaching: the measure of afflictions and the cup of trial had long been full; the career illustrious for good deeds, and labours of love, was closing in its fulness, and a large bequest of immortal works, monuments more durable than the results of conquest, completed to guide and enlighten future times. And seldom does a good man leave this scene of trial under circumstances which can be dwelt on with more full complacency.

For the last two years of his life, he was obliged by the loss of his teeth to desist from preaching, though he still continued to make occasional efforts in the pulpit, at the entreaty of his admirers and friends: and his preaching was eagerly followed to the last. One of his latest efforts was, a funeral sermon for his friend the learned Selden, who was buried in the temple.

After the afflicting result of his last mentioned communication with Cromwell, he went to Ryegate, and entered on his usual studies, having been for some time engaged in the endeavour to complete his Annals. And here he spent the remaining few weeks of his life, between the commencement of the year, and the 20th of March in the year 1656. In this interval he was visited by Dr Parr, who preached before him, and records a few of the remarks made to him after his discourse, by the primate. "I thank you for your sermon. I am going out of this world, and I now desire according to your text, *to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*; and to be with him in heaven, of which we can

have no doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our conversion, true faith and charity, and live in the exercise of those christian graces and virtues, with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, and renouncing all ungodliness and worldly lusts, &c."

On the 20th of March there appeared no cause for any present apprehension in the primate's health; he rose as usual, and passed the morning among his books and engaged in his wonted task. He laid aside his labour to visit a sick lady, to whom he offered the encouragements and consolations of the gospel, with more than even his wonted flow of spiritual and heavenly-minded energy. And the day passed away as usual; but at night his rest was broken by some pain, which instead of passing off as was at first hoped, grew more violent towards morning, and resisted every means employed to quiet it. He bore it with the patience of a christian; but it subdued his remaining strength, and he soon felt an increase of exhaustion, from which he knew that he could not expect to rally. On the first interval of ease, he called for the chaplain of the family to assist his last devotions, and after some time spent in earnest prayer, he solemnly addressed the family who surrounded his bed, with those impressive truths which belonged to the occasion. He concluded by thanking his kind friend and benefactress for all her care and friendship which had smoothed his path of trials and adversities so long. He then expressed a wish to be left alone, to collect his mind for the change which he felt approaching; and in this state met the end of his earthly pilgrimage, and entered upon the rest of his Lord.

The countess of Peterborough intended that the remains of her venerable friend should have a place in her family vault at Ryegate. Cromwell, whose judgment and good taste were seldom astray, in any thing nearly concerning the honour and dignity of his government, sent to countermand the preparation, and ordered that there should be a public funeral. For this a distant day was fixed, and the proceeding and ceremony appointed. On this no detail is required. On the 17th of April, twenty-seven days from his death, he was brought from Ryegate to St George's church in Southwark, where, according to order, the procession was joined by his friends; from thence he was borne to Somerset house, in the Strand, where at one o'clock, "those of the ministry and others," met and accompanied the corpse to Westminster abbey, when it was interred in the chapel. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr Bernard, of Gray's inn, formerly his chaplain, and afterwards one of his biographers. His text was in 1 Samuel xxv. 1. *And Samuel died; and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him.* Great crowds attended, and much respect was strongly displayed by the people.

At the close of a memoir, in which we have been led to transgress the limits of our measured space, it must be unnecessary to dwell further on the character of one whose mind is so amply delineated in all his deeds. He was in person above the middle height, with a countenance grave, dignified, and intelligent, but mild, combining in its expression the humanity of the scholar with the benevolence of the christian. Nor was the engaging promise of his appearance belied in his frank and kind conversation, which overflowed ever with the

wisdom of his intellect and the charity of his heart. Of that superiority of knowledge, which placed him, *facile princeps*, at the head of the eminent scholars of his day, his works remain to speak.

The history of his library, which was nearly the entire of his property, is not without its interest. It was his known intention to bequeath it to the university of Dublin, the nurse of his genius. But there were some strong reasons against the execution of his design, and obstacles arose which had nearly deprived the kingdom altogether of this venerable monument. The primate, considering the large family of lady Tyrrel, to whom he had given no fortune, bequeathed the books to her. A handsome price was offered for them by the king of Denmark, and cardinal Mazarin was no less liberal. Cromwell prohibited a sale so unfortunate for the honour of England, and it was not long after purchased by the Irish army to be presented to the university: here again Cromwell interposed, and the volumes were, by his order, stored in some rooms of Dublin castle. After the restoration, they were presented by the king to the university; and yet form a valuable portion of its library.

Lancelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1619.—DIED A. D. 1650.

BULKELEY was born in Wales, about the year 1568; his family was noble. He received his education in the university of Oxford, where he took Master's degree. In 1593 he was ordained, and obtained a benefice in Wales. He was afterwards promoted to the archdeaconry of Dublin, and after filling this office for a short time, he was consecrated archbishop of the same see.

The history of his life, if related in detail, would only bring us over the same ground through which we have already had to pass in frequent repetitions: we shall therefore select a few incidents more proper to his history. We have already mentioned the main outline of the dispute concerning the primacy, which he renewed with primate Hampton, and afterwards with Usher, in whose favour it was decided.

In 1629, he was informed that the friars of a Carmelite monastery, in Cook Street, were busy in the dissemination of that insurrectionary spirit, and those seditious doctrines which in no long time after manifested their effects in a sanguinary massacre and rebellion. With laudable spirit the archbishop applied to the constituted authorities for a warrant and military force to seize the offenders. The Carmelites showed no less spirit in the defence of their brethren: they refused to give up the offenders, and with the aid of the mob resisted the archbishop and his musqueteers so effectively, that he had some difficulty in making his escape from their fury. The transaction indicates the advance already made at the time by the papal power in this country, and the inefficiency of the organization by which it was resisted—the real cause of the sufferings of the Irish people during that stormy century. A report was made to the privy council in England, and it was directed, "That the house where so many

friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the reverend archbishop, and the mayor of Dublin, received the first public affront, be speedily demolished, and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority; and that the rest of the houses, erected or employed there or elsewhere in Ireland, to the use of superstitious societies, be converted to houses of correction, &c." This order appears seasoned with a due sense of the decisive character of the danger of the times. But it was the prominent defect in the government of Ireland, that it was rather violent by starts than steadily administered: thus entailing the ill effects of individual caprice and temper, rather than the calm but strong action of a systematic policy, firmly and uniformly pursued. All demonstrations of vigour were deprived of their proper effect, and tainted with the colouring of wrong, by being retracted as soon as the irritation of the moment died away. Against such feeble demonstrations, the sanction of religion, the cry of pretended wrong, the specious assertion of rights and denial of accusations were opposed with a front of consistency, and a persevering combination of artifice and zeal, which were enough to deceive even those who were deepest in the counsels of the Romish cabinet, and to kindle slowly, but surely, the fuel of 1641.* The orders of the privy council were rarely carried into effect: and lenity had the uniform result, which it must always have when uncombined with the due assertion of public authority, and acts of popular violence soon compelled a partial demonstration of vigour. A priest seized for some infraction of the law was forcibly rescued by the populace: in consequence, the English council directed the seizure of fifteen religious houses which had been recently erected in Dublin.

In 1635, a charter was granted by the king confirming to the archbishop of Dublin and his successors, all previous liberties, privileges, and grants, belonging to the see. "This charter very fully details, in particular, the extent and privileges of the manor of St Sepulchre's and its liberties."†

In the year 1647, when the embers of the long rebellion in this island were quenched in blood by the relentless sword of Cromwell and Ireton, the Irish church followed the fortune of the church of England, and lay prostrate under the spiritual democracy of the independents. The liturgy was prohibited, and the directory established in the churches of the metropolis. In the university alone, the forms of the church were reluctantly connived at, and the liturgy was retained in the college chapel.

In 1649, however, the archbishop ventured an act of honourable disobedience to the spiritual tyranny of the commonwealth. Feeling the decay of life, and broken by the operation of grief and repeated shocks of insult and resentment, he resolved to take his leave in public of a dignity shorn of its honours and sacred functions. With this view he assembled a congregation at St Patrick's cathedral, among which were many persons afterwards promoted to eminence in better days, the two Parrys afterwards bishops of Ossory, a future dean of

* We consider this to be the best palliation of the massacre of 1641. They who deny the facts of that period, and vindicate its principles, take inconsistent ground.

† Dalton.

the cathedral, a provost of the university. On this occasion the liturgy of the church was read for the last time until the Restoration, in Dublin; and a touching and pathetic farewell address delivered by the archbishop in the sermon which he preached on the occasion. In consequence of this bold act of righteous resistance, the archbishop with all those who had been present on the occasion were arrested and imprisoned. And immediately after, an act was passed for the seizure and appropriation to certain public uses and endowments, of all the lards, &c., of the metropolitan see, with those of the cathedral of St Patrick. This was followed in the next year by an act abolishing the church and hierarchy.

This year the archbishop was released from the scene of disaster and humiliation, and from the sufferings and infirmities of a broken spirit and a decayed body, by a seasonable translation to a state where thieves cannot break through. He died Sept. 1650, in the eighty-second year of his age, at Tallagh, and was interred under the communion table in Patrick's cathedral.

William Bedell.

BORN A. D. 1570.—DIED A. D. 1642.

AMIDST all the afflictions of the church, from the earliest ages to the present day, she has still had faithful witnesses to preserve, uphold, and disseminate the doctrines of Christ; and however different their sphere, contrasted their position, or distant their time, they still bear the same lineaments, are impelled or restrained by the same motives, and, however differing in natural character, they still prove that they belong to the same family, and are members of the one Head. William Bedell, the subject of our present memoir, is one of those "burning and shining lights," who for a lengthened season continued to do his Master's work here upon earth, and then joined that "noble army of martyrs," who have sealed and confirmed by their deaths all that their lives laboured to establish. The crown of martyrdom was not won to him by the fagot or the sword; but he watched and waited for it, and ultimately attained it, through a protracted period of danger and suffering, during which, it may be truly said, he "died daily;" yet death seemed still withheld, that he might, by his influence and example, strengthen and sustain the suffering band by which he was surrounded. He was born at Black-Notley, in Essex, 1570, and was descended from an ancient and respectable family. He received a classical education, and was sent to Emmanuel college, Cambridge, where he was highly respected for his learning, piety, and matured powers of mind, so that his opinion was often resorted to by his seniors in their disputes and controversies. He early became impressed with the truths of the Christian religion, and before he took upon himself the duties of a minister, he practically performed them, going about with some young college friends, in the neighbourhood of the university, where there were no Christian teachers, instructing and awakening the people "who were living without God in the world," and placing before them, in strong

colours, their awful position, and the glad tidings which he came to publish amongst them, of which they were nearly as ignorant as the more distant heathen.

After leaving the university, he removed to the town of Bury St Edmunds, in Suffolk, where he first regularly engaged in the ministry. "Not long after his settlement there," says one of his biographers, "an incident occurred which showed that he neither courted preference nor feared unmerited displeasure. At a meeting of the clergy of the diocese of Norwich, the bishop made some proposition to which Mr Bedell could not conscientiously assent. The rest of the clergy entertained the like objections, but were unwilling to express their sentiments. Thinking, therefore, that the matters in question were too important to be silently adopted, he ventured to address the bishop, and stated his opinions with so much force of argument, and, at the same time, calmness of temper, that some of the obnoxious measures were withdrawn. When the meeting was over, the clergy gathered round him, and applauded the steps which he had taken; but he only assured them in reply, that he desired not the praises of men." He continued at Bury for many years, and was a zealous and active minister, endeavouring rather to awaken the conscience than excite the feelings, and remarkable as a preacher for the clearness and simplicity of his style, and the truth and force of his applications. He was at length appointed chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador of James at the court of Venice, having been selected as the fittest person for a situation made responsible by the critical period of the interdict. His friend and fellow-student, Mr Waddesworth, who occupied the same chambers with him in college, and had also a benefice under the bishop of Norwich, was, about the same period, unfortunately sent into Spain, and was subsequently appointed to teach the Infanta English, in the expectation of her becoming the future queen of Charles I. From this period the two friends diverged into totally different paths; Waddesworth adopting the creed of the country into which he had been transplanted, and ending his life in a monastery, while Bedell rapidly progressed in Christian knowledge, zeal, and humility, and gladly laid down his life in defence of the faith he professed. An interesting correspondence took place between the two friends on this subject, of which we shall give, in the course of this memoir, some specimens, were it only to show the spirit of Christian love and charity with which it was conducted upon both sides.

On the occasion of Bedell's appointment, Sir Henry, writing to the earl of Salisbury, says, "I have occasion, at the present, of begging your lordship's passport and encouragement for one Mr Bedell, whom I shall be very glad to have with me in the place of chaplain, because I hear very singular commendation of his good gifts and discreet behaviour. It may therefore please your lordship, when he shall take the boldness to present himself before you, to set forward also this piece of God's service."

During his residence in this city, he formed a close intimacy and enduring friendship with Fra Paolo Sarpi, better known by the appellation of Father Paul, the official theologian, or divine of the senate, and author of the celebrated history of the councils of Trent. With

this eminent and excellent man he spent a large portion of his time, in study and religious conversation, unrestrained by any of those nominal differences that might exist between them; for Father Paul was zealously seeking for the truth, and prepared to receive it, through whatever channel it might flow. They mutually assisted each other in the study of their native languages, and frequently read together the Greek New Testament, on the different doctrinal passages of which Bedell always shed a new light, and explained them to the entire satisfaction of his friend. He afterwards confessed, with much candour, that "he had learned more of theology and practical religion from Mr Bedell, than from any other person with whom he had conversed during his whole life." He was also greatly struck with the English liturgy, which Bedell translated both into Italian and Latin, and in conjunction with many of his friends, resolved to adopt it into common use, in case their differences with the Pope (which were then at their height) should end, as they hoped, in separating them from his jurisdiction.

The origin of these differences is too well known to need discussion, and are detailed with great accuracy in the works of Father Paulo himself. We cannot, however, omit the argument made use of by cardinal Baronius to the Pope, for the purpose of proving the divine sanction that existed for his carrying death and destruction into the refractory state which had resisted his interdict, and retained two lawless friars in prison, the Pope having ordered their liberation. The cardinal stated that there had been two distinct injunctions given to St Peter, the first being, "Feed my sheep," but the second, "Arise and kill;" and that, therefore, "since he had already executed the first part of St Peter's duty, in *feeding the flock*, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but *to arise and kill*." The general ignorance of the Scriptures that prevailed, made it unnecessary for him to allude to the two distinct occasions on which these injunctions were given, as it is possible that the mass of the people knew nothing either of the prayer of Cornelius or the vision of Peter.

During Bedell's stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalata, came there, and formed an intimacy and friendship with him, in the course of which he communicated to him the secret of his having composed the ten books *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at London. Bedell corrected for him many mistakes, both in the quotations in it, and their applications, which the archbishop's ignorance of the Greek tongue made inevitable. The brief history and melancholy fate of this prelate may be given in a few words. On the termination of the differences some years after, between the Pope and Venice, he accompanied Bedell to England, where he was received with every mark of respect and consideration. The clergy, however, at last became offended and disgusted by his overweening pretensions, and his vanity made him resent their supposed derelictions. On the promotion of Pope Gregory IV., (his former schoolfellow,) he was led to believe that the Pope intended to give him a cardinal's hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs of importance. Under the mixed motives that generally influence

mankind, he yielded to the urgency and representations of Gundamor, the Spanish ambassador, hoping at once to become an instrument of reformation to the Romish church, and to forward his own views of personal aggrandizement. In an evil hour he returned to Rome, where he was at first well received, but happening to remark that cardinal Bellarmine, who wrote in opposition to him, had not refuted his arguments, a complaint was made to the Pope that he held the same opinions as formerly, and though he offered to refute those he before held, he was seized, thrown into the inquisition, never brought to trial, but privately poisoned a short time after, when his body was thrown out of a window, and his goods confiscated to the Pope. But to return to Bedell. About this period, a Jesuit, named Thomas Maria Carassa, published a work which he dedicated to the then Pope, blasphemously calling him PAVLO V. VICE DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo et Pontificiæ omnipotentiae conservatori acerrimo*,* which so much shocked Bedell, that it probably recalled to his mind some of the prophetic descriptions of the Man of Sin, and on retiring

to his study, and calculating the numerical letters of the title, PAVLO V. VICE DEO, he found it contain, by a strange coincidence, the number of the beast 666. He showed it to Sir Henry Wotton, to Father Paul, and to the seven divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the prince and the senate with it. It was carried suddenly through the city that this was Antichrist, and that they need not look for another." It was also published and preached through their territories; but when it came to the ears of the Pope, he caused a proclamation to be made, that Antichrist was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a great army to waste and destroy all opposers; he therefore ordered the princes of Christendom, their vassals and tenants, to arm themselves speedily, and make ready for the coming contest. The public mind was thus turned into another channel, and before facts disproved the assertion, the excitement had subsided, and the subject was forgotten.

Bedell resided for eight years in Venice, and the general estimation in which he was held may be inferred from the manner in which he is spoken of in a letter written by the eminent Diodati of Geneva, to De Mornay. It curiously happened that Diodati was afterwards the cause of his being noticed and promoted in England, where his unobtrusive merits were for many years unknown,—so often does it happen that a prophet has no honour in his own country. The letter is as follows, and was written in 1608, when the principles of the reformation had widely spread, and were zealously embraced, both in the Venetian states and the countries dependent on them. "There lately passed through this place, a secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, on his return from England to that city, from which he had been absent about two months and a half. He described to me so particularly the state of affairs, that it seemed to me as if God declared to

* To Paul V., the vice-God, the most invincible monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of papal omnipotence.

me, by his mouth, what he declared in a vision to St Paul at Corinth, the parallel between which city and Venice is very great.—*Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city.** This excellent person, who is grave and learned, spoke with much confidence of his hopes of some individuals, and of his expectation of most important general consequences: in sum, all is ready (to explode) and it only requires to apply the match. ‘Thus far,’ said he to me, ‘Venice is like a new world: it is the greatest consolation to find one’s self in companies and assemblies, at noblemen’s houses, and to hear them speak with so much piety and zeal of the truth of God, with those good men, Father Paul, Fulgentio, and Bedell, the ambassador’s chaplain. The public sermons are as good as could be preached at Geneva, and they are delivered with such earnestness, that crowds flock to hear them; and it is necessary to go very early to be in time to get a place. The inquisition is kept under by a senator, who is a member of it, without whose suffrage nothing can be decided; he is always chosen from amongst the greatest adversaries of the Pope. The vehemence against the Pope and the court of Rome is greater than ever. The Jesuits are denounced from the pulpit, their doctrines refuted and decried, and themselves mortally disliked. Many nobles provide themselves with tutors of the reformed religion to instruct their families; three-fourths of the nobility are warmly attached to the truth, and as these are gained over, so the rest are favourably inclined. The city is full of German artisans, who are, for the most part, protestants. My mind imagines the man of Macedonia exclaiming, ‘*Come over and help us.*’† This is the work of the Almighty.‡ Fulgentio was a divine of much eminence in Venice. When preaching on the text, *Have ye not read?* (Mat. xii. 3,) he told the people, that if Christ were now to ask the same question, all the answer they could give, would be, No; for we are forbidden to do so. Bedell also mentions, that on another occasion, when his text was the inquiry of Pilate, *What is truth?* after condemning the practice of withholding the scriptures from the people, Fulgentio told them, that as for himself, he had, after a long search, found out what was truth, and holding out a New Testament, he said that there it was, in his hand; he then put it in his pocket saying, ‘but it is a prohibited book.’”

Bedell spent much of his time in the study of Hebrew, for which purpose he secured the assistance of R. Leo, the chief Chacham of the Jewish synagogue in Venice. From him he learned the way of pronunciation, and some other parts of Rabbinical knowledge, and in return, communicated to him the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often highly satisfied; and once in a solemn dispute, he pressed the Rabbi with such clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messiah, that he, with several of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but by saying that their Rabbins everywhere did expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the traditions of their fathers.§ Through the

* Acts xviii. 9, 10.

† Ibid. xvi. 9.

‡ Memoirs of De Mornay.

§ Burnet.

exertions of Leo he obtained the manuscript copy of the New Testament, which he afterwards gave to Emmanuel College, and which cost him its weight in silver.

When the period arrived for Mr Bedell's return to England, the parting between him and Father Paul was very affecting. The latter even thought of accompanying him there, but was prevented by the interference of the senate. They exchanged various tokens of regard, among which Father Paul gave Bedell a picture of himself, a Hebrew Psalter and Bible, in the same language, without points, besides large portions of his valuable writings in manuscript, most of which Bedell translated and got printed, both in Latin and English.

On his return to England, he established himself again at Bury St Edmunds, and shortly afterwards married Leah, the widow of a recorder of Bury, of the name of Maw, whom his biographer describes as "a person comely, virtuous, and godly." He had, by her, three sons and one daughter, two of whom died young.

In 1615, he was presented to the rectory of Horningsheath, by Sir Thomas Jermyn, who resided in the neighbourhood, and knew and appreciated his rare combination of piety, deep learning, and still deeper humility. On his coming to the then bishop of Norwich for induction, he found the fees demanded for the ceremony so enormous, that he conscientiously declined to pay more than for the writing, parchment and wax; considering that such demands partook of the nature of simony; and chose rather to relinquish the preferment than purchase a title to it by the sacrifice of principle. He accordingly left the bishop and returned home, but was sent for by him in a few days, and regularly inducted, the offensive fees being relinquished.

He remained there for twelve years, in the most zealous performance of his parochial duties, attending the sick, reclaiming the profligate, and relieving the indigent; while, at the same time, he was so successful in discovering and punishing impostors, that they shunned his parish, knowing that all they would be likely to obtain there would be disgrace and exposure. During his residence at Horningsheath, his friend Waddesworth died, and he, shortly afterwards, in 1624, published the friendly controversy which had taken place between them: the correspondence is made the more interesting by the statement of Waddesworth's son, who mentioned that Bedell's letters almost always lay open before his father; that he commanded him to thank him for the pains he had been at in writing them; he also said that he was resolved to *save one*, which seems to be explained by his carefully bringing up his son in the protestant faith; but he does not seem to have had sufficient energy, whatever may have been his convictions, to retrace his own steps.

In the commencement of this correspondence, Bedell after excusing himself for not writing sooner, and giving many reasons, adds, but they did not yet satisfy me, for all men are interested in the defence of truth; how much more he that is called to be a preacher of it? All Christians are admonished by St Jude, "To fight for the faith given to the saints;" how much more those that are leaders in this warfare. How could I say I loved Jesus Christ, if his honour being questioned I should be silent—how could I approve to my own soul that I loved

you, if I suffered you to enjoy your own error, suppose not damnable? Besides that you, and perhaps others also, might be confirmed in it; perhaps interpreting my silence for a confession, that your motives were unanswerable. But therein I was not only resolved myself to the contrary, but thought it so easy to resolve any indifferent mind, as methought it was more shame not to have done it at first, than praise to do it at the last. As for the success of my endeavour, I was to leave it to God. Many and secret are the ways of his providence, which serveth itself sometimes even of errors, to the safer conduct of us to our final happiness."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I hope you shall perceive that setting aside our difference of opinion, I am the same to you that I was when we were either scholars in Emmanuel College, or ministers in Suffolk. For the substance, I do endeavour still to write to the purpose, omitting nothing material in your letters. If sometimes I seem over long, and perhaps to digress somewhat from the principal point more than was necessary, I hope you will pardon it, sith you required a long answer, and the delay itself had need to bring you some interest for the forbearance. And because you mention the vehemency of discreet lawyers (although methinks we are rather the clients themselves that contend, since the faith is our own and best freehold), let me entreat of you this ingenuity (which I protest in the sight of God I bring myself). Let us not make head against evident reason, for our own credit, or fashion, and faction's sake, as lawyers sometimes are wont. Neither let us think we lose the victory, when truth overcomes. We shall have part of it rather, and the better part, since error, the common enemy to us both, is to us more dangerous. For truth is secure and impregnable; we, if our error be not conquered, must remain servants to corruption. It is the first praise, saith St Augustine, to hold the true opinion, the next to forsake the false, and surely that is no hard mastery to do, when both are set before us, if we will not be either reckless or obstinate. From both which our Lord of his mercy evermore help us, and bring us to his everlasting kingdom. Amen.

Your very loving brother,

W. BEDELL."

Horningsheath, October, 22d, 1620.

In undertaking the correspondence, he says, "I shall endeavour to observe that precept of the Apostle: *αληθως εις εν αγαπη*, whether it be interpreted, *loving sincerely*, or *seeking truth lovingly*. Neither soothing untruth for the dearness of your person, nor breaking charity for diversity of opinion. * * *

You say, you are become Catholic. Were you not then so before? The creed wherein you were baptized, is it not the Catholic faith? The conclusion certes of Athanasius' creed, which is but a declaration thereof, saith, *Hæc est Fides Catholica*; or, is he not a Catholic that holds the Catholic faith? That which was once answered, touching the present church of England, to one in a stationer's shop in Venice, that would needs know what was the difference betwixt us and the Catholics. It was told him none; for we accounted ourselves good

Catholics. When he, unwilling to be put off in his answer, for lack of due form in his question, pressed to know what was the difference betwixt us and them there. He was answered this, That we believed the Catholic faith, contained in the creed, but did not believe the thirteenth article which the pope had put to it. When he knew not of any such article, the extravagance of Pope Boniface was brought, where he defines it to be altogether of necessity to salvation, to every human creature to be under the bishop of Rome. This thirteenth article of the thirteenth apostle, good Mr Waddesworth, it seems you have learned; and so are become, as some now speak and write, Catholic Roman. That is in true interpretation *universal, particular*; which because they cannot be equalled, the one restraining and cutting off from the other; take heed that by straitening your faith to Rome, you have not altered it, and by becoming Roman left off to be Catholic.

“ Thus, if you say our ancestors were all, till of late years, excuse me, Sir, whether you call our ancestors the first Christian inhabitants of this isle, or the ancient Christians of the primitive church; neither those nor these were Roman Catholics; namely, the fathers of the African council, and amongst these St Augustine. And therefore (by pope Boniface, his sentence) be undoubtedly damned, for taking upon them, by *the devil's instinct* (if we believe another pope Boniface) to wax proud against the church of Rome. Such Catholics if ye mean, the most of Christendom be at this day; beware of putting your issue.

* * *

Touching the names of papist, traitor, idolater, (terms of reproach used towards him by Dr Hall, and of which he bitterly complained). The first is no miscalling you, as comprising the very character that differenceth you from all other Catholics. Neither by our Rhemists' advice should you be ashamed of it, sith to be a papist, by their interpretation, *is nothing else, but to be a Christian man, a child of the church, and subject to Christ's vicar.*

* * *

A traitor, I am assured, Mr Dr Hall will never call you, unless he know that you have drunk so deep of the cup of error, as to believe that the pope may depose your prince; that you are not bound to obey him being so deposed; that in that case it is lawful, yea meritorious to kill him; * * * I hope you are far from these furies. For idolatry, if to give divine honour to creatures deserve that name, consider how you can defend or excuse those prayers to the blessed virgin, *Tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe.* And to the cross, *Auge piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam.* I omit to speak of the pope's omnipotency, I hope also you keep yourself from this idolatry.

“ In Protestant religion, you say, you could never find uniformity of a settled faith. How so; when you had that same *one only immovable and unreformable rule of faith*, as *Tertullian* calls it, every Lord's day recited in your hearing, if not by your mouth: I mean the creed, of which Irenæus saith, that he which is able to say much of the faith exceeds it not, nor he that less, diminisheth;† which Saint Augustine

* De veland virg. c. 1.

† Lib. i. c. 3.

calls the rule common to great and small;* which might well enough have settled and quieted your conscience, whilst you laboured to find the truth in all doubtful questions!"

In another letter speaking of the want of uniformity of which protestants are accused, and stating the various dissentient opinions that exist among Roman Catholics, he says, "If unity in all things be, as it seems, despaired of, by this your Gellius himself; why are we not content with *unity in things necessary to salvation* expressly set down in holy Scripture: and anciently thought to suffice, that every man having embraced that necessary truth, which is the rule of our faith, thereby try the spirits whether they be of God or no? If he meet with any that hath not that doctrine, receive him not to house, nor salute him. If consenting to that, but otherwise infirm or erring, yet charitably bear with him."

In a subsequent one he says, "whatsoever a protestant holds, as of faith, you cannot deny to be good and catholic, nor any christian man else. For he binds him to his creed, to the holy Scriptures, and goes no farther: and in these he has your testimony for him. But he denies many things which you believe, and accounts them foreign, yea repugnant to faith, as the pope's infallibility, transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping of images, invocation of saints. In all these you speak only for yourselves, in some of these you have not us only, but all other Christians your opposites, to say nothing of the Jews and Turks whom I might as well choke you withal, as you do the protestants with the anabaptists. So by this reason our profession is more safe and secure, and questionless is more catholic than yours. Neither have we in this discourse the argument only as you see, very applicable and favourable to us, but (which I entreat you by the way to observe) the *conclusion* itself often granted by moderate and sober men of your own side, viz.† That our course is in sundry things more safe than yours. As in making no image of God. In trusting only in the merits of Christ. In worshipping none but the Trinity. In directing our prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ alone. In allowing ministers to marry. In divers other points also, many of your side say the same with the protestants, and defend us from the imputations which others of you lay upon us, as is shewed in the *Catholic Apology*, by the Reverend bishop of Chester."

In answer to a letter of Waddesworth's, in which he states his deep study and research among ancient authorities to ascertain the truth, before he adopted the Catholic faith, Bedell says, "But surely, Sir, had you given that honour to the holy Scriptures, which of the Jews was given to them, and then employed as much travel in the searching and looking into them, as you profess to have done in the perusing the councils and fathers, perhaps God had opened your eyes, as those of Elisha his servant, to have seen, that *there are more on our side, than against us*; horses, indeed, and chariots of fire, able to put to flight and scatter never so great armies of human authorities and

* Epis. ad Dardanum.

† Abulensis Bellarmine, Faber, Erasmus, Cassander, Hofmeister, Æneas Sylvius.

opinions. But this place of the scriptures hath no place amongst all your motives."

The concluding letter winds up all so well, is written in so Christian a spirit, and is so much shorter than any of the former, that we are tempted to give the entire.

"Yet by these (you say) and many other arguments, you were resolved in your understanding to the contrary. It may well be that your understanding, out of its own heedless haste, as that of our first parents, while it was at the perfectest, was induced into error, by resolving too soon out of seeming arguments, and granting too forward assent. For surely, these which you have mentioned, could not convince it, if it would have taken the pains to examine them thoroughly, and had the patience to give impartial hearing to the motives on the other side. But as if you triumphed in your own conquest and captivity, you add that which passeth yet all that hitherto you have set down, viz. That the church of Rome was, and is the only true church, because it alone is ancient, catholic, and apostolic, having succession, unity, and visibility in all ages and places. Is it only ancient? To omit Jerusalem, are that of Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians, and Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and the rest mentioned in the scriptures, ancient also? And of Antioch, ancients than Rome—Is it catholic and apostolic only? Do not these and many more hold the catholic faith received from the apostles, as well as the church of Rome? For that it should be the *universal church*, is all one as ye would say, the part is the whole, one city the world. Hath it only *succession*? Where, to set aside the enquiry of doctrine, so many simoniacks, and intruders have ruled, as about fifty of your popes together, were by your own men's confession *apostatical* rather than *apostolical*? Or unity, where there have been thirty schisms, and one of them which endured fifty years long, and at last grew into three heads, as if they would share among them the triple crown? And as for dissensions in doctrine, I remit you to Master Doctor Hall's *Peace of Rome*, wherein he scores above three hundred mentioned in Bellarmine alone; above threescore in one only head of penance out of Navarrus. As to that addition, *in all ages and places*; I know not what to make of it, nor where to refer it. Consider, I beseech you, with your wonted moderation, what you say; for sure unless you were beguiled, I had almost said bewitched, you could never have resolved to believe and profess, that which all the world knows to be as false, I had (well nigh) said as God is true, touching the extent of the Romish church to all ages and places.

"Concerning the *agonies you passed*, I will only say thus much, if being resolved though erroneously that was truth, you were withholden from professing it with worldly respects, you did well to break through them all. But if besides these there were doubt of the contrary (as methinks needs must be) unless you could satisfy yourself touching those many and known exceptions against the court of Rome, which you could not be ignorant of, take heed lest the rest ensuing these agonies were not like Sampson's sleeping on Dalilah's knees, while the locks of his strength were shaven, whereupon (the Lord departing from him) he was taken by the Philistines, had his eyes put

out, and was made to grind in the prison. But I do not despair, but your former resolutions shall grow again. And as I do believe your religious asseveration, that *for very fear of damnation* you forsook us (which makes me to have the better hope and opinion of you, for that I see you do so seriously mind that which is the end of our whole life;) so I desire from my heart the good hope of salvation you have in your present way may be as happy, as your fear I am persuaded was causeless.

“For my part I call God to record against mine own soul, that before my going into Italy, and since, I have still endeavoured to find out and follow the truth in the points controverted between us, without any earthly respect in the world. Neither wanted I fair opportunity had I seen it on that side, easily and with the hope of good entertainment to have adjoined myself to the church of Rome, after your example. But (to use your words) as I shall answer at the dreadful day of judgment, I never saw, heard, or read anything which did convince me: nay, which did not finally confirm me daily more and more, in the persuasion, that in these differences it rests on our part, wherein I have not followed human conjectures from foreign and outward things (as by your leave methinks you do in these motives, whereby I protest to in the sight of God, I am also much comforted and assured in the possession of the truth), but the undoubted voice of God in his word, which is more to my conscience than a thousand topical arguments.* In regard whereof, I am no less assured, that if I should forsake it, I should be renounced by our Saviour, before God and his angels, than in the holding it be acknowledged and saved; which makes me resolve, not only for no hope, if it were ten thousand worlds, but by the gracious assistance of God, without whom I am able to do nothing, for no terror or torment, ever to become a papist.

“You see what a large distance there is between us in opinion. Yet for my part, I do not take upon me to forejudge you, or any other that doth not with an evil mind and self-condemning conscience only to maintain a faction, differ from that which I am persuaded is the right. I account we hold one, and the same faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by him in the blessed Trinity. To his judgment we stand or fall. Incomparably more and of more importance are those things wherein we agree; than those wherein we dissent. Let us follow therefore the things of peace and of mutual edification. If any be otherwise minded than he ought, God shall reveal that also to him. If any be weak or fallen, God is able to raise him up. And of you good Mr Waddesworth, and the rest of my masters and brethren of that side, one thing I would again desire, that according to the apostle's profession of himself, you would forbear to be lords over our faith, nor straightway condemn of heresy, our ignorance or lack of persuasion concerning such things as we cannot perceive to be founded in holy scripture. Enjoy your own opinions, but make them not articles of our faith: the analogy whereof is broken as well by addition as subtraction. And this self-same equity we

* Arguments drawn from probability.

desire to find in positive laws, orders and ceremonies. Wherein as every church hath full right to prescribe that which is decent and to edification, and to reform abuse; so those that are members of each are to follow what is enjoined, till by the same authority it be reversed.

“And now to close up this account of yours, whereof you would have Dr S. Hall and me to be as it were examiners and auditors. Whether it be perfect and allowable or no, look ye to it. I have here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainly, and freely, as I can; and, as you required, fully, if not tediously. I list not to contend with you about it. Satisfy your own conscience, and our common Lord and master, and you shall easily satisfy me. Once yet, by my advice, review it, and cast it over again. And if in the particulars you find you have taken many *nullities for signifying numbers*, many *smaller signifiers for greater*; correct the total. If you find, namely, that out of desire of unity, and dislike of contention, you have apprehended our *diversities* to be more than they are; conceived a necessity of an *external infallible Judge*, where there was none; attributed the *privilege of the church*, properly so called, to that which is *visible and mixt*; if you find the reformed churches more charitable, the proper note of Christ’s sheep, the Roman faction more fraudulent, and that by public counsel, and of politic purpose, in framing not only all later writers, but some ancient, yea, the Holy Scriptures, for their advantage; if you find you have mistaken the Protestants’ doctrine touching *invisibility*, your own also touching *uniformity* in matters of faith; if you have been misinformed, and too hasty of credit touching the imputations laid to the beginners of the reformation; for, touching the want of succession, and the fabulous ordination at the Nag’s-head, I hope you will not persist in your error, but confess and condemn it in yourself; if, (as I began to say,) you find those things to be thus, give glory to God, that hath heard your prayers, entreating direction in his holy truth, and withhold not that truth of his in unrighteousness. Unto him that is able to restore and establish you, yea, to consummate and perfect you according to his almighty power and unspeakable goodness, towards his elect in Christ Jesus, I do from my heart commend you, and rest you,

“Your very loving brother,

“in Christ Jesus,

“W. BEDELL.”

The argumentative part of this interesting correspondence has been necessarily omitted, as being too voluminous, and not to our present purpose; but even this brief abstract will give an idea of the friendly, yet fervent and uncompromising spirit, in which this christian controversy was sustained, and which terminated, unlike the generality of religious disputes, in increased regard on both sides; and subsequent circumstances, before alluded to, such as the bringing up of his son in the protestant faith, &c., would seem to imply the internal, though unavowed convictions of Waddesworth.

Bedell lived almost exclusively in his parish, and devoted himself to the active duties of his profession, so that although he had published many works, he was but little personally known. When his

friend Diodati came over from Geneva, and inquired for him among the members of his profession, he was greatly surprised to find a man so eminent as Bedell, and one so prized and appreciated in a foreign country, so entirely overlooked in his own, and after many fruitless inquiries he had to give up the search. At length he "met with him by chance," says his biographer, "in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears; after which interview, Diodati carried him to the bishop of Durham, Dr Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Mr Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for." He also told him how highly he had been esteemed and valued by Father Paulo, upon which the bishop treated him with the most marked attention and kindness.

In the course of events, apparently slight circumstances often lead to the most important results; and occurrences which appear accidental are either brought about, or overruled by that Hand which shapes all human events and destinies, "rough-hew them as we will." Bedell's name and character were now brought into light, and became known and appreciated even in Ireland. The provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, becoming vacant in 1626, the fellows of the College, acting under the advice of archbishop Usher, unanimously invited him to fill that important office, while, at the same time, they forwarded an address to the king, entreating him to lay his commands on Bedell to accept of the situation. Anxious to impress the king with a sense of his full competency to the office, they wrote to Sir Henry Wotton, whose chaplain Bedell had been when he was ambassador at Venice, to request he might add his testimony to his high character, zeal, and learning. The following is the letter written by Sir Henry on the occasion, who would probably earlier have exerted his energies for the promotion of his friend, had his own influence at court been great; but while filling the office of ambassador, Sir Henry had been too lavish in his expenditure, and had lived to experience how quickly personal influence declines, when it becomes in any way needful to the advancement of its possessor:—

"May it please your most gracious majesty.

"Having been informed, that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the archbishop of Ardmagh, been directed hither with a most humble petition unto your majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr William Bedell, (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk,) governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth, (so far as your majesty will accept of my poor judgment,) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God: wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre

Paulo took (I may say) into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days, of which all the passages were well known unto the king, your father, of blessed memory. And so, with your majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

“Your majesty's

“Most humble and faithful servant,
“H. WOTTON.”

On this communication being made to Bedell, he expressed, says Burnet, “so much both of true philosophy and real christianity in the answer, that he made to so honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwise than in his own words, taken from a letter which he writ to one that had been employed to deal with him in this matter.” The original of this letter, and of many others inserted in this memoir, were found, according to Burnet's statement, among the papers of the lord primate Usher, by Dr Parre, and given to Burnet for publication. The letter is as follows:—

“SIR,

“With my hearty commendations remembered, I have this day received both your letters, dated the second of this month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiency better than my lord primate; yet, since that I perceive by both your letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three children; therefore if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent living of above a hundred pounds a year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient house, near to my friends, a little parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it, that changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well that my wife, (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint,) had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas, and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more than there is cause.

“All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer; (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my lord primate for his mind and good opinion of me.) On the other side, I consider the end wherefore I came into the world, and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use to my country, to God's church, or of any

better service to our common master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, or lift up my finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, if those whom it concerns there, do procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia; yea, though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir, I have, as plainly as I can, showed you my mind; desiring you, with my humble service, to represent it to my reverend good lord, my lord primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection. So I rest,

“Your loving friend,
“WILL. BEDELL.”

FROM BURY, *March 6, 1626.*

The king, having ascertained his perfect fitness for the office, complied with the request of the primate and fellows of the college, and commanded him immediately to make arrangements for accepting it. Bedell complied with cheerfulness and alacrity, feeling confident that this new path of duty was opened to him by a higher hand, and with childlike simplicity he followed upon the course thus indicated to him. He removed to Ireland, in the first instance, alone, leaving his wife and children under the protection of her friends, until he could provide a residence for their reception. On his arrival in Dublin, he at once commenced a close and accurate study of the statutes, and established regulations of the college, resolving, with his characteristic good sense and caution, to take no step whatever respecting the existing abuses, until he had fully ascertained the legitimate grounds on which they could be reformed, and the utmost limits to which his own authority might extend. During this period of necessarily suspended action, many rash and perhaps interested persons came to the conclusion that he was incompetent to the office, and whispered abroad that, however amiable and learned he might be, he was indolent, abstracted, and totally devoid of the energy and decision of character required in such a position. These insidious whispers were at length conveyed to the ear of the primate, who began to think that possibly the long period he had passed in seclusion and study, might in some degree have incapacitated him for the duties of a more practical life. His, however, was a mind incapable of forming a hasty or unjust judgment, and some months after, when Bedell returned to England for the purpose of removing his family, he having obtained some knowledge of the general prejudice that existed against him, which he even feared had slightly tinged the mind of Usher, thought seriously of resigning his new preferment, and returning to his peaceful benefice in Suffolk. He, however, about this period, received so kind a letter from the primate, that it drew from him the following answer:—“Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your grace’s exhortation, advising me to have faith in God, and not to consult with flesh and blood, nor have mind of this country. Now, I would to

God that your grace could look into my heart, and see how little I fear lack of provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this world. My chief fear, in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in that place; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise man could blame me to retain it; especially, having understood that your grace, whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did, from your own judgment, and that of other wise men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak man. Now that I have received your letters, so full of life and encouragement, it puts some life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all God's graces in you, by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me, or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair words, laying in the mean while a net for my feet, especially sith my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither." He accordingly at once resigned his English preferment, and removed with his family to Dublin. Immediately on his settlement there, he applied himself vigorously to the great work of reformation. He corrected various abuses, established new regulations, and was so firm in enforcing their performance, that it was quickly acknowledged he was of all others the most suited to fill that high and responsible office. *His* ideas of duty were higher still, and his first object was to awaken religious convictions amongst the students, and to instruct them in right principles. He catechised the various classes once each week, and preached every Sunday, though not obliged to do so, that he might the more effectually impress and enforce the great truths which so entirely swayed his own mind, and guided every word and action. He thought so highly of the body of divinity compressed into the Church Catechism, that he divided it into fifty-two parts, one for every Sunday, and gave such clear expositions of it, mixed with so much interesting speculative and practical matter, that many took notes of them at the time, and years after copies of them were sought for with the greatest anxiety. His sermons were remarkable for such clear and simple statements, that the youngest and most unlearned could comprehend them, while the deeply informed never failed to derive from them interest and instruction. After continuing for about two years in the performance of these anxious and arduous duties, his early discriminating and energetic friend, Sir Thomas Jermy, obtained for him a nomination to the two vacant bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, which adjoined each other, in the province of Ulster; but from the neglect and mismanagement of the preceding bishops, their revenues were in so unproductive a state, that they were scarcely capable of supporting a bishop who was resolved not to supply himself by base and indirect means, such as, at that period, were too generally resorted to. In the letter of the king, sanctioning his promotion, he alludes, in the following manner, to his eminent services in the college:—"And as we were pleased, by our former gracious letters, to establish the said William Bedell, by our royal authority, in the provostship of the said college of the blessed Trinity, near Dublin, where, we are informed, that by his care and good government, there have been wrought great reformation, to our

singular contentment; so we purpose to continue our care of that society, being the principal nursery of religion and learning in that our realm; and to recommend unto the college some such person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr Bedell."

His new course of life opened to him new sources of usefulness, and duties of a far more difficult and dangerous nature than any he had yet been called upon to perform; but his efforts rose with the exigencies, and at fifty-nine he encountered and overcome obstacles that would have seemed insuperable to any who relied on their own unassisted strength. His ideas of the duties of a bishop were of a very exalted kind, approaching, according to the statements of Burnet, the occupation of an angel, considering that he was called upon to divide his time "as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body made of flesh and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their Father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation. He considered the bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocese; and, therefore, he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them; and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them."*

He found his diocese in a state of the greatest disorder and neglect, both as it concerned morals and temporalities. His revenues were exhausted by dilapidations—the most sacred things had been exposed to sale—one of his cathedrals had fallen to the ground for want of repair—and the livings were in general held by Englishmen, who did not understand the language of the country, so that the people were literally as sheep wanting a shepherd. His own letter to archbishop Laud, will, however, best explain the melancholy position of affairs, and the enormous difficulties with which he had to cope, in effecting any species of reformation.

"Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

"Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the state of the college, and my Lord Primate's visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your lordship's commands to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by Saint Patrick, together with the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, which are not the tenth part of the

remnant, obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more numerous by far than we, in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the popish primate's vicar-general; for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocese further off. Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three a-piece; and so their mass-houses also; in some places mass is said in the churches. Fryers there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people, who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tythes to their own clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of cattle, these late years, with their contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For my own, there are seven or eight ministers of good sufficiency; and, which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still, English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them two or three, four or more vicarages a-piece; even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, king but at the pope's discretion.

“WILL. KILMORE AND ARDAGH.”

Kilmore, April 1st, 1639.

In correcting the numerous abuses which existed, Bedell was well aware that he must meet opposition, hinderance, and even some opprobrium; but he had previously “sat down and counted the cost,” and was therefore ready for the combat, and prepared to meet its consequences. Unlike, however, many sincere and zealous advocates of the truth who are carried on and aided through their difficult and obstructed course by a natural impetuosity of character, and heat of temperament, Bedell had no stimulus but Christian principle, no defence but the sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith; everything was done in the spirit of meekness and Christian forbearance; for to his faith he added patience, and where influence and example could effect his object he preferred them to the exercise of his official authority. A remarkable instance of this presents itself in one of his first and most important acts, the abolishing of pluralities. Convinced that this pernicious practice was equally opposed to the vows at ordination, by which they were pledged to instruct and feed with the bread of life, the flock committed to their care, and also to the early practice of the church, he called a meeting of his clergy, and in a sermon, with which he opened it, he explained to them his own views and convictions upon the subject, with a clearness and a force from which there was no appeal. He detailed to them, both from Scripture and anti-

quity, the duties of the ministerial office, the responsibilities in which it was involved, and the awful account they would have to render up. He made it clear that such a practice was early repudiated by the church; for at the fourth general council at Chalcedon, when it was declared that such an error had crept in, and that pastors removed from one diocese to another, retaining a portion in the first, it was solemnly denounced by the council, and decreed that such transgressors should restore all they had got from the church which they had left, and should be degraded, if they refused to submit to this regulation; he showed them that the obligation was personal and could not be delegated, for the mere purpose of enjoying additional emoluments; and exhorted them instantly to reform such an intolerable abuse, which had brought such scandal upon the church, and endangered both their own souls, and the souls of those committed to their trust. He told them that he would demand no sacrifice from them that he was not prepared to make himself, and consequently that he had come to the resolution of parting with one of his bishoprics; though, as was before stated, the joint revenue was insufficient to meet his own moderate expenses. It should also be remembered that he was perfectly competent to discharge the duties of both sees, as well from their contiguity as from their limited extent; but he knew too well the importance of the sanction that example gives to precept, to lose the opportunity of thus enforcing it. He accordingly resigned Ardagh to Dr Richardson, when the entire of his clergy, with the solitary exception of the dean, followed his example, and at once laid down their pluralities. The dean quickly exchanged his preferment, being unable to endure the silent rebuke conveyed by the conduct of the bishop and the remaining clergy. Anxious however to retain or obtain some of the lesser livings in that diocese, he gave the bishop much annoyance, and even appears for a time to have prejudiced the mind of Usher on the subject. This is indicated in a long and interesting letter written by Bedell to the primate, from which we shall make some extracts.

“Most reverend father, my good and honourable lord,

“I cannot easily express what contentment I received at my late being with your grace at Termonseckin. There had nothing happened to me, I will not say since I came into Ireland, but as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so affect me in this kind as the hazard of your good opinion. For, loving and honouring you in truth (for the truth's sake, which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever) without any private interest, and receiving so unlooked-for a blow from your own hand (I expected should have tenderly applied some remedy to me, being smitten by others) I had not present the defences of reason and grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in myself, since in the performance of our duties, the judgment of our Master even alone ought to suffice to us; yet I could not be so much master of mine affections as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who, as I began to say, at my being with you refreshed my spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me. And all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my

defence, and took upon you the cognisance of mine innocency. And as for mine accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping living upon living, to the evident damage, not only of other souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad and do give God thanks that this malignity, which a while masked itself in the pretence of friendship, hath at last discovered itself by public opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all; he hath rather shamed himself, and, although his high heart cannot give his tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taste the fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your Grace, save that I do not despair but your Grace's authority will pull him out of the snare of Satan, whose instrument he hath been to cross the work of God, and give me more occasion of joy by his amendment than I had grief by his perversion and opposition."

He then states that in an early stage of the business, before the dean had outraged decency by preaching against the bishop, and publicly aspersing his jurisdiction—for his character was unassailable—that as the bishop was at the Lord's table beginning the service of the communion before sermon, he came in, and after the sermon was done, those that communicated not being departed, he stood forth and said, "That whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires, that before the Lord's supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation: this was much more between ministers: and because they all knew that there had been some difference between me and him, he did profess that he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me he was sorry. I answered that he had good reason to be sorry, considering how he had behaved himself. For my part I bare him no malice, and if it were in my power, would not make so much as his finger ache. Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were so many good parts, would become an instrument to oppose the work of God, which I was assured he had called me to. This was all that passed. He offered himself to the Lord's board, and I gave him the communion. After dinner he preached out of 1 John iv. 10. "And this commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, love his brother also." Notwithstanding all this outward show, the dean still laboured to secure his own objects, and to obtain the living of Kildromfarten. In the same letter he says, "Mr Hilton made a motion to me that when he had in his hands sufficient to make the benefice of Kildromfarten void, if I would bestow it upon Mr Dean, he would do so; otherwise it should remain *in statu*. I answered with profession of my love and good opinion of Mr Dean, whereof I showed the reasons. I added, I did not know the place, nor the people, but if they were mere Irish, I did not see how Mr Dean should discharge the duty of a minister to them. This motion was seconded by your Grace; but so as I easily conceived, that being solicited by your old servant, you could do no less than you did: and notwithstanding, the lecture he promised your Grace should be read to me in the matter of collations, would not be

displeased, if I did as became me, according to my conscience, and in conformity to your former motion for Mr Crián.* Mr Dean after pressed me, that, if without my concurrence your Grace would confer that living upon him, I would not be against it; which I promised, but heard no more of it till about April last."

* * * * *

"About mid April he brought me a presentation to Kildromfarten, under the broad seal. I could do no less but signify to the incumbent, who came to me and maintained his title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the presentation, indorsing the reason of my refusal; and being then occasioned to write to the Lords Justices, I signified what I thought of these pluralities, in a time when we are so far overmatched in number by the adverse part.† This passed on till the visitation, wherein Mr Dean showed himself in his colours. When the vicar of Kildromfarten was called, he said he was vicar, but would exhibit no title." He also adds, that during the contest, or apparent contest, between the two incumbents, the curate remained unpaid, besides he ascertained that a simoniacal compact existed between them, by which it was arranged that the profits of the year should revert to the first incumbent. These circumstances induced Bedell to sequester the living. Then followed the insolent aspersions, oppositions, and protestations of the dean against the bishop's authority, with haughty assumptions of his own, calling himself the head of the chapter, while the canon law gives that title to the bishop."

One of Bedell's objects in so strenuously opposing pluralities, was to compel his clergy to reside in their parishes; but this was in many instances attended with great difficulty, in consequence of the reprehensible negligence of the commissioners, who had been appointed on the reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, to assign glebe-lands to the clergy: these appear to have been allotted at random; for in a large proportion of instances they were out of the parish, and frequently divided into small portions in different directions. To remedy this, the bishop who had a portion of land in every parish, resolved to make an exchange, wherever his own was more conveniently situated for the clergyman; and he applied to Sir Thomas Wentworth, the lord-lieutenant, to have commissioners appointed, that all might be fairly and satisfactorily arranged.

On the arrival of the lord-lieutenant (afterwards earl of Strafford) in Ireland, a petition was sent up by the county of Cavan, to which the bishop's name was annexed, making some complaints respecting the military in that district, and suggesting regulations that might prevent the recurrence of the evils complained of. In a country so prone to rebellion as Ireland was at that period, any such suggestions were naturally received with doubt and suspicion, and Wentworth conceived so strong and unjust a prejudice against the bishop (which perhaps was increased by his not coming to Dublin, as all the other bishops did, to congratulate him on his arrival), that whenever any

* Mr Crián was a converted friar specially recommended to him by the primate, and whom Bedell had pledged himself to support and provide for.

† In the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh there was a proportion of sixty-six Roman catholic priests to thirty-two protestant ministers.

commission was brought to him bearing the bishop's signature, he indignantly dashed it out with his own pen. In the following letter, written to the archbishop of Canterbury about this period, Bedell alludes to the false impression that existed against him, and adduces some of the strongest and most convincing facts, (if such were necessary,) to prove his innocence.

“Right honourable, my very good Lord,

“In the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable friend in England, that I am accused to his majesty to have opposed his service; and that my hand with two other bishops' only, was to a writing touching the money to be levied on the papists for maintenance of the men of war. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his majesty, but to expose with the public peace mine own neck to the skeans of the Romish cut-throats. I that knew that in this kingdom of his majesty's, the pope hath another kingdom far greater in number, and as I have heretofore signified to the lords justices and council, (which is also since justified by themselves in print), constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, lately created at Rome, transmitted by the means of the pope's nuncios residing at Brussels or Paris, that the pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities, *contra omnem hominem*, and to execute his mandates to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in print, *Ego N. Dei, et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopus Fermien et Ossorien*. I that knew there is in the kingdom for the moulding of the people to the pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in better ranks than priests, in so much that the censure of the Sorbon is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; so tender is the pope of his own creatures. I that knew that his holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and to breed the youth of the kingdom to his devotion, of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel which was put forth in print against my lord Armach's wansted sermon, stileth himself in print to be dean: I that knew and have given advertisement to the state, that these regulars dare erect new fryeries in the country, since the dissolving of these in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness as they care not to learn the commandments as God himself spake and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy collections, three, four, five, or six pounds at a sermon. Shortly, I that knew that those regulars, and this clergy have at a general meeting like to a synod, as themselves stile it, decreed that it is not lawful to take an oath of allegiance; and if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his majesty in their hearts to be king, but at the pope's

discretion. In this state of this kingdom to think the bridle of the army may be taken away, should be the thought not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless man,

Your lordship's in all duty,
WILL. KILMORE."

The day of our deliverance from the }
Popish powder plot, Anno 1633. }

He wrote also to his friend Sir Thomas Jermyu, on the subject; and he exerted himself so strenuously to have the true state of things brought before the lord-lieutenant, who though in some instances stern and uncompromising, was of too noble a nature to resist conviction, or refuse to retract an error, that when at length the bishop went to town to express his congratulations, he received him with much courtesy, and ever after treated him with the marked kindness to which his character so well entitled him.

On the clergy of Cavan resigning their pluralities, many vacancies occurred, and the bishop exercised the most vigilant care in supplying the diocese with conscientious and competent ministers. In his examinations before ordination, he was so scrupulously cautious, that he might "lay hands suddenly on no man," that he held these examinations publicly in the presence of all his clergy, inviting them to put any important question to the candidate that he might have omitted, and requiring their approbation and concurrence before he admitted any to holy orders. His considering it necessary to give an examination of two hours length, to Mr Thomas Price, who was a senior fellow of the college when he was provost, and who afterwards became his archdeacon, and subsequently archbishop of Cashel, is a strong proof of his particularity on this subject, neither would he confer the order of presbyter on any person under a year and a half after his obtaining deacon's orders. "From the day (says one of his biographers) that he set them apart to be preachers of the gospel, he watched over them with an anxious eye, exciting them to a becoming deportment and habits, dealing with them all in the spirit of meekness, behaving himself kindly and gently towards the infirmities of those whose general conduct was worthy of respect, helping them out of their troubles with the most tender care and compassion, and living with them on terms of friendly intercourse." His address on conferring upon them any preferment was this, "adjuring you in the Lord, and enjoining you by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the Great Shepherd, diligently to feed his flock committed to your care, which he purchased with his own blood—to instruct them in the catholic faith, and perform divine offices in a language understood by the people; and above all things, to show yourself a pattern to believers, in good works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you."

Some years after his coming to the diocese, he called together a General Assembly of his clergy, and laid before them a code of regulations calculated to benefit the whole diocese, and to stimulate the spiritual efforts of the clergy. He also arranged that they should meet annually as a synod, and issue whatever decrees they should find

necessary. Some persons objecting to such an assembly, as illegal, Usher said they had best not interfere with any of the arrangements of the bishop, "lest he should be provoked to say more for himself than his enemies could say against him." Some decrees of this synod bear the date of Sept., 1638. The improvement in his diocese, and in the general conduct and demeanour of his clergy was quickly perceptible, and he was early made sensible of the necessity of it, by the observation of an Irishman, who once said to him in open court, "that the king's priests were as bad as the pope's priests," the latter being remarkable, at that period, not only for drunkenness, but every sort of profligacy. His anxiety for his clergy extended even to their temporalities; for, finding that they were subjected to enormous fees on their induction to a living, he reduced the various documents then in use, into one instrument, which he wrote with his own hand.

Having succeeded in influencing his clergy to resign their pluralities, and enforcing their residence in their various parishes, one solitary instance remained of an eccentric and refractory individual, of the name of Johnstone, who refused to comply. He was a man of little education, but great natural talent, particularly in the scientific line, and had been employed by the lord-lieutenant as an engineer, to superintend some great buildings he erected in the county of Wicklow. Bedell, who though firm and uncompromising in the cause of truth or practice of duty, was more skilled in the turning away of wrath than in the provoking it, planned an employment for him, by which he thought his peculiar talents might be brought into action, and the church and world benefited. What he proposed was, that he should compose a universal character, or set of signs, that might be comprehended by all nations, in the same manner that arithmetical and mathematical figures are understood. The bishop drew up for him the scheme of the entire work, and it is said that he had brought it to such a degree of perfection, as to have had it actually put to press, when the rebellion broke out, and put a stop to its completion.

Such dreams have frequently amused the leisure of the ingenious; but we cannot help believing that some attention to the laws of human thought and language, and to the actual principles of communication by signs, would have the effect of putting an end to the delusion of a universal language. A universal convention, affecting some special system of things or ideas, generally received, and liable to no material variation, is an indispensable prerequisite. The rigid precision of quantity affords such an advantage: the instrumental adaptations of musical sound involve the same principle; but some precise law of quantity, or some technical distinction, by which ideas become themselves fixed, must be ever essential to such an invention. Should these elementary difficulties be surmounted, still, in the application, there would arise others not less formidable to be met in the actual diversities of national habits, of thought, experience, and action, to say nothing of the large and formidable class of difficulties in the mere contrivance itself, arising from the laws of ideagraphy. On this point, the reader will find much profound, as well as curious fact and disquisition, in the first volume of Dr Wall's work on the orthography of the Jews, and on the alphabetic writing of the Egyptians.

Among the many abuses existing in the diocese, the management, or rather mismanagement, of the ecclesiastical court appears to have been the most flagrant, while the correction and remodelling of it subjected the bishop to more opposition and annoyance than any of his previous reforms. He was, however, prepared for opposition, and firm in his resolution to proceed. "He found this court," says Burnet, that sat in his name, "an entire abuse. It was managed by a chancellor, that had bought his place from his predecessor, and so thought he had a right to all the profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression; for it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about, almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony; being in effect the same abuse which gave the world such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the court of Rome, and opened the way for the reformation." After due consideration, the bishop resolved to sit as judge himself in the court that bore his name, and acted on his authority. He convened a competent number of his clergy to sit there with him, and after hearing the causes, and obtaining their advice and opinion, gave sentence. Numerous causes were thus quickly disposed of, and general satisfaction given, with the exception of the offending officers of the court. The lay chancellor brought a suit against the bishop into chancery, for invading his office, but the other bishops supported him in the step he had taken, and promised to stand by him in the contest. The bishop desired to plead his own cause, but this was not permitted, so he drew up a most able statement, but not sufficiently powerful to influence the decision of the courts. The chancellor was accordingly confirmed in his position, and the bishop cast in a hundred pounds' costs. But lord chancellor Bolton admitted afterwards to the bishop, when he accused him of having passed an unjust decree, that as his Father had left him only a register's place, he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the course he took had not been checked. It is probable that the hand accustomed to receive bribes was not slack in administering them; and there can be no want of charity in such a surmise, when Bolton himself so unblushingly admitted that he had perverted judgment and justice from private and personal considerations.*

The other bishops who had promised him their support, failed him in the hour of need, and even the primate told him, "the tide went so high, that he could assist him no more." The bishop, however, having put his hand to the plough, resolved not to look back; and, when he returned home, continued to sit in his courts as usual, with-

* We can readily understand the corruptness of the judge, yet doubt the sincerity of the admission. We have already, in our memoir of Usher, stated our view as to the real equity of this case, when looked on according to the analogy of our law, and the constitution of our courts; but it was a period when lax notions prevailed in every department of the administration. A refined system of law had not yet been sufficiently disentangled from notions of discretionary power; but in its applications to a rude and simple nation, there was added temptation and immunity for all abuse. The kind friend to whom we are indebted for this memoir, has rightly thought fit to put forward, without question, Bedell's own grounds of action, which are honourable to him, alike as a Christian and a man.

out receiving any molestation from the chancellor, who appointed a surrogate, to whom he gave strict orders "to be in all things observant of the bishop, and obedient to him." This same chancellor, (Mr Cook,) in speaking of him, some years after, said, "that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands." It was supposed that after the adverse termination of the trial, Cook was influenced by the authorities in Dublin to take no farther steps, for he did not even apply for the hundred pounds' costs that had been awarded him. The bishop abolished most of the fees connected with the court, and when criminals, or "scandalous persons," were brought to him to be censured, while he showed them the enormity of their offence, he conveyed his reproof with such parental tenderness, that he touched the single uncorrupted spot in the human heart,* that which is acted upon by *kindness*, and the offender frequently became a penitent. Many of the Irish priests were brought before him on those occasions, and his exhortations to them often produced subsequent results that could scarcely have been calculated on. The bishop felt great pity for the native Irish, who were in a state of the most profound darkness, and yet, from their avidity in receiving spiritual instruction, seemed actually to be-hungering and thirsting after righteousness, while their priests could do little more than read their offices, without understanding them; he therefore determined to direct his attention to their particular instruction, that they might be no longer "blind leaders of the blind." He was successful in many instances; and provided those, of whose conversion he was well assured, with benefices. He had also a short catechism printed both in English and Irish, with prayers and portions of scripture, for the benefit of the young and the ignorant; and was most particular that those he ordained for the ministry should understand the native language. But the object he had most at heart, of all others, was the translation of the Scriptures into Irish; and for the accomplishment of this, he secured, by the advice of the primate, the services of a person of the name of King, who had been converted many years before, and was considered the best Irish scholar of his day. He was a poet as well as a prose writer, and though seventy years of age, he entered on the undertaking with zeal and industry; and the bishop, who formed a high idea of his character and capabilities of doing good, ordained him, and gave him a benefice. Being unable to meet with any of the native Irish that understood either Greek or Hebrew, and dissatisfied with a translation from the English version, this apostolic bishop, who thought only of "spending and being spent" in his master's service, resolved on learning the Irish language himself, and became such a proficient, that he was enabled to compose a grammar for the use of other students. As the work advanced, he undertook the revision of it, and every day, after either dinner or supper, he compared a chapter of the Irish translation with the Eng-

* Chalmers.

lish, and then compared the latter with the Hebrew, and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, of which he thought very highly; and he corrected the Irish wherever he found the English translation in error, so that, in fact, it is the most perfect of the two. A few years completed the translation, and the bishop was preparing to get it printed at his own expense, when a very unexpected obstacle arose to the performance of this good work.

Some persons, interested in keeping the population of the country in a state of ignorance and barbarism, and little valuing the loss of souls, spread abroad an impression that the translator was a weak and ignorant man, and incompetent to the work; and artfully infused this impression among a high and influential circle, at the head of which were lord Strafford and the archbishop of Canterbury, neither of whom were competent, from their ignorance of Irish, to put the work to the only fair test, that of comparison with originals. The consequence was the suspension of the work, and a most tyrannical abuse of power towards its unoffending translator. A young man of the name of Baily pretended that the benefice which the bishop had given to King had lapsed, and obtained a broad seal for it, while the real incumbent was ejected, fined, and imprisoned. The bishop was indignant at such oppressive and unjustifiable proceedings, and expressed his opinion of them in a letter to the lord deputy, of which the following is a portion. After referring lord Strafford to the primate, the bishop of Meath, lord Dillon, and Sir James Ware, as to the talent and competency of Mr King, he refers him to the work itself, and entreats that it may be "*examined rigoroso examine,*" and desires that he may (as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work. He then states, that because Mr King did not appear to answer a citation, which by law he was not bound to do, he was deprived of his ministry and living, fined a hundred pounds, decreed to be attached, and imprisoned; "haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept and continued under arrest these four or five months. * * * * *

My lord, if I understand what is right, divine, or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which, if they reached only to Mr King's person, were of less consideration; but when, through his side, that great work, the translation of God's book, so necessary for both his majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, (I beseech your lordship,) if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that good service; or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained if he had died, (as it was almost a miracle he did not,) under arrest, and had been deprived of living, liberty, and life. God hath reprieved him, and given your lordship means, upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniences. For conclusion, (good my lord,) give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to king David to this purpose:—If the wayfaring man, that is come to us, (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place,) have so sharp a stomach that he must be provided for with pluralities, sith there are herds and flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the king's name, to take

the cosset ewe of a poor man, to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly Physician to give your lordship health of soul and body. I rest,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
in Christ Jesus,

WILL. KILMORE.

December 1, 1638.

Finding, from the prejudiced state of public opinion, that it would be useless to attempt the publication at that time, the bishop determined to set up a press at his own house, and have it printed there. The breaking out of the rebellion, however, prevented his putting this project into execution; and during its progress the bishop "fought his good fight, and finished his course." The manuscript was, however, providentially preserved from the general devastation, and was printed many years afterwards at the expense of the hon. Robert Boyle. The interest the Irish take in hearing the glad tidings in their native language is not less at the present day than it was in that day when Mr Cloogy, the bishop's chaplain, says, "I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the New Testament, in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the people in the captivity, when Ezra read the law unto them."

The bishop, in the interval that occurred before the rebellion, translated into the Irish language, and printed in his own press, some of Leo's sermons, three of the homilies on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, with a new edition of his catechism in English and Irish.

The bishop, who possessed the truest christian charity, and practically recognised the bond of love which should unite all the members of Christ's church in one, was a great supporter of Dury's design of reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists, and, besides writing letters to him frequently on the subject, containing much learning and good advice, he allowed him £20 a-year to assist in defraying the expenses of that negotiation. When a party of the Lutherans came to Dublin, and refused to join in the communion with the church of Ireland, the archbishop of Dublin sent their objections to bishop Bedell, who answered them so satisfactorily, and explained the matter so clearly, that on his answer being sent to the German divines, it gave them such complete satisfaction, that they at once advised their countrymen to join in communion with the Irish church.

The bishop preached twice every Sunday, and when he entered the church, it was evident, from his manner, that he remembered the counsel of the preacher: "keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God." Before the evening sermon he regularly catechized the younger part of the congregation. His voice is described as having been "low and mournful, the gravity of his countenance and behaviour secured attention, and the instructions which he delivered were excellent and spiritual." He was in the habit of saying, if I may teach and move, I desire to be no better a rhetorician. All he wished to preach, was "Christ and him crucified;" and his directions to his clergy were,

to "know nothing but Him, to put Him before the eyes of God's people; to glory in nothing but Him." Being surrounded with Roman catholics, and making great exertions for their spiritual improvement, he says that perchance his opinion of dealing with the papists themselves differs from the practice of great men in Christ's family—Luther, Calvin, and others. "But yet we must live by rules, not examples; and they were men, who, perhaps by complexion, or otherwise, were given over too much to anger and heat. Sure I am, the rule of the apostle, (2 Tim. ii. 25,) is plain, even of such as are the slaves of satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting, that when out of his snare, they should recover a sound mind to do God's will." In alluding to the exhortation to God's people to *come out of Babylon*, he says, "In this journey let us not trouble and cast stumblingblocks before good people that are ready to come out, or hinder one another with dissensions in matters either inexplicable or unprofitable; let it have some pardon, if some be even so forward in flying from Babylon, as they fear to go back to take their own goods for haste; and let it not be blamed, or uncharitably censured, if some come in the rear, and would leave none of Christ's people behind them; no man reacheth his hand to another whom he would lift out of a ditch, but he stoops to him. Our ends immediate are not the same, but yet they meet in one final intention; the one hates Babylon, and the other loves and pities Christ's people; the one believes the angel that cast the millstone into the sea, in the end of this chapter, with that word, Babylon shall rise no more; the other fears the threatening of our Saviour against such as scandalize any of the little ones believing in Him, that it is better for such a one to have a millstone hanged about his neck, and be cast into the sea himself."

The bishop's domestic habits and conduct were consistent with his public profession, and his devotional exercises, both in private and in his family, were frequent, fervent, and exalted. He prayed with his family three times in the day; early in the morning, before dinner, and after supper; and he never rose from dinner or supper without having a chapter read, which he often expounded. On Sundays, about the observance of which he was very strict, considering "the obligation of the Sabbath moral and perpetual," he was in the habit of reviewing the subjects of his sermons when retired amongst his family, and concluded the day with a psalm of thanksgiving, and with prayer.

He considered forms merely as the scaffolding that supported the building, and consequently most necessary; but in his estimation "Christianity was not so much a system of opinions, as a divine principle renewing and transforming the heart and life;" and he often repeated the saying of Augustine, "I look for fruit, not leaves." He wrote numerous paraphrases and expositions of scripture, which, along with his journal, and a large mass of papers, were lost during the rebellion, while a valuable Hebrew manuscript was preserved by the exertions of one of his Irish converts, and is at present in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It is a remarkable circumstance that but one of the priests who had conformed to the protestant religion under Bedell's instruction, returned to their ancient faith, and *that one* turned out so infamous a character, that he plainly showed that

he was totally devoid of all religion. The rest shared with Bedell the multiplied horrors of the rebellion of 1641, which was guided and stimulated by the fanatic barbarity of the Spanish priests, who would be satisfied with nothing less than a general massacre, and a universal extirpation of the protestants.

About three years before this fiery persecution commenced, he was tried perhaps still more severely by the breaking up of his domestic happiness, in the death of his valuable and attached wife, who had been "the comfort and support of his manhood and age." He had, however, subsequent cause to rejoice that she had not been spared to share and witness his protracted martyrdom, during those months in which he suffered "a thousand deaths," while he was not *dreading*, but wishing one. Even in this world it is generally made clear (eventually,) to the servant of God, that his trials have been ordained in mercy as well as wisdom, and, in the mean time, he has the comfortable assurance from the word of God, that all things shall work together for his good. His wife, who was a member of the L'Estrange family, is thus eulogized by Burnet: "she was exemplary for her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour, and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him." The high estimation in which she was held, and her just reputation for piety and virtue, made him choose that verse for the text of her funeral sermon, "A good name is better than precious ointment." He himself preached the sermon, "with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole congregation so much, that there were very few dry eyes in the church. His chaplain says, I never saw the least jar between them in word or deed in all the years I lived with them. The disease of which she died was lethargy. She left him two sons, William and Ambrose, to the eldest of whom he gave a benefice of eighty pounds a-year, in which he laboured zealously and conscientiously, and to his second son, who was not a man of letters, a small estate of £60 a-year, which was the only purchase the bishop made, (having laid up his treasure elsewhere,) and this was the only patrimony that descended to his children. The two younger died early. His charities were great and well bestowed, and they won for him the title of patron and patriarch, by which names he was familiarly spoken of amongst the Irish. Many poor cottagers were supplied from his kitchen; and at Christmas, he was in the habit of collecting his parishioners around him, and letting them sit at his own table. He was loved and venerated in his parish, and even amongst his enemies he seemed to bear a charmed life, for none even amongst the most infuriated ever lifted a weapon against him, and there seemed to be a general feeling that he was to be protected.

The circumstances connected with the rebellion of 1641, have been so often referred to in the course of these memoirs, that it is needless to enter into them further than to say that Ulster having a larger proportion of protestants in it than the other provinces, became a scene of more indiscriminate slaughter, and that the rebels themselves computed they had slain there 154,000. The atrocities, also, with which the slaughter was accompanied, increased its horrors. The popish population

rose in a mass. Men, women, and children, combined in the work of destruction. Their cry was, "spare neither woman nor child. The English are meat for dogs. Let not one drop of English blood be left within the kingdom." Thousands were burned in their houses; multitudes were thrown into the rivers to perish; others were mangled and left to die miserably upon the highways; and some were thrust into dungeons without food; they were buried alive; they were dragged through bogs and thickets by the neck; they were hung up by the arms, and then cut and maimed; they were boiled to death; they were stoned. A few were tempted, by promises of preservation, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their relatives, and then were miserably slain themselves." With these atrocities raging round him, the bishop was still left unmolested. "There seemed," says Burnet, "to be a secret guard set about his house; for though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation, about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks." He goes on to say that the bishop's house was in no condition to make any resistance, and yet his neighbours, all around, fled to him for shelter and safety. He shared everything he had with them; so that like the primitive Christians, they had all things in common; "and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; they spent their time in prayers and fasting, which last was like now to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power that stills the raging of the seas; and the tumult of the people; they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance."* Not only his own house, but the out-buildings, the church and church-yard, were full of people, who had been living in affluence, and were now glad of a heap of straw to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature. The bishop continued to sustain their sinking courage, calling upon them to commit their way unto the Lord, and to trust in Him. On the first Sunday after their being driven from their homes, he preached to them from the Psalm of David, in which he mourns over the rebellion of Absalom, and exhorted them to confidence and hope, exclaiming, "Thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid for ten thousand of the people, that have set themselves against me round about. Salvation belongeth unto the Lord. Thy blessing is on thy people." On successive Sundays, he still continued to preach to them, according to the occurrences of the week; still exhorting them to be of good courage, and calling upon them "to bear the indignation of the Lord, because they had sinned against

* Burnet.

him, until he should plead their cause, and execute judgment for them."

Some of the more moderate of the rebels, in the county of Cavan, seeing most of their expected aids fail them, and that although many of their commanders were good, yet that the majority of their soldiery were at once cruel and cowardly, and consequently incapable of bringing about the days of independence and restitution that they dreamed of, began to fear that the days of retribution might follow, and came to the bishop, entreating him to interpose for them with the lords-justices, and to write a petition, to be signed by themselves, entreating clemency, and the removal of their grievances, and promising to make every possible reparation for the past, and for the outrages of the lower orders. The bishop complied; but the address, though admirably worded, produced no effect on the authorities to whom it was addressed.

About this period, Dr Swiney, the titular bishop of Kilmore, came to Cavan. The bishop was intimate with his brother, whom he had been the means of converting, and ultimately provided for, besides keeping him for a long time at his own house as an inmate. Dr Swiney told the bishop that he would go and live at his house, for the purpose of protecting him, if he wished it; but this the bishop declined in the following courteous letter, which was written in the purest Latin:—

"Reverend Brother,

"I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me, by your presence in the midst of this tumult, and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office for you. But there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there are a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worship: I do not say of our religion; for I have ever thought and have published it in my writings, that we have one common christian religion: under our present miseries we comfort ourselves with the reading of the holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with singing of psalms; and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour those murtherers would break in upon us, who after they had robbed us of all that belonged to us, would in conclusion think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part I am resolved to trust in the divine protection. To a christian, and a bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people under an Anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stript,

it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people if they obey you: but if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend brother, I do heartily commend you.*

“Yours in Christ,
“WILL. KILMORE.”

November 2, 1641.

Endorsed thus:—“To my Reverend and loving Brother,
D. SWINEY.”

During this season of calamity the bishop seemed to live for every one but himself. He was applied to for advice and instruction by Mrs Dillon, the wife of a son of lord Roscommon's, who was a protestant, and very piously disposed; but who had been inveigled into a marriage with Mr Dillon, under the assurance that he professed the same faith. So far from this he was a bigoted member of the church of Rome, and was also engaged in the present rebellion. He, in addition, insisted on bringing up his own children in the Roman catholic faith, but did not interfere with her religion, or that of her children by her first marriage.

The bishop wrote her a long and consoling letter, containing an epitome of christian duty, with its exalted privileges, and consoling hopes, with advice suited to her peculiar position, wise, moderate, and uncompromising.

The bishop remained unmolested from the 23d of October, the first day of the breaking out of the rebellion, until the 18th of December, when he received a command from the rebels to send away the outcasts he had so long sheltered and comforted. This he of course refused to do; and the rebels then assured him, that much as they loved and respected him (more indeed than all the English whom they had ever seen), they would yet be compelled, in compliance with the strict orders of the council at Kilkenny, to remove him from his house, to which he answered in the language of David—“Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good unto him; the will of the Lord be done.”

He was accordingly seized with his two sons, and Mr Clogy his chaplain, and taken to the ruined castle of Lochoughter, the only place of strength in the county. It was built on a small island about a musket-shot from the shore, while only one small tower remained of the building. The water also had gained so much upon the island, that there was only about a foot of dry land surrounding the tower. They allowed the prisoners to take nothing away with them, while Dr Swiney took possession of all that belonged to the bishop, and quickly converted that house which might almost be called holy, having been so long sanctified by prayer, into a scene of riot, and the most debasing drunkenness, and on the following Sunday he performed mass in the church. They placed the bishop, who was near seventy, on horseback, but the rest had to proceed on foot, and on their arrival at this miserable habitation, all but the bishop were put into irons. The place was considered one of some strength and importance, and

* This was the last letter the bishop ever wrote.

had been intrusted to the care of Mr Cullum, who had a large allowance from the government, for keeping it supplied as a magazine with powder, and weapons of defence; but he neglected his charge, and was one of the first captives placed there, when the rebels had converted it into a prison. The situation was very bare, and much exposed to a winter, unusually severe, while the building was completely open to the weather. Another individual was brought (it would almost seem providentially,) to these dungeons; for he had been originally a carpenter, and by getting some tools and old boards, he was enabled to form some kind of shelter to screen the bishop from the inclemency of the weather. His name was Castledine, and his history curious. He originally came to Ireland, possessing nothing but his tools, and had been employed by Sir Richard Waldron in erecting and making the wood-work for a castle that he was building in Cavan. Sir Richard, however, by a long course of extravagance expended his property before his castle was completed, and left the kingdom, ordering the estate to be sold. Castledine, who, having worked laboriously at his trade for thirty years, had amassed a large sum of money, was enabled to purchase that very estate, which by honest industry, had contributed to make his own fortune. He determined that it should revert to the descendants of its original possessor, and from a feeling of gratitude married one of his daughters to the impoverished son of his benefactor, for the purpose of leaving him the property. Castledine was also a man of great moral virtue, singular piety, and unbounded charity; so that his arrival was a cheering event to the prisoners; their guards brought them an abundant supply of provisions, but left them to cook for themselves, having taken off their irons, and given them as much liberty as was in their power. Even their savage natures were softened by the patient endurance of the bishop and his little company, and by the recollection of all his former kindness, and unfailing charities; or as bishop Burnet well expresses it, the gentle conduct of his keepers seemed like a second stopping of the lions' mouths. The good old bishop according to the same writer took joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the epistle of the day, which set before them the humility and sufferings of Christ; and on Christmas-day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. The following day his son preached on the last words of saint Stephen. While they were endeavouring to keep their minds in the holy and prepared state of men waiting for their Master's coming, and not knowing whether the call would come "at midnight, at cockerow, or in the morning," an unexpected circumstance occurred which was the means of removing them out of their miserable captivity; but not before the silver cord was loosed that held the bishop to this state of existence, as he lived but one month from the time of his leaving the island, and during that period was in a dying state. The circumstance here alluded to, was a sally made by Sir

James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, afterwards Lord Grenard, with a body of Scots, from some houses in which they were closely besieged, and their provisions being exhausted, they preferred slaughter in the field, to famine. The attempt was at once unexpected and successful: they took some of the rebel leaders, killed others, and dispersed the rest. The result of this was their immediately demanding that the bishop, his two sons, and Mr Clogy, should be exchanged for their prisoners, and these latter being persons of importance, the demand was complied with. On the 7th of January, the prisoners on both sides were liberated, but the Irish only performed half their compact, as they promised to allow the bishop and his family to remove to Dublin, but hoping to secure additional advantages by keeping him in their power, they would not permit him to leave the county. He accordingly removed to the house of an Irish minister, Denis O'Shereden, to whom some respect was shown, in consequence of his Irish extraction, though he had conformed to the protestant religion, and married an English woman. He was a man of kind disposition, and strict principle, and aided many in their extremity.

During this last month of the bishop's life, notwithstanding his declining strength, he each Sunday either read the prayers and lessons, or preached. On the 23d of the month, he preached from the 71st psalm, particularly dwelling on these words, "O God thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works; now also when I am old and gray headed, forsake me not." On the succeeding Sunday, he repeated again and again the following verse, which occurred in the psalms for the day, "send down thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of the great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth talketh of vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood." The intense earnestness with which he repeated it, but too plainly showed what was passing in his mind, and his family were impressed as if by an omen, and could not restrain their tears. On the next day he became alarmingly ill, and on the following, ague, the natural consequence of his long exposure to damp, set in. As he grew worse he called his sons and their wives around him, and addressed them at intervals in nearly the following words:—

"I am going the way of all flesh; I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand: knowing therefore that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me, I know also that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a fair mansion in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; therefore to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which increaseth my desire even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken therefore to the last words of your dying father; I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer, who ever lives to make intercession for me, who is a propitia-

tion for all my sins, and washed me from them all in his own blood, who is worthy to receive glory and honour and power, who hath created all things, and for whom they are and were created.

“My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorifie God on earth, and in the ministry of his dear Son which was committed to my trust; I have finished the work which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation: lo I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving mercy, and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the words of the Holy One; but the words that he gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have received them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day) in truth and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes, to the utmost of my power; and what things were gain to me formerly, these I count now loss for Christ; yea doubtless, and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and I account them but dung, that I may win Christ and be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law; but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death. I press therefore towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ.

“Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ; neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter, yet in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us; for I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore, love not the world, nor the things of the world, but prepare daily and hourly for death, (that now besiegeth us on every side,) and be faithful unto death, that we meet together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, with all those that are clothed with white robes, in sign of innocence, and palms in their hands, in sign of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb, that is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

“Choose rather, with Moses, to suffer afflictions with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look, therefore, for sufferings, and to be

daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. What can you look for, but one wo after another, while the Man of Sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of God's people at his pleasure; while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those whose blood is precious in God's sight, though now shed everywhere like water.

"If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye: be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled; and be in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice, therefore, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the spirit of glory and of Christ resteth on you; on their own part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

"God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again into your possession of this land, though now for a time (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears; all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my God will supply your need, according to the riches of his glory, by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think."

After that, he blessed his children, and those that stood about him, in an audible voice, in these words:—

"God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy and unblameable, and unreprouvable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen." To which he added these words:—"I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I trust, the Great Shepherd of his flock will save and deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them, but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation."

And after a little interval, he said,—

"I have kept the faith once given to the saints, for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."

His speech failed shortly after, and he slumbered with little intermission, appearing composed and happy to the last. He died on the night of the 7th of February, the day of the month on which he was delivered from his captivity at Lockwater, or Lough-outré, as it is elsewhere called.

He requested to be laid next to his wife, who had been buried in the re-

mostest part of the south side of the church-yard of the cathedral of Kilmore. The titular bishop having taken possession of the cathedral, it became necessary to get his permission. Accordingly, Mr Clogy and Mr Sheridan went to the palace, accompanied by Mr Dillon, lord Roscommon's son, who was prevailed upon by his wife to accompany them, for the purpose of obtaining it. They had to rouse Dr Swiney from a drunken slumber, and when he was at length made to comprehend the object of their visit, he made some demur, saying that the church-yard was holy ground, and should no more be defiled with the bodies of heretics, but at length consented. The general feeling was, however, very different; for the chief of the rebels gathered his forces together, and accompanied the body from Mr Sheridan's to the church-yard of Kilmore with great solemnity, and desired Mr Clogy to bury him according to the office prescribed by the church. This, however, it was not thought prudent to attempt, lest the feeling of the lower orders should be excited by what they conceived a heretical ceremony. They, however, insisted on firing a volley of shot over his grave, and some of the better instructed among them exclaimed in Latin, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*;"—May the last of the English rest in peace! They had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

"Thus lived and died," says Burnet, "this excellent bishop, in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did show themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have."

His judgment and memory were very extraordinary, and continued unimpaired to the last. He corresponded with many of the first divines of the age, not only in England, but on the continent, and wrote in Latin with great elegance and correctness. He was free of access, and easy in conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; his thoughts and heart being fixed above; and whatever conversation occurred, he generally gave it a useful and instructive direction. He was as remarkable for his sincerity and faithfulness in giving reproof, as for his mildness and moderation in receiving it, however undeserved.

He was tall and graceful in his person; and there was an elevation in his countenance and demeanour that discovered what was within, and created an awe and veneration for him. His style was like his mind,—clear, elevated, and correct, but plain and simple, despising superfluous ornament, especially on subjects of such solemn import as the salvation of souls.

His deportment was serious and unaffected; and one of his biographers, in speaking of his dress, says, "His habit was grave; in a long stuff gown, not costly, but comely; his stockings woollen; his shoes not much higher behind than before." His grey hairs were a crown to him, both for beauty and honour, and he wore a long beard, according to the general custom of the time. His strength and health were remarkably good until within a few years of his death, and even

after he left Lockwater, he surprised his family by the bodily exertion he was enabled to make.

His recreations were few and simple; consisting chiefly of walking, and digging in his garden, in which he took great interest, having acquired much skill in the management of plants during his residence in Italy. The furniture of his house was plain, but suitable to his situation, and his table was well covered, and generally well attended with guests; but they were chiefly of those who could make him no return, and he lived amongst his clergy as if they had been his brethren. His humility was great, and finely contrasted with his undaunted firmness, whenever principle was involved, or self-interest to be sacrificed. He selected an ingenious device to express and increase this humility. It was a flaming crucible, with the following motto in Hebrew, "Take from me all my tin;" the word in Hebrew that signifies tin being *Bedel*. He directed in his will that his tombstone should bear this simple inscription:—" *Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis*," signifying that his body was committed in trust to the earth, till the time arrived when she should give up her dead.

John Bramhal, Primate of Ireland.

CONSECRATED A.D. 1634.—DIED A.D. 1663.

JOHN BRAMHAL was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire: he was born in Pontefraet, in Yorkshire, in 1593. He received his education at the university of Cambridge, from whence, after taking his degree of A.M., he obtained a benefice in Yorkshire. A controversy with some Jesuits upon the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, terminated so as to ascertain his being possessed of high logical powers: and thus recommended, he was appointed chaplain to Matthews archbishop of York, whose friendship he soon gained, by his sterling virtues and sound practical ability. By this prelate he was appointed a prebendary of York and Rippon. In this station his character became generally known, and obtained a high influence among the aristocracy of his county; and becoming known to Sir Thomas Wentworth, then president of York, he was selected to be his chaplain. In 1633, there was a regal visitation in Ireland, held by his patron, with whom he came over and acted as one of the chief directors of the proceedings. He resigned his English preferments by the desire of Wentworth, and by his influence and recommendation was soon after appointed to the see of Derry; and was consecrated in the chapel of Dublin castle, on May 26th, 1634, by Usher and Dopping, with the bishops of Down and Cork. He had been recommended to the sagacious Wentworth, by his eminent attainments and talents for the conduct of affairs, at a period when the unsettled state of the kingdom, both in church and state, made such attainments more than usually desirable. In addition to his extensive theological and academical acquirements, Bramhal was also known to have obtained an accurate

knowledge of English law, a fact indicative of the industry of his disposition, and the solidity of his understanding.

In Ireland he quickly launched into a course of useful activity. There he found indeed ample scope for the hand of correction and reformation. Wentworth's visitation had exposed the ruinous state of the church, which was, in every respect, in the lowest condition consistent with existence: its revenues were insufficient for the sustenance of the clergy; and its condition in point of doctrine and discipline had fallen into an entire derangement. Bramhal at once set himself, with all the vigour of his character, to the reform of these defects, so fatal to the maintenance of religion, and no less so to the progress of civil prosperity in this kingdom.

In 1635, there was a meeting of parliament, in which he exerted himself, in conjunction with the lord-lieutenant, to repair the ruins of the church. An act was passed for the execution of pious uses. Another to confirm leases of certain lands made by the bishops of Armagh and other prelates, and empowering them to make leases for sixty years of such lands within five years. Another was passed for the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical. Another act was passed to facilitate the restitution of impropriations, tithes, &c., with provisions restraining alienations of such rights. In the course of the following four years, this activity of Bramhal, with the aid of these legal provisions, effected considerable improvements in the external condition of the church: availing himself of the law, and exerting such means as could be made available, he recovered between thirty and forty thousand pounds, *per annum*, of its income.

But his exertions were in nothing more successfully exerted for the church, than in the sharp struggle, which, at the same time took place, to restore the suspended uniformity of the two national churches. For this object there were many strong motives to be found in the then existing political state of the two kingdoms. The tremendous struggle of the civil wars was then developing in the distance; and the more tremendous element of religious dissent, though, not yet disclosing any thing of its real power as a principle of revolution, had begun so early as the previous reign, to make itself sufficiently sensible in the balance of opposing powers, to have become an object of earnest and anxious attention in the view of all thoughtful and observant politicians. The church of Ireland had received a tinge of the Calvinistic spirit, which had then presented itself, in a form opposed to the principles of the episcopal church of England, and was feared by the court, and the court party also, as inconsistent with the principles of monarchical government then held. The puritans were becoming already formidable in England, and it was reasonably feared, that if their influence should increase, all classes of Christians who concurred with them in general views of doctrine or discipline, would eventually be found to make common cause with them against the crown; and such, indeed, afterwards turned out to be the actual fact. These considerations, then, sufficiently apparent, had a prevailing weight in the policy of Charles, and of the sagacious Wentworth. Unquestionably, reasons of a still more influential description were not without their due weight:

both the king and his lieutenant were men susceptible of a strong tinge of religious notions; and it is not necessary to point out those which must then have pressed strongly on the heart of every Christian member of the episcopal church. To every consistent member of this church, there were questions of far higher interest than those paltry considerations of nationality, which engross the narrow scope of popular opinion, and cloud the intellect of the partisan; it was obvious, that the adhesion of the Irish church, to the uniform state of the English, was not only an accession of strength to the whole; but, as matters then stood, essential to the reformation, and even the safety, of the church. The disunion of the Irish church, like that of any smaller and less matured system comprising human principles of conduct and feeling from a larger and more matured system, with which it has such a connexion as subsists between the two countries, is not unlike that independence, which children would willingly gain, from the control of their parents: in all such cases the premature arrogation of self-government is sure to be maintained by every deviation from the course of prudence and discretion, that pride, passion, and the natural combativeness of human nature, can suggest. There are, it is true, abundant grounds of exception to this general rule; but, at that time, such grounds had no existence in a country, in all things characteristically governed by party feeling, and at that time especially, subject to this and all other deleterious influences, from the deficiency of those counteracting processes which belong to knowledge and civilization. Our church could only attain to a healthy state, and preserve its vitality by that incorporate vigour and regulated action, to be attained by a union like that then designed, and against which, there was no objection in principle; governed by English bishops, and ostensibly agreeing in forms of worship, doctrine, and church government, the same in all essentials that have any practical importance, the Irish church had fallen into the utmost irregularity in these respects, and having in itself no sanatory principle, might be restored but could not be impaired by such a connexion.

We have already had occasion to state the change which had been some time before effected in the form of the Irish church, by the substantial adoption of the articles of Lambeth. We are now, at the distance of twenty years from that incident, to relate the re-adoption of the articles and canons of the English church, a course advised by Bishop Bramhal, and violently resisted by many other influential members of the convocation. The plan of proceeding devised for the occasion, appears from a letter from Laud to Strafford, to have been this, that the articles of the church of England should be received *ipsisimis verbis*, and leave the other articles unnoticed, on the obvious principle of the statute law, that such a silence would amount to a virtual annulment. The propriety of this course was made clear enough from the justly anticipated risk of opposition. Such indeed, when the matter was first moved, seems to have been the suggestion of Usher himself, if we rightly interpret a passage in one of Strafford's letters to Laud, in which a way was "propounded by my lord Primate, how to bring on this clergy the articles of England, and silence those of Ireland, without noise as it were, *aliud agens*." Usher, however,

retracted; from what influence it is not now easy to ascertain farther than conjecture; but of his dislike to the proposed alteration there is no doubt. His change of opinion was expressed, and awakened the suspicions of Strafford; but he was at the moment too heavily encumbered with the pressing hurry of parliament, to interfere; and the convocation in which the proposal was introduced proceeded in its own way: what this was, and its likely result, may best be told in the words of the same letter: "At length I got a little time and that most happily too; I informed myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; that they did proceed in that committee, without at all conferring with their bishops, that they had gone through the book of canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on others, they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication," &c.

The indignation of Strafford will easily be conceived; he at once summoned before him the chairman of the committee who was desired to bring with him the book of canons to which the above marks were annexed, with the draught of the canons which they had drawn up to present the same evening in the house; and having expressed his strong disapprobation, he peremptorily forbade the presentation of the report, till further notice. He then convened a meeting composed of Usher, Bramhal, and other bishops, before whom the committee had also been summoned to attend. In this assembly he sternly rebuked them for the whole of the proceedings. He then directed the prolocutor of their house, who was present by his desire, that he should put no question in the house, touching the receiving or not the articles of the church of Ireland; but that he should simply put the question for the allowing and receiving the articles of the church of England, "barely content, or not content."

Usher was desired to frame the canon for this purpose; but having done so, Wentworth, not contented with his draft, drew up another himself and sent it to Usher, who soon came to tell him that he feared it could never pass in that form. But Strafford, whose suspicions as to the primate's good-will, on the occasion, had been strongly excited, announced his determination to put it to the vote as it stood; and forthwith sent it to the prolocutor. This was the first canon of the convocation, and declaratory of the adoption of the thirty-nine articles, in the following form: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops, and bishops, and the whole clergy in the convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And, therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those articles are, in any part, superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he makes a public recantation of his error." By this canon, the thirty-

nine articles were adopted; but the natural question arose among the clergy—on whose part, in general, there remained a strong leaning in favour of the former articles—whether they were to be regarded as abolished or not. Some conceived that, by the new canon, they who should subscribe would only thereby declare their agreement with the doctrines of the English church, while the former still continued in force. Others, thinking more precisely, saw that the Irish articles were annulled by the canon. And it cannot but be admitted, that a recent enactment, of which the provisions were in direct contrariety to the previous law on the same points, must needs be considered as a virtual repeal. On points of coincidence, the former provisions would be merely superseded; and the question can only properly arise on points unaffected by the new law. Such must have been the decision, had the case been referred to judicial consideration; but in such a question relative to an entire system of fundamental provisions, embodying, in fact, the constitution of a church, there would seem to be a question of fitness antecedent to any such considerations. A church intending to unite itself with another, by the reception of its symbols and forms, must be referred to the design of such an act; and thus the maintenance of its ancient frame must be regarded as a plain absurdity, and wholly inconsistent with the object. Usher, indeed, with an inconsistency which we can but imperfectly account for, by allowing for the partiality of parentage—for the tenets of Usher are not represented by the Irish articles—considered that the English articles were only received subject to the construction they might receive from the Irish, and for the purpose “of manifesting our agreement with the church of England.” For some time after, the primate and several of the bishops required subscriptions to both sets of articles; but it was not without strong doubts of the legitimacy of such a procedure, an application was made to the lord-deputy for consent to re-enact the Irish articles, which he refused. Most of the bishops, however, adopted a course more in unison with the intent of Bramhal and the government. And in the troubles, which immediately after set in, the matter was dropped, and the thirty-nine articles have ever since been received without any question, as those of the united church of England and Ireland.

A similar effort was made with respect to the canons, but resisted by the primate, on the ground that the Irish church would thus be reduced to an entire dependence on the English; to prevent which the good primate proposed that, in this respect, some differences should be maintained, to preserve independence in that church of which he was the ecclesiastical head. Such a reason was consistent with the patriotism of Usher, and the no less respectable corporate feeling which is a main preserving principle of public institutions: but it was little consistent with a more enlarged view of the true interests of Ireland, which has in nothing suffered more than from its high pitch of nationality, maintained by distinctions, of which most, arising from the state of things, could not be removed. In thus excepting against the primate's reason, we may say, *en parenthese*, that eventually, this slight distinction between the two churches has been of service to religion in this island. But there were indeed better reasons for differences in the canons of

the churches than the one put foremost by Usher; and these, fortunately, were alone operative in the actual arrangements. The churches were very differently placed as to their ministry, congregations, and the external circumstances by which they were affected. It is, however, mentioned by Carte, that "abundance of the members were puritanical in their hearts, and made several trifling objections to the body of canons extracted out of the English, which was offered to their judgment and approbation; particularly to such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the ornaments used therein; the qualifications for holy order, for benefices and pluralities, the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligation to residency and subscription."

Notwithstanding these and such objections, it was agreed to construct a body of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions for the Irish church, on the frame of those of England, by adopting such as might be deemed unobjectionable, and adding such as the special circumstances of Ireland might seem to require. The execution of this arrangement was committed to Bramhal, who drew up the Irish canons to the number of one hundred. These were passed in the convocation, and received the king's assent. The differences between those and the canons of the English church have been noticed, in a careful comparison, in a learned work by a living prelate, to whom the Irish church is variously indebted for works of great practical utility: we think it the fairest way to give the results in his own language.

1. As to "the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship." That "that form of liturgy or divine service, and no other, shall be used in any church of this realm; but which is established by law, and comprised in the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments," was as distinctly affirmed by the third Irish canon, as it could possibly be by the 36th or any other of the English, so that uniformity of divine worship was thus far apparently secured; yet a difference is observable in the rules which relate to circumstantial uniformity, or at least to the solemnity, of such worship.

In pursuance of the apostle's rule, "Let all things be done decently and in order," the 18th English canon distinctly judged and directed, "that in divine service, all manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the general confession, litany, and other prayers are read; and shall stand up at the saying of the belief, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed in the book of common prayer; and likewise, when in time of divine service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed." It also ordains, that every "man, woman, and child," shall "say in their due places, audibly with the minister, the confession, the Lord's prayer, and the creed; and make such other answers to the publick prayers as are appointed in the book of common prayer." The corresponding Irish canon, which is the 7th, directs, that all persons attending divine service, shall "use all such reverend gestures and actions as by the book of prayer

are prescribed in that behalf, and the commendable use of the church received." Thus it refrains from special notice of postures, appointed for divine service; and it omits the direction concerning "bowing at the name of Jesus," and an audible participation in the service, by every "man, woman, and child."

2. As to "the administration of sacraments," the 13th English canon, which explains "the lawful use of the cross in baptism," not without an expression of sorrow at the inefficacy of the care and pains taken by king James I., at Hampton-court conference, for satisfying those who stuck at and impugned it, was altogether omitted from the Irish body of canons. And together with the explanation was, of course omitted, the clear language, in which the canon lays down the duty of every private man, both minister and other, to submit to public authority in all things of themselves indifferent, which in some sort alter their nature, when lawfully commanded or forbidden.

In the administration of the Lord's supper, on comparing the canons of the two churches, I have not been struck by any deviation in the latter from solemn provisions of the earlier code. But I may remark incidentally, that the 18th Irish canon, instead of deviating from, does concur with the 27th and the 21st English in two important injunctions: viz., that "no minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall willingly administer the same to any but such as kneel;" and that "the minister shall deliver both the bread and the wine to every communicant severally."

3. As to "the ornaments used in divine service," whereas the 58th English canon enjoins, that "every minister saying the publick prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice," there appears no corresponding Irish injunction; although in the 7th, notice is taken of the surplice, as worn in cathedral and collegiate churches; and under this head it may be remarked, that there is no corresponding Irish to the 82d English canon, which orders, "that the ten commandments be set up upon the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same; and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels in places convenient."

The 55th English canon, also, entitled, "The form of a prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons," has not any counterpart in the Irish body.

These are its chief, if not its only, omissions upon the specific articles of divine worship.

In the other particulars enumerated above, I have perceived no deviations of moment, unless it be, that, in relation to "the quality of such as are to be made ministers," an account of the candidate's faith is required by the 34th English canon, "according to the articles of religion, approved in the synod of the bishops and clergy of this realm, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two;" and by the 31st Irish, "according to the articles of religion generally received in the church of England and Ireland." The question, which has been already stated, concerning the effect of the recent adoption of the English ar-

ticles, and the jealousy which prevailed in some minds concerning them, may have given occasion for the indefinite terms of this condition.

Additional canons, suggested by the peculiar exigences of the Irish church, were also interwoven with those of the English code.

The 8th canon directed, that the parochial minister, subject to the judgment of the ordinary, should "endeavour that the confession of sins, and absolution, and all the second service, at or before the communion, to the homily or sermon, where the people all, or most, are Irish, shall be used in English first, and then in Irish." The 86th canon directed, "that the minister, if an Englishman, and there are many Irish in the parish, such a parish clerk shall be chosen as shall be able to read those parts of the service which shall be appointed to be read in Irish, if it may be." And in the 94th canon, which directs the church-wardens to provide two books of common prayer, and a bible, in every church, for the minister, and for the clerk, it is added, "Where all, or the most part, of the people are Irish, they shall provide also the said books in the Irish tongue, so soon as they may be had; the charge of these Irish books being borne also wholly by the parish."

These provisions were suggested by the exigencies of the country, arising out of its peculiar condition with respect to the language of its inhabitants; but one of them in particular, the second, is a striking evidence of the obstruction presented to the reformed religion, seeing that it was deemed necessary to allow part of the service of the church to be read by one who was not ordained a minister.

The following were designed to counteract the prevailing religious ignorance and superstition, and to be instrumental in substituting an acquaintance with the true religion of the gospel.

By the 9th canon, preachers were instructed to "teach no vain opinions, no heresies, nor popish errors, disagreeing from the articles of religion generally received in the churches of England and Ireland; nor anything at all, whereby the people may be stirred up to the desire of novelties or contention, but shall soberly and sincerely divide the word of truth to the glory of God, and to the best edification of the people."

The canon which provided for the catechising of the young and ignorant every Sunday, being the 11th, prohibited the ministers from "admitting any to be married, or to be godfathers or godmothers at the baptism of any child, or to receive the holy communion before they can say the articles of belief, the Lord's Prayer, and the commandments, in such a language as they understand."

For the better grounding of the people in the principles of the Christian religion, it was, by the 12th canon, ordained, "that the heads of the catechism, being divided into as many parts as there are Sundays in the year, shall be explained to the people in every parish church. In the handling thereof, the ministers and curates are to use such moderation that they do not run into curious questions or unnecessary controversies, but shortly declare and confirm the doctrines proposed, and make application thereof to the behoof of their hearers. The ministers, also, in their preachings, and catechisings, and private confer-

ences, when need requireth, shall teach the people to place their whole trust and confidence in God, and not in creatures, neither in the habit or scapular of any friar, or in hallowed beads, medals, reliques, or such like trumperies. They shall do their endeavour, likewise, to root out all the ungodly, superstitious, and barbarous customs, as using charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, or soothsaying, and generally to reform the manners of the people committed to their charge, unto a christian, sober, and civil conversation."

And by the 97th canon, the church wardens were directed, "with the approbation of the ordinary of the place, to see that all rood-lofts, in which wooden crosses stood,—all shrines, and all coverings of shrines, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstitions, be clean taken away and removed."

There were three or four other additional ordinances, supplemental to those of the English church:—

"For remedy of the smallness of the maintenance of the clergy," it was ordained, by the 36th canon, "that when there is one parish, a rectory and vicarage, or portion of tythes collative, the bishop shall unite them perpetually; and those unions the deans and chapters shall be bound to confirm, to remain perpetually as one entire benefice."*

By the 19th, the afternoon before the administration of the holy communion, the minister was directed to "give warning by the tolling of a bell, or otherwise, to the intent, that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those who need it." And the people were exhorted to special examination of the state of their own souls; and that, "finding themselves either extreme dull, or much troubled in mind, they resort unto God's ministers, as well for advice and counsel, as for the quieting of their consciences by the power of the keys which Christ hath committed to his ministers for that purpose."

And by the 49th, persons were directed to marry, "neither in the time of Lent, nor of any publick fast, nor of the solemn festivities of the nativity, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, or of the descension of the Holy Ghost."

"That these additions, considered in their application to the state of religion in Ireland, were generally improvements to the English canons, may be readily admitted; that the omissions, likewise, were improvements, may be questioned at least, perhaps denied. Nor can I think that any good purpose was answered by the dismemberment and re-construction of the entire body upon a different plan. If the object was to maintain the independence and free agency of the Irish church, that object might have been attained by appending to the English canons, or interweaving with them, such additions as appeared requisite for national purposes, and then adopting the code, in pursuance of bishop Bramhal's proposal, in its original form, with those additions. Such a code would have been more complete in itself, and better fitted for preserving that unity of christian profession, which

* The 43d directed, that "as often as churches were newly built, where formerly there were not, or churchyards appointed for burial, they shall be dedicated and consecrated; provided that the ancient churches and churchyards shall not be put to any base or unworthy use." (Left out in the above by mistake.)

was avowedly manifested by the adoption of the English articles, than by rejecting some of the English canons, and new-modelling the whole. For, whilst the wisdom of these objections is by no means palpable or indisputable, the new-modelling of the code gives an appearance of discrepancy, which really does not exist."

"I have judged it expedient to go into some detail on this subject; that the reader may thus be made aware of the general agreement between the two churches, in their canons, as well as in their articles, and better apprehend the position of the church of Ireland, after the accomplishment of these important acts of legislation."*

The canons were printed and published in September, 1635, and excited a strong sensation of terror and discontent among the Calvinistic party. The bishop of Derry was as active in his efforts to enforce their observance, as he had been in their introduction.

In 1640, most of the Scotch episcopalian clergy, who had refused to take the covenant, were compelled to flee from the rage of the covenanters: of these some sought refuge in this country. The hospitable protection of Bramhal was extended to many of them, among whom were the archbishop of St Andrews, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Ross, &c.

As the puritans became ascendant in England, and obtained the full possession of the powers of government, the Irish parliament followed the example of the long parliament in England, and became the active instrument of rebellion and oppression. Their party in Ireland felt the advantage of the juncture, and resolved not to be wanting to the occasion: a petition against the bishops of the north, partly false—and what was not false, unjust—was got up, and received by parliament complacently. Against the active and uncompromising Bramhal, the especial enmity of the puritan party was directed: he was impeached, together with the chief justice, the chancellor, and Sir G. Radcliffe, by Sir Bryan O'Neill. The supporters of the charge were powerful and confident; and Bramhal's friends urged that he should keep himself aloof; but the firmness of the bishop's character made him resolve to meet the vexatious charges, which, in truth, had no object but a pretext for his destruction. He came to town and appeared in his place in the house of lords. He was immediately arrested, and committed to prison. The record of his merits and sufferings on this occasion has been perpetuated by the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor:—"When the numerous army of vexed people heaped up catalogues of accusations—when the parliament of Ireland imitated the violent proceedings of the disordered English—when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences—when petitions were invited, and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power—when there were about two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth—when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations—yet then, he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, hemmed in with enemies, and covered

* Mant's History of the Irish Church, i. pp. 497—505.

with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence; and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced.* Such is the eloquent, but not exaggerated, account which Taylor has given, of the most truly illustrious period in the life of this eminent prelate. He winds up his brief and nervous detail, by the remark, that his enemies having failed to make good any particular case against Bramhal, had recourse to the common subterfuge of democratic persecution, and attacked him with vague and general accusations; or, in the words of Taylor, "They were forced to leave their muster-rolls, and decline the particulars, and fall to their *εργα*, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws, the device by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell;" a device which, assuredly, in Bramhal's case, as in those of Laud and Wentworth, betrays, in the utter dishonesty of the pretence, a sanguinary premeditation to remove persons obnoxious by their virtue and principles. The robber as fitly might justify his vocation on the public roads, by pretending to maintain the laws of property, as the puritan parliament affect to vindicate any law but the will of an armed democracy. To these notices we may add the bishop's own account, in a letter to the primate:—"It would have been a great comfort and contentment to me, to have received a few lines of counsel or comfort, in this my great affliction which has befallen me, for my zeal to the service of his majesty, and the good of this church, in being a poor instrument to restore the usurped advowsons and impropriations to the crown, and to increase the revenue of the church in a fair, just way, always with the consent of the parties, which did ever use to take away errors.

"But now it is said to be obtained by threatening and force. What force did I ever use to any? What one man ever suffered for not consenting? My force was only force of reason, and law. The scale must needs yield when weight is put into it. And your Grace knows to what pass many bishopricks were brought, some to 100 per annum, some 50, as Waterford, Kilfenoragh, and some others; some to 5 marks, as Cloyne, and Kilmaeduaigh. How in some dioceses as in Frens and Leighlin, there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to the patron, or to some for his use, at £2, £3, £4, or £5 per annum, for a long time, three lives or a hundred years. How the Chantries of Ardee, Dundalk, &c., were employed to maintain priests and friars, which are now the chief maintenance of the incumbents.

"In all this my part was only labour and expence: but I find that losses make a deeper impression than benefits. I cannot stop men's mouths; but I challenge all the world for one farthing I ever got, either by references or church preferments. I fly to your grace as an anchor at this time, when my friends cannot help me. God knows how I have exulted at night, that day I had gained any considerable revenue to the church, little dreaming that in future times that act should be questioned as treasonable, &c. &c."

* Quoted from Mant's History of the Irish Church.

In the reply of Usher, among other things, it is mentioned, "my lord Strafford, the night before his suffering, (which was most christian and magnanimous, *ad stuporem usque*) sent me to the king, giving me in charge, among other particulars, to put him in mind of you and of the other two lords that are in the same pressure." Eventually the king sent over his commands for the deliverance of the bishop, and he was soon after liberated.

The Irish rebellion now shortly set in; its deplorable consequences were not confined to any sect or class; but however they may have commenced in causes already sufficiently dwelt on, rapidly spread and involved alike the innocent and guilty in their prolonged course of terror, suffering, and destruction. Among the sufferers, it was least of all to be reckoned that Bramhal should escape his share. The miscreant O'Neile, whose character was an equal compound of madness and atrocity, made an effort for his destruction: Bramhal, however, came off with the loss of some personal property in the attack, the plunder of his carriages, and escaped into England, where he bravely and faithfully encountered many dangers scarcely less imminent, by his adherence to the king.

He visited this country again under the Commonwealth, and narrowly escaped being seized and delivered up at the revolt of Cork: on this occasion Cromwell is said to have strongly expressed his vexation, and said that he would have given a liberal reward for the apprehension of that "Irish Canterbury."* After some other misadventures, he again took the wise part of escaping into England, and was on the passage saved from his enemies, by a providential change of wind, which baffled the pursuit of two parliamentary ships, by which the vessel in which he sailed was chased. Finding no refuge in England, he was presently driven to the shift of travelling, and formed the somewhat unaccountable and rash design of a visit to Spain. But on his arrival in that country he received a seasonable warning: at an inn upon the road, his surprise was great at finding himself recognised by the hostess, who, on looking at his face, at once called him by his name. On being questioned by the bishop, the woman showed him his picture, and gave him the startling information, that many copies of it had been sent over with orders for his arrest and committal to the Inquisition. Her husband, she added, was under orders to that effect, and would not fail to execute them, should he discover him. It may be presumed, that the bishop was not slow to depart. On this incident doubts have been raised; with the grounds of the particular doubts we do not concur. But we have no very great confidence in any part of the narrative: we cannot admit the doubt that his parliamentary enemies would be active to get rid of the "Irish Canterbury" by any means, and we can as little doubt the convenient subserviency to such a purpose, of that most revolting and execrable of human institutions, the Spanish Inquisition: but we should most doubt that the sagacious intelligence of Bramhal would have walked heedless into so formidable a trap, without some motive more adequate than has been stated.

* Harris.

At this fearful period of calamity and reverse, when few clergy or prelates of the English and Irish church escaped the license of plunder, and the rapacity of unhallowed power; and Bramhal, like most of his brethren, was narrowly struggling on the verge of utter destitution, he was so fortunate as to receive a debt of £700, from some person to whom he had lent the sum in better times. As he was circumstanced, this was, indeed, a great and signal mercy, which he thankfully received, and gratefully disposed of, not only for his own relief, but that of other sufferers of his forlorn and persecuted church, and faithful loyalists, "to whom even of his penury he distributed so liberally, that the blessing of such as were ready to perish fell upon him."*

But Bramhal was reserved for better times; and as he had been tried and found faithful in the season of a fiery trial, so he was to be rewarded by the station for which he had been thus severely approved.

"At this period," writes bishop Mant, "the church of Ireland had preserved only eight of her former bishops; Bramhal of Derry; John Lesly of Raphoe; Henry Lesly of Down and Cavan; Maxwell of Kilmore; Baily of Clonfert; Williams of Ossory; Jones of Clogher; and Fulwar of Ardfert.—Of these, the bishop of Derry, in particular, was well-known, and highly esteemed for his previous ecclesiastical services, so that the general sense of the church and of the kingdom concurred with the judgment of the government, which made an early selection of him for the archbishoprick of Armagh, and primacy and metropolitical dignity of all Ireland, to which he was nominated in August 1660, and formally appointed on the 18th of January, 1661."† The appointment of so many new bishops as such a state of things demanded was for a time the rallying point of party and sectarian excitement: the desolate condition of the Irish church had raised the strong hopes of its enemies of every persuasion, that it could hardly be restored: and above all, at the present moment the expectation was, that the sees would not be filled. There was some difficulty on the part of government, arising from the want of the great seal, for the execution of the patents; but the marquess of Ormonde saw the strong expediency of putting an end to party speculation and to the propagation of the adverse feeling, by expediting the nomination which he advised to have made out under the king's signet. On the opposite side, addresses were sent up from numerous protestants, chiefly the leaven of the Cromwellian soldiers, to petition against bishops, and that their spiritual interests might remain "under the charge of the godly ministers of the gospel, who had so long laboured among them." The strength of this party was, however, not of a substantial or permanent character, as it lay almost entirely in the officers of the army, who were in fact only kept together in a state of organization by the want of money to pay their arrears. By these, or rather by their principal commanders, Sir T. Stanley, &c., the petitions were sent round for signatures, which were obtained with the ordinary facility of that spurious expression of popular sentiment. The officers had nevertheless been generally so free in their language, that there were few of

* Mant from Vesey's life of Bramhal.

† Hist. of the Church of Ireland.

them altogether beyond the reach of being called to account for seditious and disloyal expressions: of this circumstance Sir Charles Coote took advantage for the purpose of intimidating the most violent of them, and it is stated that they were thus led to desist.*

Yet the intrigues thus defeated, would, at this time, have been of slight comparative moment, had there not been persons of high rank and weight secretly concerned in impeding the re-edification of the Irish church. Such persons could not without danger commit themselves to proceedings which might, without wrong, be interpreted into disaffection to the crown at a moment when such a charge would be most unsafe. They felt themselves therefore, compelled, silently to allow the appointment of the bishops; but it was another thing and subject to no dangerous construction, to interfere with their temporalities, and to resist in every way the restoration of church possessions. Under the pretence of urging other interests, they endeavoured to obtain the insertion in the king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland, of a clause to withhold all improvements of ecclesiastical rents made during the government of the earl of Strafford—improvements mainly attributable to the wisdom and energy of Bramhal. They were now attacked on the pretence that they had been made at the council table, which had no authority for such acts.

To counteract this intrigue, Bramhal, now raised to the head of the Irish church, convened the other eight bishops in Dublin, in November, 1660, when they agreed upon an address, in which they represented to king Charles, "that it never was the intention of his grandfather, that one single tenant, who had no need, and was of no use to the church, should enjoy a greater yearly revenue out of his royal bounty than the see itself, and the succession of pastors; yet this was the case till the time of the earl of Strafford, through whose sides the church was now attacked, and in danger of suffering. That they were ready to demonstrate, that the council table in Ireland had been ever esteemed and used as the proper judicature for such causes, throughout the last two reigns, and so upwards throughout all ages since the conquest. Nor could it possibly be otherwise; the revenues of Irish bishops, depending much on the rules of plantation—and rules of plantation being only cognoscible at the council board." Having further extended the application of this principle, the petition went on to state the consequences, which they showed to be the entire beggary of the sees; and craved that nothing should be done to the prejudice of the church, until at least they might be heard in its defence. This petition was presented by the marquess of Ormonde, and received, through him, a favourable answer from the king, "that he would, by all the ways and means in his power, preserve their rights and those of the church of Ireland, so far as by law and justice he might, &c., &c." With the king's letter the marquess wrote to the primate, assuring him of his own zealous co-operation. The good offices of the marquess were indeed prompt and effectual, and, through his zealous exertion, the king soon restored the temporalities of the Irish church

* Carte, ii. 209.

to the full extent of their possessions in 1641. He also issued his royal mandate to the primate for the consecration of the new bishops nominated to the vacant sees. Accordingly, two archbishops and ten suffragans were, on the 27th of January, 1661, consecrated in St Patrick's cathedral, by the primate, assisted by four other bishops; the consecration sermon being preached by Jeremy Taylor. And, not often in the history of churches has there occurred an occasion so suited to call forth the higher powers of that illustrious preacher, than on that occasion which witnessed the restoration of the sacred edifice of the church from the dust and ashes in which it had been cast down by cupidity and fanaticism; and the consecration to that sacred office of twelve men, who had, during these dark and dreadful years of trial and dismay, braved all the terrors and sufferings of persecution for her sake, and now stood up in their white robes, like those "which came out of great tribulation," to stand before their Master's throne and serve him in his temple. Bishop Mant, who gives a brief but full detail of the proceedings of this day, closes his account with the following observation, which we here extract:—"The consecration, at the same time, and by imposition of the same hands of twelve Christian bishops, two of the number being of metropolitan eminence, to their apostolical superintendence of the church of Christ, is an event probably without a parallel in the church." The event and its consequence, with reference to the illustrious primate engaged in the consecration, is thus noticed by bishop Taylor, in his sermon preached at the funeral of archbishop Bramhal, in the year 1663:—

"There are great things spoken of his predecessor St Patrick, that he founded 700 churches and religious convents, that he ordained 5000 priests, and with his own hands consecrated 350 bishops. How true the story is I know not, but we were all witnesses that the late primate whose memory we celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches of Ireland; and was greatly instrumental in the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferior to none of his antecessors."

We cannot, consistently with the popular design of this work, here enter, in all the detail to which we might otherwise be inclined, upon a view of the position in which our church now stood, after many trying vicissitudes again settled on a strong basis, against a sea of troubles which continued and continues to beat against her sacred ramparts. She was yet surrounded on every side by jealousy, enmity, and cupidity; and her many and various enemies, though beaten down by the result of the long struggle which had steeped the land in woe and murder for so many years, still retained their hate, and, though they did not endanger her existence, exposed her to many trials, and much abridged her usefulness. On this general state of things we shall at a further period venture some reflections, which might here carry us further than is our desire from the direct purpose of this memoir.

Among the difficulties to which the bishops were now exposed, was that arising from the number of their clergy who had been admitted from

the presbyterian church, and who, therefore, had not received ordination according to the canons of the church, as it now stood. To these men in general, there was personally no objection; but it was justly decided by Bramhal and the other bishops, that the canons of the church must be adhered to. A departure from order is unquestionably inconsistent with that inviolability on which the existence of institutions is (to all human contemplation,) dependent. The difficulty was indeed considerable: the necessity of a strict adherence to the laws of an institution is not always sensible to the popular eye; it is easier to see the evil or the hardship when a good preacher and a worthy minister of the gospel stands questioned on a seeming point of form, than to comprehend the vital necessity of preserving inviolate the order and form of a sacred institution. The bishops were, perhaps, becomingly indifferent as to the foam and "salt surf weeds" of popular opinion: but they felt as men the hardship to the man, and as prelates the loss to the church. The course to be pursued was nice and difficult, for it was a peremptory necessity in such cases, that the minister should receive episcopal ordination: such, by a clause in the act of uniformity was the law; nor could the bishop depart from it for any consideration of expediency, without an abandonment of the sacred obligations of his office. Under these circumstances, the conduct of Bramhal displayed the prudence, firmness, and kindness of his nature; "when the benefices were called at the visitation, several appeared and exhibited only such titles as they had received from the late power. He told them they were no legal titles; but in regard he heard well of them, he was willing to make such to them by institution and induction, which they humbly acknowledged, and entreated his lordship to do. But desiring to see their letters of orders, some had no other but their certificates of ordination by some presbyterian classes, which, he told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the church. Whereupon the question immediately arose 'are we not ministers of the gospel?'" To this Bramhal replied that such was not the question, and explained the essential distinction between an objection on the ground of a positive disqualification for the ministry, and one on that of not being qualified to be functionaries of the church. He pointed out the important fact that the defect of their orders was such as to vitiate the title of their temporal rights, and that they could not legally sue for their tithes. Without disputing their sacred character or their spiritual qualification, he insisted on the necessity of guarding against schism and of the preservation of order. To his arguments all the more reasonable gave their assent, and complied with the law by receiving ordination according to the form prescribed by the canons of the church, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In the letters of orders given on this occasion, there was introduced the following explanatory form. "*Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit,) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio iudici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum; et providentes paci ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus*

suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos asseverentur: in ejus rei testimonium," &c.

In 1661, a parliament was called in Dublin, and Bramhal was appointed speaker of the house of lords; the lord chancellor having been supposed to be disqualified for that office, as being at the time one of the lords-justices of the kingdom. The appointment, with the reasons and attendant circumstances, are thus announced to the duke of Ormonde, by lord Orrery: "His majesty having empowered the lords-justices to appoint a fit person to be speaker of the house of lords, my lord Chancellor has proposed to us my lord Santry, against whom we had several material objections, besides his disability of body; and he being at best a cold friend to the declaration: which made me propose my lord primate, well known in [versed in] the orders and proceedings of that house, (having sat in two parliaments,) a constant and eminent sufferer for his late and now [present] majesty: and that in such a choice, we might let the dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as a church government. Besides, it was but requisite, that church which had so long suffered, should now, (in the chief of it,) receive all the honours we could confer on it. My lord chancellor, [Sir M. Eustace,] for some days dissented therein, but at last concurred; and this day my lord primate sat in that character."^{*}

In this parliament the primate was both alert and efficient in promoting the cause of the church and the interests of the clergy, and his efforts were expressly recognised by a solemn vote in the convocation. The parliament, indeed, appears to have been favourably inclined, as their first act was a declaration, requiring conformity to the church and liturgy as established by law. They are said to have proceeded thus early in this matter, as there was an apprehension of opposition from the dissenters so soon as their estates should be secured.† Other acts indicative of the same spirit may be here omitted, having been for the most part already noticed

During the continuance of this parliament, a false alarm was excited by a letter, dated November 18th, and purporting to be written by a priest, named James Dermot, to another, named James Phelan. This was sent to the lords-justices, and contains complaints of the obstinacy of their enemies, in not returning to the obedience of the holy see, holding out prospects of freedom, and recommending that care should be taken to preserve their arms for the time of using them which was near, &c. This letter was the means of exciting alarm, and causing rigorous proceedings to be proposed; but the primate at once suspected and early pronounced it to be an imposture. To expose the truth he advised to have the two priests sent for: this was done, and many circumstances appear to have confirmed the primate's suspicion, although it was not found an easy matter to quiet the zeal of the government functionaries or the strong fears of the protestants; and the priests were treated with undeserved suspicion and protracted inquiry before the affair was set at rest.

On the 31st May, 1661, by an order of the house of commons, the master of the wards waited upon the primate to request, that he would

* Carle's Life of Ormonde, and Orrery's State Letters.

† Life of Ormonde.

administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the members: the primate, in compliance, appointed for the purpose the Sunday fortnight, in St Patrick's cathedral; and the Friday previous to that day he also appointed for a sermon, preparatory for the occasion. The sermon was on the subject of repentance, as testified by the forsaking of former sins, and was printed in accordance with a request of the house

On the 25th June, 1663, the church was deprived, by death, of this most able, judicious, and efficient of her servants. Some, like Usher, may have deserved more highly the praise of comprehensive and profound learning; some, like Bedell, may be more venerable for saintly devotion; and some, like Taylor, may be illustrious for the splendid combination of unrivalled eloquence with these eminent gifts. But for the solid judgment which directs, and the moral virtues of firmness and industrious perseverance which hold on through the oppositions and difficulties of circumstance; for the sagacious estimate of the wants and workings of institutions, and the practical ability and energy to carry into effect the necessary expedients for improvement, reform, or defence; few churchmen may justly claim a fuller or worthier tribute of praise than Bramhal. "He was," in the language of Taylor, "a man of great business and great resort. He divided his life into labour and his book. He took care of his churches when he was alive, and even after his death, left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of Armagh, and St Peter's church in Drogheda. He was an excellent scholar and rarely well accomplished; first, instigated to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience."

Heber MacMahon.

DIED A. D. 1660.

HEBER MACMAHON was the Romish bishop of Clogher: we have not found any authentic materials for even the most cursory sketch of his history; but he was a man of talent, virtue, and wisdom. Although his character and even his name have sunk into the obscurity of his stormy period, only known in the record of those deeds of prominent evil or good which such periods bring forth; yet if truth, honesty, and wisdom, are entitled to superior praise when found among the fanatic, the false, and the deluded, few of his day are more deserving of a place among the illustrious than MacMahon.

It was sometime in the year 1649, when the original party of the Irish rebellion had been worn by its dissensions and disasters, but still was sustained in a protracted existence by the general confusion of the kingdom, and the absence of the powers of constitutional control. The cross waves and currents of the civil wars in England had come into collision with the Irish rebellion, and a confused war of parties and party leaders was kept up, in which every party looked to its own objects. In this medley of force and fraud, all the varied objects of

every party were gradually beginning to be lost in the predominance of that, most uncontrolled by any principle, most reckless in conduct, and ruinous in design, headed by Owen O'Neale and other leaders of the same class, who were endeavouring to hold out in the possession of their lawless robber force, until the weakness of all the rest should place the kingdom at their mercy.

Of these, it was the obvious policy to sell their arms to highest bidders, to make individually the best bargains for present advantage, to keep the strife alive, and, whatever way matters might fall out, to be on terms with the uppermost. The consequence was, that while a bloody and fearful retribution was preparing for this hapless and infatuated nation, the two main parties were in a manner doomed to look on in a nearly defenceless condition, and to endeavour to make such terms, as their means afforded, with the lawless hordes whom the appetite for plunder and the love of license attached to their leaders.

In this state of things, the nuncio of the papal see—the impetuous, vain, obstinate, and weak Rinuncini, laboured to maintain a sinking cause. Incapable of perceiving the actual tendency of events, and dead to the warnings of present circumstances, he resented the defection of many, and the caution of others of the papal ecclesiastics, who saw more distinctly the crushed condition of the country, and the failure of all their resources. The supreme council of Kilkenny had been disarmed of its assumed authority, so soon as it manifested a disposition to peace, and lay under the excommunications and interdicts of the nuncio. Among the more moderate and informed of every party, there was a just sense of the necessity of a speedy termination to such a state of things, and a conviction of the alternative which was daily assuming a more certain and formidable aspect, in the increasing strength and resources of the parliamentary power.

The Romish prelates in Ireland met at Clonmacnoise, to deliberate on the course most expedient in such a juncture. They were, however, variously inclined, and met with many differences both of view and purpose. Sensible, for the most part, of the necessity of the peace, they were not equally so, as to the manner and means to be pursued: with some, the influence of the nuncio prevailed; some could not acquiesce in the compromise essential to agreement; but with the body, the intrigues, misrepresentations, and flighty pretensions of the marquis of Antrim prevailed.

In such an assembly it was that the ascendant ability of Heber MacMahon turned the scale. To his clear and sagacious observation, everything appeared in its real form, unclouded by the illusions of party feeling and party artifice. He saw the iron hand of the armed commonwealth freed from the restraints which it had shattered along with the monarchy, and already uplifted to subdue and crush all other pretensions to revolt: he saw the people who had been betrayed into a wild and mad resistance, broken and prostrated—deserted, betrayed, and scattered into irretrievable helplessness and suffering: he felt the ruin and dilapidation which covered and rendered desolate the entire aspect of the kingdom in every direction. Perhaps, too, looking back on the history of his country, he saw in that ruinous scene of things a repetition of that cycle of perpetual folly and wickedness, followed

by vengeance and the tyranny of distrust, which had dwarfed the prosperity of the kingdom; nor are such suppositions merely conjectural, as he was in habits of intimacy with the wisest statesman and truest patriot of his age and country, James, first duke of Ormonde.

Of MacMahon's conduct on this occasion, Carte has given the following account. After detailing the crimes and intrigues of the marquess of Antrim, he proceeds to say, "at this time the bishop of Clogher baffled all his measures; and as by his conversation of late with his excellency, we had formed the highest opinion, as well of his talents for government, as of his zeal for the good of his country, he represented him in such a light to the assembly, that he either instilled into them the same opinion, or silenced and deterred them from asserting the contrary. The lord-lieutenant indeed treated this bishop with very great respect, on account of the power which he had with the Ulster Irish, and conversed with him on the affairs of the kingdom very frequently, with great freedom and familiarity. He was a man of better sense than most of his brethren, and saw the absolute necessity of the whole nation uniting as one man for their defence; for which reason he laboured so hard with this congregation of the clergy, that he got them at last to enter into a superficial union, for burying all that was past in oblivion, to declare that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish, English, or Scots royalists, and their resolution to punish all the clergy who should be found to encourage them."*

Of the bishops who joined in a declaration to this effect, the greater part were rather influenced by the superior reason, than thorough converts to the views of MacMahon; and on separating, many of them neglected to enforce or follow up their declaration, while some proceeded directly in the contrary spirit. Yet such an instrument was in itself well adapted to produce serviceable impressions, and not the less highly indicates the character of the source from which it virtually came. Such in truth was the only value of the act: the time of repentance was past, and no virtue or wisdom could save the people from the infliction which was to come.

Not long after, according to agreement with the province of Ulster, the marquess of Ormonde gave a commission to MacMahon,† to command in that province. The nature of this agreement was, that, in case of the death of Owen O'Neale, the nobility and gentry of Ulster should have the nomination of one to command in his stead. This event having taken place, they chose MacMahon; and their appointment was confirmed by the marquess, on the ground of the "care, judgment, valour, and experience in martial affairs, as also the leading and good affections of you to do his majesty service, have nominated and appointed, and hereby do nominate and appoint you, the said Bishop Ever MacMahon, to be general of all his majesty's said forces of horse and foot of the province of Ulster, native of this kingdom," &c.

In virtue of this commission, the bishop proceeded to the discharge of his new, but, perhaps, more appropriate functions, with vigour and

* Carte, i. 195.

† Ormonde's Letter, dated May, 1660.

skill, against the parliamentary troops, which he contrived to annoy in every quarter of the province, by skirmishing parties of all dimensions. After sometime, however, he was attacked by Coote: the conflict was severe, and at first, for a while, victory appeared to incline to the Irish: in the end, superior discipline obtained some advantage for the parliamentary troops, when their cavalry decided the day. The bishop rode with a small party of horse from the field—the next day he was met by major King from Enniskillen, and attacked—he defended himself with heroic bravery, and it was not till after he was disabled by numerous wounds that he was taken prisoner. He was soon after hanged by the order of Sir Charles Coote.

James Margetson, Primate.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1660.—DIED A. D. 1670.

MARGETSON was born in 1600, in Yorkshire, and graduated in Cambridge, from whence he was promoted to the living of Watley in Yorkshire. That his conduct in this parish was in every respect worthy, is proved by the fact that he had the good fortune to attract the notice and approbation of Wentworth, than whom none was more likely to form a just estimate either of the man or the christian teacher. Afterwards, in 1633, when Wentworth came over as lord-deputy, he prevailed on Margetson to resign his Yorkshire preferment, and attend him into Ireland as chaplain. In two years after, he presented him with the rectory and vicarage of Annagh, in the diocese of Kilmore. From this, in the next four years, his promotion was rapid, as he was successively advanced to the deanery of Waterford, of Derry, and finally, in 1639, of Christ Church in Dublin; and, at the same time, pro vice-chancellor of the university, and prolocutor of the lower house of convocation.*

In the rebellion of 1641, his charity and zeal were amply manifested by his liberal benevolence to the sufferers. All that could be done in that dreadful period, by those who were in any way exempted from the general calamity, was the alleviation of the privations and afflictions from which none escaped but those who were protected by arms and fortified walls.

In 1647, he joined in the declaration made in answer to a message from the parliamentary commissions, and substantially proposing the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer. From the tyranny of this party, now completely masters of the city, he found it necessary to make his escape; and, like many others, he sought a refuge in England, but found none. After much fatigue and repeated alarms, he was taken prisoner; and having been first shut up in Manchester gaol, he was hurried, according to the turns of party, from prison to prison. After some time, he was released, in exchange for some military officers, and proceeded to London, where he had the best chance of passing unnoticed in the crowd. In seeking safety, Marget-

* Dalton's Bishops.

son by no means counted on any compromise of his duty, should it in any way present itself. The reputation of his integrity and charitable deeds had gone before him; and many, whose benevolence or regard for the loyal cause was greater than their courage, were glad to find one whom they could intrust with the means of relieving the distressed and persecuted loyalists. He did not shrink from the great dangers, and still greater fatigues and hardships, attendant on that ministry of mercy and loyalty; but made repeated and most hazardous journeys through the kingdom, bearing needful relief to numerous parties, both of the clergy and laity. Among those who were thus indebted to his courageous charity was Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, who, like himself, had been driven from Ireland. In such a tour, and at such a time, when every part of the country lay involved in some impending terror, it must be easy to apprehend that many strange and singular adventures may have occurred, which might have supplied materials for a diary more instructive and curious than could otherwise easily be put together. The worthy Dean had indeed something else to think of; but among the incidents of his pilgrimage, one is mentioned which bears upon a question which has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is mentioned by his biographer that "he happened on a gentleman sick and on his death-bed, to whom he administered spiritual comfort, together with the holy offices of the church on such occasions. By that dying person he was told, that he had been sometimes one near on attendance on that late sacred martyr, King Charles the First, in his solitude; that to him had been by the King delivered, and committed to his charge and care to be preserved, those papers, which he said he knew to have been written by the king's own hand, and which were after published with the title of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ." * The Bishop has not named this person, so that it is not easy to conjecture whether or not the anecdote can be considered as additional testimony on this ancient and curious controversy, of which the reader may well happen to be forgetful. After the Restoration, a person of the name of Gauden, who had been in some way employed in conveying the sheets to the press, claimed the authorship, and was believed by the King, the Duke of York, and Clarendon. But it was not until forty years after the event, when all parties who could have been considered as authority were dead, that the question was in any way made public. It has been frequently since revived; and, considered simply with reference to the external evidence on either side, offers vast, and we believe, insurmountable difficulty. But we have little doubt in saying that the balance is clearly against Dr Gauden, as all his witnesses evidently derive their authority from himself, or from those who, like him, had some immediate personal interest in the preferment which he claimed on the merit of the book. It is remarkable that Gauden cuts the ground from under his own feet, as the act to which he lays claim involves at the outset a most shameful and infamous fraud: his advocate must set out by claiming for him a character unworthy of credit, in order to prove a gross improbability on his testimony. Having had no previous intimacy with the fastidious and haughty monarch, who

* Cited by Mr Dalton, *Life of Margetson*.

in confinement stood on terms approaching defiance with his foes, he came to propose to him to risk his reputation, sacrifice his pride, and violate all sense and principle of honour, by the gratuitous baseness of taking false credit for a book, to the composition of which he is allowed to have been himself fully competent. Then, following the well-known course of literary impostures, he takes the time favourable to his purpose; and when it has become unlikely that he can be authoritatively contradicted, he reveals his pretended service, with cautious stipulations of profound and inviolable secrecy, of which the manifest purpose was to prevent the lying secret from reaching the ears of a few venerable persons, who would quickly have exposed the miserable scandal. And having done so, he pressed, with a most ferocious disregard of all decency, for a bishopric, which he obtained. The Earl of Clarendon, the King, and the Duke of York, could have no direct knowledge of the truth. The royal brothers, both alike indifferent to truth, were no friends to the real reputation of their father, and not displeased to see transferred from his memory, a book the substance of which was but reproach to their whole conduct and characters. Clarendon had always professed to believe the book to be the production of the King; and when he received the guilty revelation of the scheming and mitre-hunting Gauden, it was under the seal of the most inviolable secrecy—a secrecy which, we may observe, was in no way objectionable to any party then concerned. Against a testimony little removed from infamous, we should consider that of Levet, the king's affectionate and intelligent page, who never left him during the time assigned to the composition of this work, to be far more than equivalent. "I myself very often saw the king write that which is printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper; and seldom that I read it but tears came from me: and I do truly believe that there is not a page in that book but what I have read, under the King's own hand, before it was printed." To this is added, from the same authority, the evidence of several persons—the printer, the corrector of the press, and the bookseller, who speak to the handwriting, as ascertained from other documents. These, with the assertions of Bishops Inson and Earle, we should consider as decisive in the scale of testimony. As for the host of indirect testimonies, which we cannot here notice on either side, we surmount the difficulties by considering them all as amounting to no calculable value. We know too well the various resources of such frauds, not to know the impossibility, after a little time of silence, of tracing the various trains of contrived accident and seemingly unthought-of confirmation which may be laid by one who is allowed to wait his time, and work in darkness for an end unforesight of but by himself. But if, instead of this digression, we were engaged in the full discussion of this *vetata questio*, we must confess that the internal probability has impressed us, some years ago, in an actual perusal of the *εἰκων βασιλική*, with a force that rejects all doubt. The whole texture of the book is the most peculiarly characteristic emanation, bearing the very living stamp of the author's mind—a mind utterly beyond the reach of Gauden's coarse and low-toned spirit to conceive, and breathing the whole sentiment and affections suited to the character

and actual position of the royal sufferer, whose powers of composition are otherwise known to have been such, as renders unaccountable and absurd, the notion that he should have sullied the dignity of which he was so tenacious, so far as to be the accomplice of a superfluous imposture. We can here only add, what should not be omitted, that we must believe there could have been no contest upon such a question, but from the strong anxiety of a party, in everything to lower the character of Charles I.

When the Restoration, after an interval of ten years, once more revived the drooping and prostrate condition of the church in this kingdom, Margetson was appointed to the metropolitan see of Dublin, and was one of the eleven bishops consecrated by primate Bramhal, on the 27th January 1660, as mentioned in the life of that prelate. In 1662, he had occasion to enforce the principle of pulpit-jurisdiction, which has been warmly canvassed in our own times, for which reason we must here decline entering into the controversy, which would lead us far into the discussion of principles more applicable to the church of Ireland in its present state, than to the age of bishop Margetson. We may but observe, that in our own times the reasons for enforcing that degree of episcopal authority which is affirmed in the 28th and 29th of our canons, has been rendered apparent enough by cases in which infidelity has contrived to find its way into the pulpit; while the limitation of that jurisdiction which we think equally deducible from those canons, seems not to be altogether superfluous when the political character of the times must always expose us to the risk of bishops who may feel more inclined to repress than to promote the spiritual advance of the church.

During the short interval of Margetson's tenure of the see of Dublin, his liberality was shown in ample contributions to the repair of the two cathedrals. But on Bramhal's death in 1663, he was by the advice of that able and sagacious prelate, translated to Armagh; and shortly afterwards he was appointed vice-chancellor of the university.

It is unnecessary here to pursue a career only marked by the same course of public events which we have already had to repeat. Margetson died in 1678, with the praise of all good men; as one who had discharged the important duties of his high office, which that rare combination of strictness and charity, which won for him from his clergy that respect tempered by love, which belongs to the parental relation. In him, severity when needful came so softened by affectionate regret, that it was felt by the person on whom it fell to come from the office and not from the man, and to bear the sanctity of just authority without any alloy of anger. He was not less mild and paternal in the rule of the church, than firm and uncompromising in her defence, and in the maintenance of her interests and lawful rights, never failing either in the council or in the parliament to advocate and maintain them under all the varied assaults of that age of trial and emergency.

He was interred in Christ church.

John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1628—DIED A. D. 1671.

THE family of Leslie originated in Hungary at a very early period, and became in the course of many generations diffused into most parts of Europe. In their native country the family rose to high distinction, and gave many illustrious names to history. In the year 1067, when queen Margaret came to Scotland, Bertholdus Leslie came in her train, and obtained the favour of Malcolm III., who gave him his own sister in marriage, with large grants of land, and the command of the castle of Edinburgh, which he had bravely defended against the king's enemies. He was afterwards raised to the earldom of Ross; and gave rise to many noble families in the Scottish peerage.

The family of Leslie, in Ireland, is descended from William Leslie, fourth baron of Wardis in Scotland, who for his personal agility obtained the post of grand falconer to James IV. of Scotland. Of his sons, two gave origin to Irish families; James, whose grandson married into the family of Conyngham; and George, whose son the Rev. John Leslie, is the subject of our present sketch.

He was born in 1572, in Scotland, and when about thirty-two, went abroad to complete his education by foreign travel. He visited Spain, Italy, and Germany, and having passed into France, was induced, by what reason we have not discovered, to reside there for many years. He was probably induced to this prolonged sojourn, by the facilities for study not yet to be found at home, and which that country then afforded; and this conjecture is confirmed by the fact, that he attained a high and honourable proficiency in the learning of that period; and in a not less remarkable degree, a command of the continental tongues. He remained abroad for twenty-two years, and came home, we may presume, with a high reputation from the foreign schools. He was consecrated bishop of Orkney, having then attained the advanced age of fifty-six. He obtained doctor's degree in Oxford, and not long after came over to Ireland with his cousin James. He was made a denizen of Ireland, and in 1633 appointed a privy-counsellor, and bishop of Raphoe.

During his continuance in this see, he recovered a third of its estate from those of the gentry of the diocese who wrongfully held the bishop's lands. He also erected an episcopal palace, which enabled him not only to stand his ground through the troubles which shortly after broke out, but to take a bold and distinguished part—not only stemming the first fury of the rebels, but resisting, with not less vigour and success, the more organized and powerful arms of Cromwell. His spirit and vigour induced the government to offer him a military command—this he refused as inconsistent with his sacred calling. But his refusal had in it no touch of weakness; and when the emergency of the occasion appeared to demand, he performed the duties of a brave and able leader, in defence of the protestant people of Ireland.

On one occasion this spirited old man displayed a spirit which ap-

proaches more near to the heroism of the ancient Greek warrior, than an aged christian prelate. When the parliamentary forces began to obtain a superiority in the war, the bishop collected a force among his neighbours, and advanced to the defence of a mountain-pass on the road from Raphoe to Maharabeg in Donegal, where Sir Ralph Gore lay besieged—expecting the approach of the enemy, he is reported to have dropped on his knees on the roadside, and in the hearing of his men uttered the following very singular prayer:—"Almighty God! unto whom all hearts be open, thou knowest the righteousness of the cause we have in hand, and that we are actuated by the clearest conviction that our cause is just; but as our manifold sins and wickedness are not hid from thee, we presume not to claim thy protection, trusting in our own perfect innocence; yet if we be sinners, they are not saints; though then thou vouchsafest not to be with us, be not against us, but stand neuter this day, and let the arm of the flesh decide it." This strange and misconceived effusion of piety may be excused by the excitement of the occasion—for the characteristic heroism which it seems to breathe it may remind the reader of the address of Ajax, so much admired in the Iliad. "O Father Jove, free from this darkness the sons of the Greeks; grant clear day, and let us behold our enemies: if it be your will that we shall perish, let us die in the daylight."* The enemy came shortly on, and were defeated, and the neighbouring country thus delivered from much severe calamity.

Bishop Leslie was soon after besieged by Cromwell in his palace; but this having been built with military foresight of such dangers, his resistance was successful. He was the last person in his country who held out against the parliamentary forces. When the liturgy was prohibited, he used it in his own household, and amid all the dangers of the time, steadily and openly maintained his episcopal character, and performed the offices of a prelate and bishop of his church wherever occasion required.

This brave and pious bishop died in 1671, at his house (or castle) of Glaslough, in his hundredth year, having been, according to his biographers, fifty years a bishop; though, looking to the dates which they give of his consecration and death, the time appears to be something less, as his consecration as bishop of Orkney was in 1628, from which to his death, in 1671, amounts to no more than 43 years.

Bishop Leslie left two sons, of whom one, Charles Leslie, dean of Connor, was eminent in the next generation.

* We have not translated literally, but the original is as follows:—

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἄλλα σὺ ῥῦσαι ὑπ' ἥρος ὕψας Ἀχαιῶν,
 Ποίησον δ' αἰθερην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεσθαι,
 Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλλεσσον, ἐπεὶ νό τοι εὐαδεν ὄντως.

Iliad xvii. 645.

Jeremy Taylor.

BORN A. D. 1613.—DIED A. D. 1667.

IN the year 1555, it is known that the statutes of earlier reigns, from Richard II., against the Lollards, the earliest protestants of England, were revived by the bigotry of queen Mary, and carried into a fearful and atrocious execution by those merciless and miscreant apostates, Bonner and Gardiner. Among the exalted and worthy prelates and ministers of the church of England, who obtained the martyr's crown in that season of trial, was Rowland Taylor, the chaplain of the illustrious Cranmer, and rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk. This worthy servant of God had the fortune to have a neighbour, the rector of the next parish, a man of pliant conscience, who, like all such, was perhaps ready to veer and turn with the wind of preferment and power, without any very conscious sacrifice of principle. Of this person it is mentioned, that, in the fervour of his zeal to comply with the new court doctrines, he was not content to celebrate the mass in his own parish of Aldham, but resolving to convert also the parishioners of Hadleigh, he seized possession of the church. When Taylor received the information of this outrage, he quickly repaired to the scene. A crowd of the people, who had been attracted by curiosity and other feelings, stood outside: the door was locked, and Taylor had to make his way through a side entrance. On entering the church, he found his neighbour dressed in the attire of the church of Rome, and standing before the communion table ready for that service so irreconcilable with any of the reformed churches, and surrounded by a guard of soldiers. Taylor was unsupported by the presence of any of his own parishioners, who were locked out; but he was a man of firm and warm temper, and not less zealous than the fiery renegade who had intruded into his church. "Thou devil," said he, "who made thee so bold as to enter this church of Christ?" The intruder replied—"Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?"—"I am no traitor, but the shepherd whom God hath appointed to feed his flock in this place. I have therefore authority here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid coming hence," retorted Taylor. But the rector of Aldham and his party were not to be moved by words; they put Taylor forcibly out of the church, and fastened the door by which he had entered. The people who surrounded the building, when they perceived that violence had been used, had recourse to stones, but could do nothing more than break the church windows. The party within completed their commission, and, being regular soldiers, came away without effective opposition. From this act of resistance, no very serious apprehensions were perhaps at first entertained by Taylor, who probably contemplated deprivation as the extreme consequence to which he might be subjected by persisting in his duty: the law was yet in his favour, as the occurrence happened a little before the revival of the statutes above mentioned; and there was a seeming security in the known

sense of the English people. Such a reliance is, indeed, mostly illusive; it is seldom considered that it requires a considerable time to call national feeling into action, and that great and sudden exertions of arbitrary power are always more likely to amaze and prostrate, than to awaken the slow process of popular concentration. The queen, inflamed by a morbid and fanatic temper, and urged by the bigots of a persecuting creed, acted with decision. The protection of law was easily withdrawn; and when the statutes of the dark ages were revived, Taylor was urged by his friends to escape from a danger which was now easily foreseen; but the brave and devoted man rejected such counsel. He told his friends—"I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible days. Flee you, and act as your consciences lead. I am fully determined to face the bishop, and tell him to his beard that he doth naught." His courage was not long to remain untried. He was brought before the lord-chancellor Gardiner who degraded the office of a bishop, and the seat of British equity, to give weight to the Satanic mission of an inquisitor. When confronted with his judge, Taylor asked him, in a solemn and unmoved tone, how he could venture to appear before the judgment-seat, and answer to the Judge of souls for the oaths he had taken under Henry and Edward. Gardiner answered, that these were Herod's oaths, and to be broken; that he had acted rightly in breaking them, and wished that Taylor would follow the example. The trial was not of long duration; for Taylor admitted the charges that he was married, and held the mass to be idolatrous. He was committed to prison, where the savage Bonner came to deprive him of his priesthood. Here another characteristic scene occurred. It was necessary that Bonner should strike him on the breast with his crosier. When about to perform this ceremonial, his chaplain told the bishop—"My lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again." "Yea, by St Peter, will I," was the stout old man's reply. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I refused to fight in my Master's quarrel." His sentence was the stake; and on the 9th February, 1656, he was brought out to be burned before his parishioners at Hadley. He was put into a pitch-barrel, before a large crowd of afflicted spectators, whose outraged feelings were restrained by a cruel soldiery. Before fire was set to the barrel in which this martyr stood, an unknown hand among the soldiers threw a fagot at his head, with such force as to make the blood stream down his face. When he felt the flames, he began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm—"Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness; according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my faults; and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight," &c. He was interrupted by a stroke of a halbert in the mouth, and desired to pray in Latin. The anger, or compassion of one of his guards happily abridged his sufferings. While the fire was slowly increasing about his agonized frame, a merciful blow on the head knocked out his brains.

From this venerable martyr of the English church was lineally descended Nathaniel, the father of Jeremy Taylor. The suffering of

his venerable ancestor had entailed poverty on his descendants; as Gardiner, who had probably selected the victim for his estate, had obtained possession of it after his death; and Nathaniel Taylor held a station in life more lowly than might be presumed. He was a barber-surgeon—a profession which, though very far below the rank of the surgeon of modern science, was no less above the barber of our time. Bishop Heber infers the respectability of his condition from his having filled the office of churchwarden, mostly held by wealthy and respectable persons. That he was not devoid of learning is ascertained from a letter written afterwards by his son, who mentions him “as reasonably learned, and as having himself solely grounded his children in grammar and mathematicks.” *

He was, it is supposed, sent at an early age to a grammar school in Cambridge, in which his progress is not traced, and entered the university in his thirteenth year, as a sizar in Caius college. There too, but indistinct and scanty notices remain of the course of reading he may have pursued. It does not appear from his writings, or from the known incidents of his life and conversation, that he made any considerable progress in mathematical science then, as since ardently cultivated in Cambridge. Yet the study of the mathematical science, as it then existed, would have filled but a small cell in the wide and all-contemplative mind of Taylor; and we cannot easily conclude that any part of ancient learning so gratifying to the intellect, and even attractive to the speculative imagination, should not have been followed and mastered by one who entered already grounded in the science. But many high talents were combined in Taylor, and we cannot conceive him long detained by the mere science of quantity and position; for the reader must recollect that the foundations of applied science had not been yet laid. But he was doubtless industrious in the acquisition of the multifarious knowledge which gleams copiously diffused through his style. It is generally related, on the authority of one who was his friend, that he obtained a fellowship in his own college, after taking his bachelor's degree, in 1631. But Heber, who was in possession of fuller and more authoritative accounts, cites Mr Bonney, who denies that there is any proof for such an assertion.

Shortly after taking his master's degree, he was admitted into holy orders; and an incident soon occurred which brought him into notice, and laid the first step of his advancement. He had among his college-intimates a friend named Ridsen, who had a little before obtained a lectureship in St Paul's cathedral. Having occasion to absent himself for some time, he applied to Taylor to fill his place until his return. Taylor consented, and soon became the object of that admiration which ever followed his preaching. Besides the power, brilliancy, and varied effect of his style; the grace of his person, and youthful sweetness and dignity of his countenance, heightened the charm of an eloquence unprecedented in the pulpit; and with these, “perhaps,” writes Heber, “the singularity of a theological lecturer, not twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers.” His fame soon reached the palace of Lambeth, and Laud sent for him to preach before him there.

* Heber.

He attended, preached, and was approved. But the archbishop was no less judicious than zealous in his encouragement of learning and piety: he thought it would be of far more advantage, in both respects, that Taylor should remain some time longer in his college. In order that he might more effectually be enabled to serve him, the archbishop thought it desirable to remove him to Oxford, in which he had himself considerable influence, having spent most of his life there, and some authority, being a visitor at the university. Some interval is supposed by Heber to have elapsed between the first interview here mentioned and the latter circumstance, during which Taylor may have prosecuted his studies at Maidley Hall, near Tamworth, according to a tradition still current in that vicinity. On October 20th, 1635, he was admitted in University college, Oxford, to the same rank which he had held in Cambridge; in three days after, a letter from Laud recommended him to succeed a Mr Osborn, who was about to give up his fellowship. This recommendation, however influential it might be with many, was naturally counteracted by that strong and salutary corporate feeling, which renders such bodies jealous of independence and in some degree exclusive. Taylor had scarcely obtained the character of an Oxfordman ten days; and unfortunately the statutes then required three years standing in the candidates. Laud argued that the degree of master conveyed the privileges of the standing which it implied: and the fellows were inclined to assent. The opposition of the warden, Dr Sheldon, defeated the object proposed, and in consequence no election took place at the time—and the nomination thus appears to have lapsed to the archbishop, in his visitorial capacity. In virtue of this power, he appointed Taylor to the vacant fellowship, on the 14th of January, 1636. The history of this incident seems to have been much involved in difficulties, which we think unnecessary to state, as the recent and popular memoir of Taylor by Bishop Heber, which we mainly follow, investigates the question with great fulness and sufficient authority, and, we think, explains the grounds of his decision satisfactorily. The bishop concludes his statement with the remark, that “the conduct of Sheldon, throughout the affair, seems to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that, for some years after, a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation.”

Taylor was thus placed in a position of all others perhaps the most favourable to the pursuits, as well as to the prospects, of a young student in divinity, who has talents to cultivate and a love of literature as it then subsisted. It was a time when the productive energies of the human intellect had not yet been called, otherwise than slightly and partially into operation—or even the right modes and processes of such a development been more than intimated to the mind of the day. The tendency, therefore, of the highest and brightest intellect was rather to gather and accumulate from the vast spread stores of the learning of antiquity and the middle ages, than to spend its power on such vague efforts at invention, as mere speculative investigations were only sure to produce. Hence the vast and seemingly inexhaustible treasures of

erudition which give to Hooker, &c. &c., the colossal amplitude, which has been so often observed by modern critics. These giants, as they are not unaptly termed, were fully engaged in extricating from the quarry, in rough-hewing and drawing into orderly arrangement, the ponderous materials, on which so many and magnificent structures have been raised. The profuse treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity; the comparatively unknown branches of oriental literature, which still demand the earnest cultivation of universities; the wide field of scholastic learning, from which purer and more compendious methods of reasoning and expression were then beginning to arise, according, perhaps, to the best models of the standard writers among the ancients. These offered a wide and sufficiently engrossing direction. But, in addition, vast revolutions in ecclesiastical and civil concerns were in their maturity of form ready to break out into action, at the call of circumstances. And questions of the most profound importance, and involving the very foundations of church and state, called forth the more available powers of learned men. The discussions which began yearly to acquire increasing interest were not, as now, met on points of seemingly slight detail, but at the fountain head. Hence the broad and comprehensive view of a whole question, from the first elements to the minutest ramifications of the argument—so that every discussion was an elementary treatise. This tendency was, it is true, augmented by the time hallowed dialectic of the schools, from which the art of reasoning was yet drawn, and the habits of the intellect formed. Hence the minute and nugatory distinctions and divisions, without substantial difference, which characterize the ablest pens. The comparative scarceness of elementary treatises, and indeed of books, either demanded or invited the digressive method which supposes every thing unknown, and leaves out nothing that may however remotely be involved in the main argument. Such were the main causes, and such the general state of literature, in the period on which we are now engaged. And we have thought it not unseasonable to advert to it here, as we are impressed with a strong sense of its relation to the intellectual frame of Taylor's genius—though we shall again have to notice the same facts, when we shall come to trace the relative character of the learning of this period and our own, and the transition from one to the other.

During his occupation of the fellowship, Taylor is said to have been much admired for his preaching, which Wood designates "casuistical;" but Heber comments on the term, by observing, that "few of his existing sermons can be termed 'casuistical.'" We should presume that Wood employs the term inaccurately, and rather to convey an impression than to describe precisely. A more important fact was the suspicion which started up, at this time, of his being privately inclined to the communion of the church of Rome,—a suspicion which haunted him through life. This groundless notion mainly arose from that absence of bigotry, which ever characterizes the higher order of Christians; sometimes, indeed, to the verge of that opposite extreme, which deserves the name of latitude. There is no subject so dangerous to touch on lightly, as the accusation or defence of those fierce extremes, into which human opinion seems to verge in opposite directions.

Truths which rather influence from habit than by reason, are held by nearly the same tenure as prejudices; and, therefore, in the very remotest allusion to bigotry, there is always a risk incurred of seeming to favour the opposite and worse extreme: worse, because it is better to adhere with a blind tenacity to truth and right, than blindly to reject them; and better to be a formalist, than to break down the barriers of divine and human institutions. The combative principle of our nature, in nothing appears more strongly, than in its union with the intellectual ardour for disputed opinions and tenets; but they, who, in support of a creed however holy, would "call down fire from heaven," may be truly answered with the divine rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." If, indeed, the hostile array of opposing churches were but to vie in the essential spirit, and endeavour to outshine each other in the genuine sanctity of Christian charity, there would, in the course of a little time, be an end of ecclesiastical contention. It must, however, in fairness be allowed, that as the rank of those who are Christians according to the Redeemer's own test,—“if ye love one another,”—is by no means commensurate with the church visible, in any of its forms, and that there is yet at least a spurious and powerful array of secular hostility, leagued against it on every side: it is, perhaps, therefore, providentially ordered, that the church can derive strength from the worldly passions, or the intellectual tendencies which cling together in support of institutions. The charge of bigotry is a missile which can be retorted indeed freely on every side—but unless when it involves the baser and darker passions of our nature we would say it is too indiscriminately applied, and is never so truly applicable in the worst sense, as to the shallow infidel who is the most ready to use it. In making this allowance, we may claim from the severe and rigid champion of tenets, some indulgence for the discriminative liberality of men like Bedel and Taylor, whose zeal against the errors of the church of Rome did not prevent their ready and cordial intercourse with such of its clergy as were otherwise worthy of respect and regard. There are protestant clergymen—and it is indeed for this reason we think it necessary to say so much on the point—who are so destitute of moral firmness, and so little built up in the knowledge of their profession, that they cannot be liberal without being lax, or charitable without feebleness, and a few weak individuals have allowed the vicious love of popularity to usurp the place of principle; such instances, we are glad to allow, are not frequent, but, a few instances of this nature are enough to exasperate prejudice, and lead to the confusion of ideas, so often contained in such reproaches as we have noticed. But on the high intellectual and spiritual level of a man like Taylor, opposition cannot take the form of narrow bigotry, or conciliation and charity that of low and feeble compromise. Mailed alike in the armour of righteousness, and panoplied with the full resources of talent and knowledge—there was no room for any feeling opposed to a frank and ingenuous regard for an able and a good man, who might yet entertain errors, much to be deprecated. Great learning and superior understanding must command respect, and good qualities regard, even in an enemy, and the person who feels them not, is at least devoid of some of the nobler virtues of

human nature; but we cannot conceive an object of deeper or more anxious interest to a good mind, than an amiable, well-intentioned, humane, and gifted man, whom we know to be involved in unhappy and dangerous errors, which may, for any thing we can know to the contrary, place him under a most awful weight of spiritual responsibility—a feeling which must be heightened much by the consideration, should it have place, that he is the object of severe human enactments, (even though just and politic,) and of the prejudices of the vulgar, whose feelings, however rightly directed, are seldom placed upon the just grounds. At the period of his life, in which we are now engaged, Taylor is mentioned to have lived on terms of intimacy with a learned Franciscan, known by the appellation of Francis a Sancta Clara, but whose real name was Christopher Davenport; and of whom, Heber gives the following brief account:—"He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered, at an early age, in the year 1613, as battler or poor scholar of Merton college. The brothers, as they grew up, fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and at length an independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low countries and of Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of Queen Henrietta's chaplains, and during more than fifty years, secretly laboured in the cause of his religion." We further learn, that, although his great ability led to his promotion, and preserved to him the confidence of the papal cabinet, yet his known liberality of sentiment and the conciliatory spirit, which is said to have appeared throughout his writings, drew upon him a general distrust among the members of his own church. One of his books entitled "*Deus, Natura, Gratia*," had the honour to find a place in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Spain, and narrowly escaped being burnt in Italy.* He spent much of his time in Oxford, among the learned men of which he had many friends, and often found refuge there in the stormy times through which he lived. He died at a very advanced age, in 1680.

Such friendships, however consistent with firm and consistent adherence to Taylor's own church, could not in such times escape misconception. An intimacy with the same person was afterwards, in 1643, one of the charges which brought Laud to the block.† The friar, in his conversation, very naturally spoke of Taylor, as of one whose opinions tended very much to an agreement with his own: it is easily understood, how two able men of different persuasions, may very much confine their communications either to those points on which they can agree, or at least in which they may not unreasonably hope to convince each other; and as easy to apprehend the mistake which is but too likely to arise from such conversations, when so much that is common is differently seen in relation to different principles. It is, therefore, no injustice to assume, that Davenport is most likely to have repre-

* Heber.

† Heylin, Book V. p. 40.

sented Taylor in such a manner, as could not fail to heighten much the prejudices which, in such times, would be excited by their acquaintance.

It was at a very advanced age, and, of course, many years after Taylor's death, and still further from the period of their intimacy, that Davenport told Wood how Taylor had some serious thoughts of being reconciled to the church of Rome, but that the Roman catholics rejected him on account of some offensive expressions, in a sermon which he preached at this time, on a fifth of November, in the university. Now, this is mere dotage, if not a very unwarrantable breach of truth; for, it appears that the unwarrantable expressions in question, are nothing less than a clear chain of reasoning, from which the preacher infers that the gunpowder plot was a consistent consequence from the tenets of the Romish church. That Taylor may have regretted and even apologised for such a sermon, proves nothing. He was vexed at finding himself compelled to give offence, by a statement which he would not have made if he did not think it just. The sermon was published with a dedication to Laud. Should we seem to dwell on this point at greater length than its importance may be thought by some to demand, we must plead that the charge was frequently renewed; and, considering the history of the times through which Taylor lived, was inferior to none in the risks to which its object must have been exposed. There is, indeed, a general and far more serious importance in the consideration of a question which involves the charge of a latitudinarian temper or conduct—liable to be made in every time—and of all accusations, perhaps most liable to be unfairly made—for the defect of popular judgments is want of the fair allowance which grows from just discrimination. As we would not, however, for a moment have it inferred, that we should wish to suggest any indulgence for the error opposed to that for which Taylor was falsely censured, we may briefly digress so far, as to draw some distinction between the two. Every observing man, who has some acquaintance with the educated portion of society, and who has been habituated to observe the moral and intellectual habits of men, will have often had occasion to notice two classes of minds, constituted oppositely in various degrees, though, for brevity, we may here describe their several extremes. Of these, the one may be described as exclusively theoretical; the other as exclusively practical. The one is uniformly governed by habits, maxims, and time-ruled cases, and proceeds without ever reverting to the first principles of things; the other dwells altogether in the reason, and is always reverting to primary laws, and original foundations. Of these, the first must be admitted to be the safer mode of error; because to preserve irrespectively, is safer than to trust the course of things to the ablest speculative interference. But both, in excluding a wide range of observation or principle, are essentially wrong in their understanding of every subject which has any object. The one is a bigot, and the other a mere projector: the bigot in his narrow scope considers only what is before him, but he may be useful and even wise in his practical capacity; the theorist is nearly sure to be wrong, so soon as he may chance to come into contact with the realities of life; for, though his logic may be quite correct, the

habits of his mind will, in most instances, exclude those facts of common observation which are the real *data* in every question of any practical weight. In truth, it must be considered, that in the practical workings of social life, there are processes of our nature, far too profound for any reach of mere speculation, and only to be taken into account effectively, by a comprehensive estimate of the habits, prejudices, and errors of the mass of mankind, as elements of chief importance; and there is no question of social or ecclesiastical polity to be treated like a metaphysical theory from which may be deduced a clear and systematic *rationale* of all the grounds for legislative interposition. The person who undertakes this is the latitudinarian,—he who irrespectively resists improvement is a bigot. A mind such as Taylor's, was too comprehensive and acute for either case—his commanding, pervading, and penetrating intellect, dispelled the cloud which blinds the reason—while the rich development of his imagination and moral perceptions and capacities placed before him the true aspect of human realities; the wide sea of life, with its mutable breezes and entangled cross-currents; its mingled good and evil, folly and wisdom, vice and virtue, truth and error; which are the great moving forces, acting with infinite diversity of opposition and combination. Such men, while they must be indulgent in their allowance for the errors of a being essentially liable to err, will, for the same reasons, exercise caution in the adoption or abandonment of opinions or systems of opinion. But in truth it is by a providential arrangement in the social economy, that the crowd hold their opinions by the safer operation of habit, rather than by reason, which would demand a far larger amount of natural intellect, as well as of intellectual cultivation, than consists with man's condition or the end of his present state of being. But it is also for this reason that men such as Taylor are very liable to be misjudged by the world. His biographers observe, that the suspicion of an inclination to the Romish church attended him through life. Heber observes, that the favour of Laud would of itself have exposed him to suspicion. We cannot here enter on the vindication of Laud. But it is a reflection naturally connected with the subject of these remarks, that in times of violent controversy, it is a familiar fact—as it would be an obvious inference from the preceding statements—that one of the most common missiles of controversy or of party, is the imputation of extreme errors. Such imputations are often pernicious and always unjust; unjust because false and mischievous; because they often happen to turn away the attention of the accuser and accused from fatal errors, which should constitute the true point of discussion between them. To take an illustration from the subject: if a person inclined to compromise so far with the Romish church, as to conform in some points of form or discipline, not considered on either side as essentially connected with doctrine, should be accused of a leaning to popery; it is evident that while this wrongful accusation continues to be enforced and defended, that the accused is not merely assailed in an impregnable position, but that the question of real and vast importance is meanwhile passed without notice; that is, to what extent the preservation of mere forms or of discipline may happen to be essential to the maintenance of essentials. In revolutionary times, when such questions and such ac-

cusations are ever sure to arise, clever persons of shallow judgment are ever tending to compromise on the very ground here noticed; and from the inveteracy of their opponents, their error escapes a full and direct exposure; the real question is never stated. It seems never to enter the minds of liberal reasoners, that though the adoption or rejection of a mere form may be harmless, or even beneficial—that a concession may be most fatal, in the direction of some prevalent current of human passion and prejudice. The question goes indeed beyond the depth of the intelligence mostly engaged in such controversies: it is not what is abstractedly the value of such a compromise, but considering human nature and the actual state of opinion, what will be its effect. Theologians, in the plenitude of their erudition, too little recollect that all such external arrangements have the complicated workings of our nature for their sole object.

We have dwelt on these reflections, because we conceive it to have too much real importance to very many persons in this country, where such intimacies and such mistakes are not uncommon. In such cases, the moral we would urge is;—not that there should be less delicacy or less conciliation, or a less careful tact in the avoiding of useless controversy; but, we would recommend a considerate forbearance from the common and always mischievous precipitation, by which such kindly and discreet liberality is confounded with that vicious liberalism, which, when justly considered, reduces itself to the entire want of principle in creed or party

From this digression, we turn to our narrative. On this period of his life, Taylor's biographers have ascertained few facts. His advancement to the rectory of Uppingham, soon after the election to his fellowship, is thought to have drawn him away to a considerable extent from the university and its pursuits. With all his tastes and capacities for studious engagements, a spirit so ardent, and so largely diffused with the active impulses of the breast, is little likely to have lingered *inter sylvas academi* longer than the first moment which might offer a field of public and productive exertion. His fellowship was, however, in 1639, terminated by marriage, having on the 27th of May, in that year, married Phoebe Langsdale, whose mother, there is reason to believe, was at the time a widow residing in the parish of Uppingham. It is also known that her brother was a physician, resident at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he died in 1638.*

Here we may easily conjecture an interval of such happiness as results from the quiet rotation of studies, spiritual avocations, and domestic intercourse, for all of which the frame of Taylor's mind was so pre-eminently adapted. Such intervals have no history, save that tender and often painful record which they find in the after-seasons of trial and adversity, when they star the distance of past days with a calm and holy light, which no future short of heaven can restore. Such happiness and such reminiscences we can conceive for Taylor, who had truly "fallen on evil days." It is to these periods of trial mostly, and always in a measure to the rough and toilsome emergencies and difficulties of active life, that we are indebted for the broken and

* Heber, from Bonney's MS. Note.

defective notices which remain of the lives of the eminent men of this period; and but too often, even in the relation of the acts of the individual, there is little to be related more than the historical outline of those events to which these acts mainly belong. Of the fierce and eventful controversies which so soon broke in upon the peace of Uppingham, as of every other corner of the three kingdoms, we have repeatedly had to relate. The church and the monarchy were assailed by those awful and destructive commotions, which were not to cease until they had overthrown the existing order of things. Among those who earliest entered the field of controversy was Taylor. He was among the first of those who joined king Charles at Oxford; and it was "by his majesty's command" that he soon after published a treatise of "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali, old and new." The work was at the time little noticed; for the controversy was to be decided by arms, before it should be discussed by the less effectual warfare of dialectics. But it found notice and approval among those who were afterwards to lead the argument; and king Charles, not inferior to any of his bishops in his judgment of the merits of a theological argument, showed his satisfaction by conferring upon the author the degree of D.D. by his legal mandate—an honour lessened, it is true, by the abuse of this royal privilege, to such an extent that the heads of the colleges felt themselves bound to remonstrate, against the numerous and somewhat indiscriminate admissions to academical degrees: but at the time they served to compensate for the king's inability to confer any other reward than such honours. His powers to reward were circumscribed indeed, while the injuries inflicted, or likely to be inflicted, upon his adherents, were great and imminent: the parliament, which trampled on the tyranny of kings with a fiercer tyranny of its own, spared no worth, or respected no right, if it were but qualified with the taint of loyalty. Taylor was deprived of the possession of his living of Uppingham, though there seems to be reason to doubt the fact of its actual sequestration. As the consequence was to him the same in either case, we shall not waste space here by entering upon the question, of which the main consideration will be found in the lives written by Heber and Bonney, as doubtless also in others.

Taylor had no duty, therefore, to interfere with the appropriation of his time. That which now mainly occupied him was in the flying court and camp of the king, to which, about this period, he was attached as one of the royal chaplains. This appointment he had obtained about the time of his institution to Uppingham; and it is supposed that it was in the autumn of 1642 that he left it to attend the court, when the king, after the battle of Edgehill, was on his route to Oxford. At Oxford there were at this time assembled, on the same occasion, many of the most illustrious persons of their time, for every virtue and attainment. We have already had to describe the preaching of Usher before the court in this interval. Hammond also was there; and amid his fears and privations, Taylor did not at least want that consolation so valuable to those who are susceptible of the intercourse of thought, the conversation and sympathy of spirits of his own elevated order. To a man like Taylor, the loss of property, or the fears of approaching troubles,

would indeed only serve, by the excitement of such external circumstances, as the means of calling forth higher powers of reflection, and loftier capacities of fortitude and endurance. But he had been severely visited about the same time, by afflictions far more trying to good and noble hearts—the loss of one of his sons, who died in the spring of the same year; “nor,” says Bishop Heber, “did the mother long survive her infant.”* We quote the bishop’s words, because on looking attentively through Mr Bonney’s memoir, which he here cites as authority, not only is there no mention of the first Mrs Taylor’s death, but, on carefully turning over the entire memoir, it is apparent that Mr Bonney was not aware of the fact, as he speaks throughout, under the impression that Taylor was not married again, and that this lady was the mother of his seven children, and sharer of his subsequent troubles and promotion. The bishop, however, not only cites Mr Jones’ MS. account, but confirms the fact by the authority of lady Wray, who, with Mr Jones of Henro, in the county of Down, were descendants in the fifth degree from the bishop and his second wife. Mr Bonney, indeed, draws a fallacious inference, from the number of his children, that the first wife was yet alive at a subsequent period; but the answer is, that three at least of those children were born of the second marriage.

As one of the royal retinue, Taylor is supposed to have accompanied the court in the frequent campaigns and expeditions of king Charles during the three following years, in which he kept his head-quarters at Oxford, and took his turns with Usher and Dr Sheldon as preacher. But after the fatal field of Naseby, the royal prospects were overcast, and the king became a fugitive, from which time the principal persons of his retinue were under the necessity of seeking their safety where they might best find it. During this uncertain period, Taylor appears to have experienced some adventures and wanderings, obscurely hinted at by his biographers. In 1643, a letter to his brother-in-law, which we shall here give as we find it in Mr Bonney’s book, makes it seem likely that he was then, with his mother-in-law and children, at lodgings in London.

“DEARE BROTHER,—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting of thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse: though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy lifetime; for that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it), till, at the same time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time; but

* See Bonney, p. 18, as cited by Heber.

your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition, you should not have beene troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally; so doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

“Thy most affectionate and endeared brother,

“JER. TAYLOR.

“*November 24, 1643.*

“To my very dear brother, Dr Langsdale, at his Apothecary’s House in Gainsborough.”*

From an expression in this letter, it is inferred by Heber that he was at the time suffering from distressed circumstances; and that it was written from London, as Royston was a printer and bookseller in Ivy Lane, who afterwards published many of Taylor’s writings.

Taylor’s first retirement from the royal army is supposed to have been occasioned by the attraction of an attachment; and the most authoritative testimonies lead to the conclusion that, in 1644, his second marriage was contracted with a lady in Wales. He had become acquainted with this lady, during his first visit to Wales. She was a Mrs Johanna Bridges. She possessed a small estate at Mandinam, and is reputed to have been a natural daughter of the king’s, when prince of Wales and under the corrupt tutelage of Buckingham. The fact of the estate is stated by Heber, on the authority of Mr Jones’ manuscripts, and in some degree confirmed by the marriage settlement of Taylor’s third daughter, in which the mother, who survived the bishop, “settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property.”† From a letter of lady Wray, Heber states that she is said to have possessed a fine person, which is (he says) confirmed by her portrait, still preserved by the family, which exhibits a striking resemblance to her father.

Of the events of his life, during this period of confusion, we have already intimated that there is no certain register. In one of his occasional attendances on the king, he was taken prisoner, in a victory gained by the parliamentary troops, before the castle of Cardigan, in February, 1644. To this, and we think to the recent circumstance of his marriage, the following extract from the dedication to his “liberty of prophesying,” seems to allude when he tells his patron, Lord Hatton, “that in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here,” he continues, “I cast anchor; and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again, I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but, that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been

* Bonney, p. 15.—Heber, I. 36.

† Heber, I. 55.

lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. “Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρ-
εἶχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῶν; ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν προσελαβοντο
ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἩΜΑΣ, διὰ τοῦ ὑετὸν τοῦ ἐφ’ ἐστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ψυχροῦ.”* In this there appears to be a close, though figurative, sketch of the course and circumstances of his fortune, during the interval to which it applies; the temporary secession from the perils of his court-life—the seemingly secure provision for domestic quiet and competence, which such a marriage must, under ordinary circumstances, have secured, and the sudden interruption, alleviated by the “mercies of a noble enemy.” While, as Heber justly observes, the Greek quotation seems to imply that he had numerous fellows in misfortune. It also intimates the kindness of their treatments; with respect to the particular circumstances, and the duration of his confinement, there is nothing more certain than conjecture. It seems only to be inferred with strong probability, that from Colonel Langham, the governor of Pembroke Castle, and the members of the parliamentary committee for that district, he met with the humane attention which was due to his character.

We should here make some mention of the noble person, who was, during this interval, his chief friend and patron, Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Hatton, of Kirby, with whom he had formed a friendship, during his residence at Uppingham. To this nobleman his “Defence of Episcopacy,” with several of his earlier works, were dedicated. Of him also, a passage quoted by Heber, from Clarendon, says, “a person who, when he was appointed comptroller of the king’s household, possessed a great reputation, which, in a few years, he found a way to diminish.” Upon this Heber justly and pointedly observes, at some length, on the uncertainty of such statements, counterbalanced, as they so often are on either side, by the friendship and enmity of parties and rivals. It would not, he says, be “easy to find a more splendid character in history, than is ascribed by the hope or gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman, of whom the historian speaks thus slightly:” the bishop hints, however, the deduction which may be made for the style of eulogy, which debased the dedications of that period: but admits, that Hatton must have had some pretensions to learning or talent, on grounds which we think have sufficient interest to be stated with a little more detail.

Sir Christopher had been made knight of the bath, at the coronation of Charles I., and was one of the very first who came to his aid with hand and fortune, at the commencement of the civil wars. In 1640, he was member of the parliament which then met, and had the sagacity to foresee the destruction of ecclesiastical structures, which would be likely to take place as a result of their political proceedings: he urged Dugdale, the well-known antiquary, to visit and endeavour to secure sketches and descriptions of the principal churches through England: for the execution of this useful suggestion we quote the

* And the barbarians showed us no small kindness; for they kindled a fire and received us *every one*, because of the present rain and because of the cold.—*Acts* xxviii. 2.

authority cited by Mr Bonney. In the summer of 1641, Dugdale, accompanied by William Sedgwick, a skilful arms-painter, "repaired first to the cathedral of St Paul, and next to the abbey of Westminster, and there made exact draughts of all the monuments in each of them, copied the epitaphs according to the very letter, and all the arms in the windows or cut in stone. All of which, being done with great exactness, Mr Dugdale rode to Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark-upon-Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston-upon-Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Lichfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and the like, in all those cathedral, collegiate, conventual, and divers other churches, wherein any tombs and monuments were to be found, to the end that the memory of them might be preserved for future and better times." *Fasti*, Oxon. p. 694. As every reader of English history is aware, the suggestion of Hatton and the industry of Dugdale were nothing less than seasonable. The storm of sacrilege was not slow to break forth over the most sacred and venerable antiquities of the country.

The duration of Taylor's confinement cannot be ascertained, and we shall not waste space with conjecture. Neither can we pretend to reconcile the apparent discrepancies, by which we are from time to time perplexed in the unavoidably vague narrations of our authorities; it is enough to observe, that such difficulties must always occur in the want of those details which cannot be fairly the subject of conjecture. After his liberation it probably was, that he found his means of subsistence so far reduced, as to drive him to the necessity of obtaining sustenance by teaching. Deprived previously of his church preferment, he was, on his liberation, probably compelled to make a large composition for the preservation of a small estate. It is, however, certain, that he joined with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards, a prebendary of Lincoln, in a school, kept at Newton-hall, a house in the parish of Lanfihangel; in which, according to Wood, as quoted by Bonney and Heber, several youth were most "loyally educated" and sent to the universities, though a tradition, said to be yet current in that part of Wales, affirms that Taylor taught school from place to place wheresoever he could find means. There is, indeed, nothing inconsistent in supposing both accounts to be true, as the latter may have led the way to the first mentioned; nevertheless, on mere oral traditions, there is no reliance to be placed, further than as simply indications of some originating fact, and as corroborative of more authoritative testimony. So far, they may have decided weight, because a testimony of no *independent value*, may by an obvious law of probable reasoning, be a valuable *corroboration*.

Of the scholars, few have arrived at the distinction of a historical record. Among those mentioned by Taylor's biographers, Judge Powel is recollected, as having borne a distinguished part afterwards, in the famous trial of the seven bishops. "A new and easy institution of grammar," was one of the results of this passage of Taylor's life: it has a Latin dedication by Wyatt, and one in English by himself. It is of course a scarce book, a copy still exists in the library of Caius' college. Heber, who probably had seen it, mentions that it was most likely to have been the work of Wyatt. This was published in 1647; and

shortly after, appeared his "Liberty of Prophesying," which bishop Heber calls the most curious, and perhaps the ablest of Taylor's writings; of its contents we shall hereafter offer some account: here we shall only notice it, so far as it may be regarded as illustrative of the general disposition and characteristic opinions of the writer. To have published a work in favour of toleration, was, indeed, not merely to think in advance of the time in which he lived, but to brave the spirit of popular intolerance in one of its most imposing and dangerous moods. Not only was religious persecution in one of its periods of full and vigorous operation, but the principle of toleration was not yet understood. So vigorous is the hold which the corruptions of prejudice and habit take of human nature, that, in the course of fifteen centuries, it seems to have grown into an axiom of reason, that the truth of God, was to be maintained by ways in every sense so opposed to the plainest principles which he has revealed to his fallen and erring creatures. And it is even a sad truth, that toleration has, even to the present day, few to advocate it otherwise than on the false principle of infidelity or latitudinarianism. It is to the praise of Taylor that he maintained the truth without falling into any of those errors which surround it on every side. Guarding against the admission of those dangerous immunities, which some of the freethinking politicians of our time would claim for the open dissemination of immorality and blasphemy of every foul shade and form; he exposed the unfitness of legal coercions and penalties, as the means of suppressing religious opinions, with a force, and to an extent, which exposed him to the charge of advocating those tenets for which he simply claimed freedom from severities not warranted by the law of God. There was, indeed, not much indulgence to be expected from the utmost liberality of his time; as Heber with great force reflects, "Even the sects who have themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth*; and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain." The bishop also mentions, "a copy of the first edition, which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes, expressive of doubt or disapprobation; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume, '*Palleo metu et vobis dico non omnibus.*' His arguments, particularly in behalf of the anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he, in a subsequent edition, added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced, in apology for the opinions of those sectaries."* It is only necessary to add in this place, that, notwithstanding the general error which we have stated in these remarks, there was at the particular juncture, some peculiar fitness for such an argument. It was, in fact, one of those critical moments, when something like a temporary revulsion takes place in the balanced collisions of party; when, fearing and doubting each other, the thought of com-

* Heber, i. 45.

promise starts up, and seems for a moment to offer hopes of advantage. As we have already noticed, the rival sects, which had conjointly found their way to within a near grasp of ascendancy, began to see and feel that they had more to fear from each other, than from the subdued powers of the church and throne. A compromise with these fallen powers would have promised, at least, an advantage of no small weight; but with the inconsistency so common to popular prejudice, each would have a bargain in which nothing essential was to be allowed or yielded up. It was, indeed, simply an intrigue for political victory; but it was one which must have given some effect to a forcible and eloquent argument for toleration.

About the same time, Taylor published a "Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore," &c., of which the substance had been drawn up by him formerly, on the occasion of the form of worship issued by the parliamentary party, in 1643, under the known title of a "Directory," which we have frequently had occasion to mention. Some of his arguments on this subject, may be here offered, as containing a brief view of the most essential portion of the argument. We may premise so far as to say, on our own part, that there is a small portion of his reasoning which we should somewhat modify, were we engaged in a statement of the whole argument: we would say, that, in order to advocate set forms of prayer, it is by no means essential (though it may be imposed by the errors of an adversary,) to consider the question as to the operation of the Spirit. And we cannot help thinking, that in this very question, both parties have been misled from the perception of some very simple truths, by this unnecessary complication. To deny that every good gift cometh from the Father of lights—to say that any grace, or gift, or any holy attribute, or manifestation of christian mind, can exist independently of the power of God by his Spirit, we would conceive to be contradictory to Scripture, and a denial of the tenets of the church of England: to talk of miracles as affecting this affirmation, is a foolish sophism. The ordinary operation of the Spirit is simply a portion of the uniform, though unseen, agency of a power that never ceases to be present or to act: it becomes a miracle only, in fact, when the case is a visible exception *to the ordinary course*. The power which works by actuating the affections and faculties must, demonstrably, be only known as a natural agent, until we draw the more correct inference from the direct affirmation of God, in his revelation. It is for this reason that we consider both Taylor, and other very able writers who have followed in his steps, to be not a little incautious on this point, and adapted to give an advantage to their antagonists. The extract, which we here offer, is, however, free from such a charge.

"If all christian churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve the catholic communion; and, in former ages, whenever a schism was commenced, and that they called one another heretick, they not only forsook to pray with one another, but they also altered their forms, by interposition of new clauses, hymns, and collects, and new rites and ceremonies; only those parties that combined kept the same liturgy; and, indeed, the same forms of prayer were so much the instrument of

union, that it was the only ligament of their society, (for their creeds I reckon as part of their liturgy, for so they ever were,) so that this may teach us a little to guess, I will not say into how many churches, but into how many innumerable atoms, and minutes of churches, those christians must needs be scattered, who alter their forms according to the number of persons, and the number of their meetings; every company having a new form of prayer at every convention. And this consideration will not be in vain, if we remember how great a blessing unity in churches is, and how hard to be kept with all the arts in the world; and how powerful everything is for its dissolution. But that a public form of liturgy was the great instrument of communion in the primitive church, appears in this, that the *xοδαῖστος*, or excommunication, was an exclusion, ‘a communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii,’ from the participation of the public meeting and prayers; and, therefore, the more united the prayer is, still it is the greater instrument of union; the authority and consent, the public spirit and common acceptance, are so many degrees of a more firm and indissoluble communion.” In this, and in the succeeding parts which, in the course of a few years, he published on the same subject, Taylor’s object was evidently to convince all parties, that they might reconcile their differences and unite in the fold of the same church. A union which might, perhaps, be effected between most of the protestant churches, if it were possible for men, constituted as man appears to be, to avoid giving to forms and accidents, the place of vital and essential principles; and to inferential tenets, upon which the best and holiest men have differed and will differ, more importance than to those authentic and primary doctrines, on which all christian churches which have taken Scripture for their authority, have agreed. Nothing, in truth, can be more illustrative of human “foolishness” than the aptitude of sects to elevate their feelings, and narrow their views to the almost exclusive contemplation of the little dogmas, upon which they stand separate from other religious denominations. And yet this will, upon strict examination, be found at the bottom of dissent: what renders it more palpable to those who observe extensively, is the fact, that, within the very bosom of every church or sect, the differences of every kind, among individuals, will be found to be as great as those which separate the professions to which these remarks apply. We must, indeed, admit, that there are sects altogether beyond the pale of comprehension; such as differ upon the main and fundamental tenets concerning justification, must, of course, stand ever far apart. For this reason, the socinian, whose doctrine sweeps clean away the entire system of redemption; and the church of Rome, which, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, places it upon a wholly different foundation, cannot be included in the reproach of wide dissent on narrow or unessential grounds. But we would, if we could, strongly impress the distinction to be drawn between speculative and metaphysical tenets, and those which are simply and literally revelation. The one, though grounded on the text of Scripture, rises into deductions beyond its direct scope, and far above the level to which human reason has yet succeeded in rising, so as to ensure certainty, which is by no means to be measured by individual conviction. The other is the practical sub-

stance of ordinary piety, such as looking to Scripture as designed for the reasonable information of the humble followers of Christ, and such as looking to common human nature, was evidently all that man is capable of reaching. A single glance on the fluent and fiery controversialists of any given tenet, is enough to show, that whether the doctrine is true or not, its professor is not often more than the partisan. Bishop Butler has beautifully pointed out, that a system, which is but *part* of one more vast and comprehensive, must needs have many links of connexion with the unknown whole, and these must necessarily offer inscrutable and mysterious points to human ignorance. It is but too often upon these dim and vague points, that human presumption seizes to build high and subtle structures of theosophy: such, in every branch of knowledge, has been the error of our reason: in natural philosophy, facts come at last to demolish these proud edifices of error; but the sophist, who anatomizes the being, and scrutinizes the counsels of God, is at least safe in the remote and unfathomable depth which he pretends to sound. On such questions, do we counsel a perfect abstinence of reason? Certainly not, for it is not in man's nature: but we cannot help urging that a broad distinction should be made between those practical articles, which the gospel offers as articles of saving faith, and those which are the growth of dogmatic theology. And that those who are the guides of churches and sects, would well consider whether a comprehensive unity in the visible church of Christ, beset as it is with enmity on every side, is not more important than any secondary question of discipline, form, or even of those articles of speculative opinion, which, while they separate some, are in fact diffused throughout the entire body of every church of any considerable extent.

As we have repeatedly intimated, there remains little trace of the private history of Taylor, through the time over which these publications may be supposed to have been appearing. The school in which he had taken part was probably broken up by the disturbances of the time, or by his imprisonment; and he was reduced to a state of much difficulty, in which he appears to have been entirely thrown upon the kindness of his friends. Of these the principal, at this period of his life, was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carberry, a noble distinguished for his virtue and ability, who had obtained celebrity in the Irish wars, and as the chief commander for the king, in South Wales. He was universally known for the moderation of his character, and respected in every party. After the battle of Marston Moor he was allowed to compound on easy terms for his estate. He was first married to a daughter of Sir John Altham, of Orbey, of whom Taylor has left a portrait in the sermon which he composed for her funeral, which, says Heber, "belongs rather to an angelic than a human character." The second was a lady of celebrity more than historic, as she was the original of the "lady" in Milton's "Comus." In a note, derived from Mr Bonney's MS. notes, the bishop gives us the following interesting particulars:—"The pictures of these two ladies are still at Golden Grove, and in good preservation. That of the first, displays a countenance marked with all the goodness and benignity, which might be expected from the character which Taylor gives her; the second has a much more lofty and dignified air, such as might become the heroine in Comus. The

first lady Carberry left three sons and six daughters. Her eldest son, Francis, Lord Vaughan, married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who survived her husband, and afterwards became conspicuous in English history, as the heroic wife and widow of William, lord Russell. A copy of Taylor's *Essay on Repentance*, presented to her by the author, is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr Swire, of Melsonby, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

With this family at Golden Grove, Taylor found, for several years, a secure asylum, where he was enabled to pursue his learned labours, and perform the duties of his calling as private chaplain, when they were proscribed and suspended elsewhere. In this interval he published his "*Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar*," the first of his writings which obtained considerable popularity, and which Heber considers to have thus determined the character of his succeeding works. His publications, for some years following, were entirely or mainly devotional. Such, we are inclined to believe, was the native temper of his mind; and had he not been cast in times so peculiarly characterized by great and fundamental controversies, it is probable that to such his pen would have been confined. Like all men of broad and comprehensive intelligence, Taylor's understanding and affections rested too strongly on principles and essentials, to have any impulses to the mere discussion of controversy, or to increase division by unduly aggravating those small differences which are too apt to be the main rallying points of popular prejudice. In the three following years, he published, a funeral sermon on the first lady Carberry; a course of twenty-seven sermons; and his "*Holy Living and Dying*," both composed at the desire of the same lady.

In 1654, he was provoked, by some unseasonable demonstrations from the members of the Romish church, of triumph in the adversity of the church of England, to review several of the chief topics of difference between these two churches, for the purpose of selecting the most decisive point. His choice was, we think, judicious, as he seized on that, which if all other points were reconciled, must involve the most wide, diametrical, and necessary difference which can be conceived to exist between two churches professing to have a kindred source. The title of the essay which contained his view is enough to convey all that we should here venture to add—the "*Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation*." It was dedicated "to Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and wise man, who, even in the times of general distress, continued, from his scanty means, to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor."*

In the same year, his "*Catechism for Children*" was enlarged and republished with a preface, which, though according to Heber, "ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted church of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to monarchy," contained expressions offensive to that captious vigilance, with which a revolutionary government must ever be upheld. He was in consequence committed to prison. The

* Heber i. 61.

entire knowledge of the fact is derived from a letter of great interest, which shall here speak for itself. "The calamities which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that till my return, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very greate impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that, when I had prepared to receive that sad news, and deplore your restraint, I was assured of your release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these bad times; yet if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity; but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. I had read the preface long since to you at 'Golden Grove,' remember and infinitely justifie all that you have there asserted. 'Tis true vallor to dare to be undon, and the consequent of truth hath ever been in danger of his teeth, and it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when not the safeties onely, but the soules of men are betrayed; whilst such as you, and such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendered criminal and suffer. But you, sir, who have furnished the world with so rare precepts, against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoever, could never be destitute of those consolations, which you have so charitably and piously prescribed unto others, yea rather, this has turned to our immense advantage, nor lesse to your glory, whilst men behold you living to your owne institutions, and preaching to us as effectually in your chaines, as in the chaire; in the prison, as in the pulpit; for, methinkes, sir, I hear you pronounce it, as, indeed, you act it:—

Aude aliquid brevibus gyris et carcere dignum
Si vis esse aliquis—————

That your example might shame such as betray any fear of men, whose mission and commission is from God. You, sir, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular, with infinite cognition, the benefit I have received from the truth you have delivered. I have perused that excellent 'Unum Necessarium' of yours to my very great satisfaction, and direction, and do not doubt but it shall in tyme gaine upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant, appeare against it! 'Tis a great deale of courage, and a great deale of perill, but, to attempt the assault of an error, is so inveterate.

‘*Διὸς δὲ κείναι κηρύξεις τὸν ἀπέρχατον ὁδόν.*’ False opinion knows no bottome, and reason and prescription meet in so few instances; but certainly you greatly vindicate the divine goodness, which the ignorance of men and popular mistakes have so long charged with injustice. But, sir, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for: as it shall be my daily devotions, for your successe,

who remains, Rev. Sir, &c.

JOHN EVELYN.

SAY'S COURT, 9th February, 1655.

In the biography of Taylor's period, it would not be easy to dis-

* Evelyn's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 97.

cover a subject of more interest, than the incidents and progress of the friendship between him and Evelyn. Yet, of these the record is slight and imperfect, and, with little exception, is only to be drawn from the few letters which are to be found of their correspondence through many years. The following entries, in Evelyn's diary, give the only traces to be obtained, of the times and circumstances of their first acquaintance:—

"April 15, 1654.—I went to London to hear the famous Jeremy Taylor, (since hishop of Down and Connor,) at St Greg. on vi. Matt. 48., concerning evangelical perfection."

"March 18, 1655.—Went to London, on purpose to hear their excellent preacher, Dr Jeremy Taylor, on xiv. Matth. 17.; showing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life; also, concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accompt of the crosse. On the 31st, I made a visit to Dr Jeremy Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, his heavenly assistances."*

Shortly after the date of the latter of these extracts, another letter of Evelyn's proves the fact, that Taylor was a second time arrested, and confined in Chepstow Castle. The time was the same to which we have already adverted more largely in the life of primate Usher, when Cromwell recommenced the persecution of the episcopalian clergy, who had a little before obtained a brief rest. Evelyn's letter is in every respect worth perusal, and is not to be omitted here.

"REV. SIR,

"It was another extraordinary charity which you did me, when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger, by that which I just now received: and, though the general persecution reinforce, yet it is your particular which most concerns me, in this sad catalysis and declension of piety, to which we are now reduced. But, sir, what is now to be don, that the starrs of our bright hemisphere are every where pulling from their orbs? I remember where you have said it was the harbinger of the greate daye; and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the greate Oughtred, did the other daye seriously persuade me 'parare in occursum,' and will needs have the following yeares productive of wonderful and universal changes. What to say of that I know not; but, certaine it is, we are brought to a sad condition. I speake concerning secular yet religious persons; whose glory it will only be to lie buried in your ruines, a monument too illustrious for such as I am. For my part, I have learned from your excellent assistances to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High: God and his truth are still the same, though the foundations of the world be shaken. Julianus Redivivus can shut the schooles indeede, and the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chapell, and our heart is the altar. Obedience, founded in the understanding, will be the onely cure and retraite. God will accept what remaines, and

* Evelyn's Memoirs: from Heber.

will supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals; the purest ages passed under the cruelest persecutions: it is sometimes necessary; and this, and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greater advantage (even whilst they press and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But, as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandalized; so are there divers well disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselves, unless some such good men as you discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, and steer their course in this dark uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your functions is made criminal, that the light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the viaticum with safety? How shall we be baptized? For to this pass it is come, sir. The comfort is, the captivity had no temple, no altar, no king. But did they not observe the passover, nor circumcise? Had they no priests and prophets amongst them? Many are weak in the faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly: and if, upon the apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his martyrdom, engraven in copper, and sent me by a friend from Brussels, the jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme:—

Projicis inventum caput, Anglia (Angla?) Ecclesia cæsum
Si caput est, salvum corpus an esse potest?

How think you will they now insult, ravage, and break in upon the flock; for the shepherds are smitten, and the sheepe must of necessity be scattered, unless the Great Shepherd of soules oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Deare sir, we are preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten of God's service in this city, or any where else in publique). I must confesse it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, and to what we must submit. The comfort is, 'Deus providebit.' Sir, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr Royston tells me are printing, but I greatly rejoice that you have so happily fortified that batterie, and I doubt not but that you will maintain the siege: for you must not be discouraged by the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me wherever I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary and necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by your arguments, can possibly resist your charity, and your modesty; but, as you have greatly subdued my education in that particular, and controversy; so am I confident tyme will render you many more proselytes. And if all doe not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with your accustomed patience attend the event.

"Sir, I beseech God to conduct all your labours, those of religion to others, and of love and affection to me, who remayne,

"Sir, your, &c.

LOND., 18 Mar. (qu Mai) 1665.

This letter received no answer until the following January, from

which it is to be inferred, either that it did not reach his place of imprisonment, or that the answer was retarded by some obstruction. Mr Bonney gives the following account of the circumstances to which he is inclined to attribute this imprisonment:—"At the end of the year 1654, the royalists, who were still active, had made an insurrection at Salisbury, and brought upon themselves and their friends the vengeance of the Protector. Many were executed, some banished, and all were regarded with such suspicion by Cromwell, that he increased the force of cavalry throughout the country. Taylor, though no insurgent, was yet too well known a royalist, to escape the observation of the government," &c. We have quoted Mr Bonney's words so far, because we think that Heber has put too strong a construction upon them in his mention of Mr Bonney's conjecture, that "he was suspected of being engaged in the unfortunate and ill contrived insurrection of Penruddock and Groves, in 1654," but he well observes that such could not be the fact, as Taylor was at large, and exercising his ministerial functions in London, subsequent to the punishment of those persons.

His confinement was short and unattended with severity. A letter published in one of his works thus adverts to the circumstance: "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person."* On this Heber observes: "His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem at all times to have impressed and softened those, who were from political and polemical considerations most opposed to him." The bishop also mentions, that there is room for the suspicion that his wife's estate was a second time largely drawn upon, for the purpose of obtaining the countenance of the ruling powers.

The luxuriance of his genius was, in the meantime, not repressed, or his christian zeal slackened by external circumstances. He completed his course of sermons for the year, and produced a work, entitled "*Unum Necessarium*, or the doctrine and practice of repentance." In this work he expressed himself on the doctrine of original sin, so as to expose himself to the reproach of pelagianism, and to give much alarm to the clergy. Conscious himself of being exposed to such animadversions, he felt much uneasiness as to the reception of his work. His anxiety was justified by the result; it was indeed impossible that a topic, so essentially connected with the very foundation of our faith, could be suffered to sustain any misrepresentation from a pen so influential, without drawing forth the resistance of the wise, and the resentment of the carnal. Taylor endeavoured to flank his book with dedications and prefatory explanations, which, of course, could have but slight effect. The alarm of the clergy was increased by the strong consideration of the danger to be incurred from the reproach of their powerful and persecuting enemies. His friend the bishop of Rochester expostulated with him in a letter not preserved. Saunderson, who had been the regius professor of divinity in Oxford, lamented his error with tears, and regretted that it could not be authoritatively suppressed. Taylor did not sit quite passive

* Taylor's Works, Vol. ix. ; quoted by Heber.

under the storm of reproach and reproof: he produced a "further explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin," with a dedication to the bishop of Rochester. This was sent to the bishop for correction and approval: the bishop was still unsatisfied, and refused to revise a work which retracted nothing objectionable. This is ascertained from a note of his reply, on the back of Taylor's letter, since published for the first time, by Heber. It is as follows:—

"Right Reverend Father in God,

"My very good Lord, I wrote to your lordship about a fortnight or three weeks since, to which letter, although I believe an answer is upon the road, yet I thought fit to prevent the arrival of, by this addressee; together with which, I send up to Royston a little tract, giving a further account of that doctrine which some of my brethren were less pleased with. And although I find, by the letters of my friends from thence, that the storme is over, and many of the contradictors professe themselves of my opinion, and pretend that they were so before, but thought it not fit to owne it, yet I have sent up these papers, by which (according to that counsel which your lordship, in your prudence and charity, was pleased to give me), I doe intend, and I hope they will effect it, (to) give satisfaction to the church and to my zealous brethren; besides, possibly, they may prevent a trouble to me, if peradventure any man should be *tam otiose negotiosus* as to write against me. For, I am very desirous to be permitted quietly to my studies, that I may seasonably publish the first three books of my Cases of Conscience, which I am now preparing to the presse, and by which, as I hope to secure God and the church, so I designe to doe some honour to your lordship, to whose charity and noblenesse, I and my relatives are so much obliged. I have given order to Royston to consigne these into your lordships hands, to peruse, censure, acquit, or condemne, as your lordship pleases. If the written copy be troublesome to read, your lordship may receive them from the presse, and yet suppress them before the publication *si minus probentur*. But if, by your lordship's letters, which I suppose are coming to mee, I find any permission or counsel from your lordship that may cause me to alter or adde, to what sent up, I will obey it, and give Royston order not to post so fast, but that I may overtake him before these come abroad. But, I was upon any termes willing to be quit of these, that I might no longer suffer or looke upon any thing that may retard my more beloved intendment.

"My lord, I humbly begge your blessing
upon your lordship's most obliged, and
most affectionate, and thankful servant,
"JER. TAYLOR."

From this letter, it is evident he was free, and at his house at Mandinam, and as his letter to Warner ascertains that he was in Chepstow Castle, in the middle of September, the period of his confinement is thus computed by Heber, to have been from May to October.

We here insert a letter which he wrote to Evelyn not long after

this period ; which evidently implies that his friend had expressed his concurrence in the opinions which had drawn so much animadversion from others.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

“Honoured and Deare Sir,

“Not long after my coming from my prison, I met with your kind and friendly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindnesse and affections to mee, but that they gave mee a most welcome account of your health, (and which now-a-days is a great matter), of your liberty, and of that progression in piety, in which I do really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater, and more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care, than that you passe to greater degrees of caution and the love of God. It is the worke of your life, and I perceive that you betake yourself heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you!

“I am well pleased that you have reade over my last booke; and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God, and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their own reprovers, and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevaile when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be an advocate for God’s justice and goodnesse, and that the consequent of my doctrine is, that men may speake honour of God, and meanely of themselves. But, I have also, this last weeke, sent up some papers, in which I make it appeare, that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who do not love to goe “*quâ itur*,” but “*quâ eundum est*.” Sir, you see how good a husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returnes to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident, that, if there be any defect here I will make it up in my prayers for you and my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readiness to serve you with all the earnestnesse and powers of,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate friend and servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

“November 21, 1655.”

On this letter Bishop Heber reflects at some length. His observations have much very serious interest; but we have refrained from entering on the subject, because we have early resolved not to engage in discussion or arguments on any topic of so much primary and fundamental importance, without entering upon a far more expanded statement than would be satisfactory to most of our readers. It may be enough

to say with Heber, that the doctrines maintained by this eminent christian were "irreconcilable with the articles of the church, which he loved and honoured, and contrary to the plain sense of the Scriptures, which were his consolation and guide." The mere fact of such doctrinal extremes as have almost from the beginning existed between men of great learning, wisdom, and sanctity, must assuredly, if duly reflected upon, setting aside all consideration of their several tenets, and the reasons by which they have maintained them, suggest salutary lessons, both of charity and humility; a tolerant allowance for what is presumed to be erroneous, and a distrust of reason when engaged on topics upon which its fallibility has been thus rendered evident; an humble and pious fear of misrepresenting the Divine nature, and of departing unconsciously from plain revelations and practical facts, for systems reared by speculative inference. "Such considerations," says Heber, "should not only lead us to think charitably of those with whom we differ, but should warn us against too hasty a condemnation of their opinions. They should warn us against supposing the reverse of wrong to be right [the great source of extreme errors]; and should endear to us still more the moderation, the discretion, and the humility, with which, on these awful and mysterious subjects, our own excellent and apostolic church has expressed herself." *

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"St Paul's Convers., 55-6.

"DEARE SIR,—I perceive by your symptoms how the spirits of pious men are affected in this sad catalysis. It is an evil time, and we must not hold our peace; but now the question is, who shall speake? Yet I am highly persuaded that, to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but a changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the forms and appendages of Divine worship. Publike or private is all one. The first hath the advantage of society; the second, of love. There is a warmth and light in that; there is heat and zeale in this: and if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of religion, and retain them severely, and immure them as well as he can with the same or equivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and consequently the reward of other graces; for which, if he lives and dies in prosperous dayes, he shall never be crowned. But the evils are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is a true and a sad story; but *oportet esse hæresis*, for so they that are faithful shall be knowne: and I am sure He that hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that feare God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things, in relation to soules and our present duty, I agree with you that it is very fit it were done, but yet by somebody who is in London, and sees the personal necessities and circumstances of pious people. Yet I was so far persuaded to doe it myselfe, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the worke; but

my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myselfe not able to beare the cries of a clamorous conference. Sir, I thank you for imparting to me that vile distich of the dear departed saint. I value it as I doe the picture of deformity or a devil. The art may be good, and the gift faire, though the thing be intolerable. But I remember that when the Jesuites, sneering and deriding our calamity, shewed this sarcasme to my lord Lucas, Birkenhead, being present, replied as tartly—‘It is true our church wants a head now; but if you have charity as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your church has had two and three at a time.’ Sir, I know not when I shall be able to come to London; for our being stripped of the little reliques of our fortune remaining after the shipwrecke, leaves not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to the presse my first bookes of Conscience by Easter time; and then, if I be able to get up, I shall be glad to wayte upon you; of whose good I am not more solicitous than I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest. I shall only give you the same prayer that St John gave to Gaius—‘Beloved, I wish that you may be in health, and prosper:’ and your soule prospers; for so, by the rules of the best rhetorick, the greatest affair is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest businesse into a postscript. Sir, I thank you for your kind expressions at the latter end of your letter. You have never troubled me, neither can I pretend to any other returne from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I do but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it; and that, by means of his own procurement, he will, some way or other, (but how, I know not yet,) make provisions for me.

“Sir, I am, in all heartinesse of affection,

“Your most affectionate friend,

“And minister in the Lord Jesus,

“JER. TAYLOR.” *

This letter, like most of Taylor’s, offers some curious and not unprofitable materials for reflection, on which we shall not here delay. Heber tells us that the Birkenhead of whom mention is made “was probably John Birkenhead, author of the *Mercurius Anglicus*.” The complaint of want of means to visit London appears to have been soon removed, as we shall very shortly find him there. He is, with every reason, thought to have at that time derived valuable and efficient aid from the generosity of Evelyn and other friends. On the subject of Evelyn’s liberality there is no question. The reader will recollect the opposition which, as warden of All Souls in Oxford, Sheldon offered to Taylor’s election as a fellow of that college: such resistance, purely the result of a just sense of duty, did not prevent that worthy and able man from forming a just estimate of his moral and intellectual excellence; and it is indeed a high testimony (in the estimation of worldly experience,) to the goodness of both, that they became mutual friends and admirers in the times of trouble which so soon after succeeded. Such cases indeed, we must observe, at first seem more

* Evelyn Papers, from Heber.

common than they are, because inexperienced persons so much oftener draw their ideas of man from books than from life. Such acts and such men are, in a measure, the world of biography and history; because they mainly record the deeds and characters of those who are rather the exceptions than the common cases of life. For the most part, public opposition, when it affects the personal interests of men whose ambition and strong passions carry them forward in the public scene, is known to engender implacable bitterness and animosity. We are at least sure that, looking to the personal history of many of the leading characters of the present day (and observation can look no farther), such is the common result. But we must not forget Taylor.

To Dr Sheldon.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours dated November 5, in which I find a continued and enlarged expression of that kindness with which you have always assisted my condition, and promoted my interest. Two debts you are pleased to forgive me; one of money, the other of unkindness. I thank you for both; but this latter debt was contracted when I understood not you, and less understood myself; but I dare say there was nothing in it but folly and imprudence. But I will not do it so much favour as to excuse it. If it was displeasing to you then, it is much more to mee, now that I know of it.

"Sir, I will be sure, by the grace of God assisting me, that Mr Royston shall pay in ten pounds to your nephew, Mr Joseph Sheldon, before Candlemas. If you please in the interim to send him the bond, or any other power to discharge me, you will much oblige me. But, Sir, I desire that, by a letter from you to me, you will be pleased, on receipt of that money, to disoblige and free my duty and conscience, for that is the favour and the peace I desire in this particular. Sir, I am to thank you for the prudent and friendly advice you were pleased to give me in your other letter, relating to my great undertaking in *Cases of Conscience*. I have only finished the first part yet, the præcognita and the generals; but in that and the remaining parts, I will strictly observe your caution. Sir, though it hath always been my fortune to be an obliged person to you, and (I) now have less hope than ever of being free from the great variety of your endearments, yet I beg of you to add this favour—to think that I am all that to you which you can wish, save only that I cannot express how much I love and how much I honour you. Sir, I beg also your prayers, and the continuance of your kind affection to,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

Of Taylor's visit to London, the following interesting record occurs in Evelyn's diary:—"April 12, 1656. Mr Berkeley and Mr R. Boyle (that excellent person and great virtuoso), Dr Taylor and Dr Wilkins, dined with me to-day at Says' Court, when I presented Dr W. with my rare burning-glasse. In the afternoon we went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented plows."

The following letter belongs to the same interval:—

To John Evelyn, Esq.

“ April 16, 1656.

“ HONOURED AND DEARE SIR,—I hope your servant brought my apology with him, and that I already am pardoned, or excused in your thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your friendly letter. Sir, I did believe my selfe so very much bounde to you for your so kind, so friendly, reception of mee in your *Tusculanum*, that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. Sir, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heape and union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy and opinion of the prettinesse of your aboad, or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to think you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession; and that strangers, and seldome seers, feele the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order and cleannesse of all your outward things, and look upon you not only as a person, by way of thankfulness to God for his mercies and goodnesse to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares and impediments, can, without excuse and allay, wholly intend, what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But, now I am considering yours, and enumerating my own pleasures, I cannot but adde that, though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe and unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, and to communicate with them no portion of your passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them, or receives their ministries. Sir, I long truly to converse with you. I will not say to you that your *Lucretius* is as far distant from the severity of a christian as the faire Ethiopian was from the duty of Bishop Heliodorus; for indeede it is nothing but what may become the labours of a christian gentleman, those things only abated which our evil age needes not; for which also I hope you either have by notes, or will by preface prepare a sufficient antidote. But since you are engaged in it, doe not neglect to adorne it, and take what care of it it can require or neede; for that neglect will be a reproof of your own act, and looke as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind; and then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which onely by prudence and charity you could before be advised to abstain. But, Sir, if you will give me leave, I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of *Lucretius* as shall neither displease God nor you; and since you are buisy in that which may minister directly to learning, and indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing, and will suffer yourself to be entreated, to employ the same pen in the glorifications of God, and the ministeries of eucharist and prayer. Sir, if you have Mons. Silhou de l'Immortalite de l'Ame, I

desire you to lend it mee for a weeke; and believe that I am, in great heartinesse and dearnesse of affection,

“Deare Sir,

“Your obliged and most affectionate friend and servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

The following entry is chiefly interesting for the affecting glimpse it presents of the distress of the clergy of our church at that period:—

“6 May, [1655].—I brought Mons. Le Franc, a young French sorbonist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr Taylor. They fell in dispute on original sin, in Latin, upon a booke newly published by the doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man.

“7th.—I visited Dr T., and prevailed on him to propose M. Le F. to the bishop, that he might have orders: I having some time before brought him to a full consent to the church of England, her doctrine and discipline, of which he had till of late made some difficulty: so he was this day ordained both deacon and priest, by the bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his lordship, who was very poor and in great want. To that necessity were our clergy reduced.”

To this extract Heber subjoins: “What bishop it was, whom Evelyn describes as the bishop of Meath, I cannot conjecture. Certain it is, that there was no bishop of that see at this time, the last, Dr A. Martin, having died in great poverty at Dublin, in 1650, and his see not having been filled up till after the restoration.” Martin died of the plague in 1650, and it was not till 1661, that Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor was translated to the vacant see of Meath. We scarcely think, however, the mistake of Evelyn unaccountable on the obvious grounds of forgetfulness. The above entry was evidently made (probably from a rough note), long after the incident.

The following letter, written in a moment of great affliction, displays the writer's mind in an affecting point of view; besides, showing another interesting instance of that friendship, which his character seems to have elicited in an unusual degree.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

“July 19, 1656.

“DEARE SIR,

“I perceive the greatness of your affections by your dilligence to inquire after, and to make use of any opportunity (which) is offered, whereby you may oblige me. Truly, sir, I doe continue in my desires to settle about London, and am only hindered by my *Res augustæ domi*: but hope, in God's goodnesse, that he will create to me such advantages as may make it possible; and when I am there I shall expect the daily issues of the divine providence to make all things else well; because, I am much persuaded, that by my abode in your voisinage of London, I may receive advantages of society and bookes to enable mee better to serve God, and the interest of soules. I have no other design but it; and I hope God will second it with his blessing. Sir, I desire you to present my thanks and service to Mr Thurland; his society were argument enough to make me desire a

dwelling thereabouts, but his other kindnesses will also make it possible. I would not be troublesome—serviceable I would faine be, useful and desirable—and I will endeavour it if I come. Sir, I shall, besides what I have already said to you, at present make no other return to Mr Thurland; till a little thing of mine be publike, which is in Royston's hands, of original sin; the evils of which doctrine I have now laid especially at the presbyterian doore, and discoursed it accordingly, in a missive to the countess dowager of Devonshire. When that is abroad, I meane to present one to Mr Thurland; and send a letter with it. I thanke you for your Lucretius. I wished it with me sooner; for in my letter to the countesse of Devonshire, I quote some things out of Lucretius, which, for her sake, I was forced to English in very bad verse, because I had not your version by mee to make use of it. Royston hath not yet sent it mee downe, but I have sent for it; and though it be no kindness to you to reade it for its owne sake, and for the worthinesse of the worke, because it deserves more; yet, when I tell you that I shall besides the worth of the thing, value it for the worthy author's sake, I intend to represent to you not onely the esteeme I have of your worthinesse, but the love also I doe, and ever shall, beare to your person. Deare Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad: but now he rejoyces in his little orbe, while we thinke and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is. Sir, when your Lucretius comes into my hands, I shall be able to give you a better account of it. In the mean time, I pray for blessings to you and your deare and excellent lady; and am,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate and endeared

“Friend and servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

On the next letter, Heber remarks that it “touches on a deficiency in the public service of the English church, which has been often lamented, but is easier to lament than repair,” adverting to the passage, upon the translation of all the sacred hymns, which are dispersed through the old rituals and church books. Few, indeed, would have been more competent to such a task than Heber himself. But we think that the difficulty has never been justly appreciated; and the very specimen selected by Taylor offers some illustration of one of the causes of this difficulty: for, it is a subject of some complication. In the Latin hymn, “*Dies iræ, dies illa, solvet seclum,*” &c., the singularly sublime effect is produced by the extremely simple language in which the most awful and solemn ideas are conveyed. The whole structure of the English language, when viewed in relation to those associations which supply the metaphorical uses of language are so different from the Latin, that the same precise intent can only be conveyed either by a circumlocution, which would amount only to a trite and ineffective common-place, or to a new structure of language which could not be called translation, and which would demand first-rate original powers. For instance, “*dies illa,*” if translated, is only “that day,” an unemphatic expression: while in the Latin it has an idiomatic signification, felt at

once by the most superficial Latin reader, and only to be very imperfectly rendered in English, by the clumsy contrivance of italics. Scott has translated its force, only by the addition of a trite epithet, "that dreadful day:" but "dies illa" is an exclamation of awe and conscious horror, to which no epithet can do justice. Similarly, the word "seclum" conveys a twofold scope of dread and vast signification. It is at once the massive and magnificent edifice of nature, our solid globe with all its elements; together with the world of human things: all within the compass of a phrase. And we question if Shakspeare, in one of the most striking passages of English poetry, has come up to the full effect thus produced:—

"The cloud capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like the baseless fabric of a vision
Leave not a wreck behind."

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"DEARE SIR,

"AT last I have got possession of the favour you long since designed me—your Lucretius. Sir, shall I tell you really how I am surprised? I did believe (and you will say I had some reason,) that Lucretius could not be well translated. I thought you could doe it as well as any one, but I knew the difficulty, *ex parte rei*, was almost insuperable. But, Sir, I rejoyce that I find myself deceived, and am pleased you have so wittily reproved my too hasty censure. Mee thinkes now, Lucretius is an easy and smooth poet, and that it is possible for the same hand to turn Aristotle into smooth verse. But, Sir, I pray tell mee why you did so grudge your annotations to the publike? I am sure you neede not blush at them; but you may well chide yourself for offering to conceal them. Sir, you know I was not apt to counsel the publication of this first booke: but I should not repine (so the labour of it were over) that it were all done by the same hand, so perfectly doe I find myself confuted by your most ingenious pen. I was once bold with you; I would faine be so once more. It is a thousand pitties but our English tongue should be enriched with a translation of all the sacred hymns, which are respered in all the rituals and church bookes. I was thinking to have begged of you a translation of that well-knowne hymne, 'Dies iræ, dies illa, solvet seclum in favillâ;' which, if it were a little changed, would be an excellent divine song; but I am not willing to bring trouble to you; onely it is a thousand times to be lamented that the beaux esprits of England doe not think divine things to be worthy subjects for their poetry and spare houres. I have commaunded Royston to present to you two copies of a little letter of mine to the countess dowager of Devon; of which, if you please to accept one, and present the other from me to your friend Mr Thurland, you will very much oblige mee, who already am, dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and endeared

"JER. TAYLOR."

To the same.

“ 9 ber 15, 1656.

“ Honoured and Deare Sir,

“ IN the midst of all the discouragements which I meet withall in an ignorant and obstinate age, it is a great comfort to mee, and I receive new degrees of confidence, when I find that yourself are not only patient of truth, and love it better than prejudice and prepossession, but are so ingenuous as to dare to owne it in despite of the conflicting voices of error and unjust partiality. I have lately received, from a learned person beyond sea, certain extracts of the easterne and southerne antiquities, which very much confirme my opinion and doctrine; for the learned man was pleased to express great pleasure in the reasonableness of it, and my discoursee concerning it. Sir, I could not but smile at my owne weaknesses, and very much love the candour and sweetnesse of your nature, that you were pleased to endure my English poetry; but I could (not) be removed from my certaine knowledge of my owne greatest weaknesses in it; but, if I could have had your Lucretius, when I had occasion to use those extractions out of it, I should never have asked any man's pardon of my weake version of them; for I would have used none but yours, and then I had been beyond censure, and could not have needed a pardon. But, Sir, the last papers of mine have had a fate like your Lucretius; I meane só many erratas made by the printers, that because I had not any confidence by the matter of my discourse, and the well-handling of it, as you had by the happy reddition of your Lucretius, I have reason to beg your pardon for the imperfection of the copy. But I hope the printer will make amends in my Rule of Conscience, which I find hitherto he does with more care. But, Sir, give me leave to aske why you will suffer yourselfe to be discouraged in the finishing Lucretius? They who can receive hurt by the fourth booke understand the Latin of it; and I hope they who will be delighted with your English, will also be secured by your learned and pious annotations, which I am sure you will give us along with your rich version. Sir, I humbly desire my service and great regards to be presented by you to worthy Mr Thurland, and that you will not fail to remember mee when you are upon your knees. I am very desirous to receive the ‘*dies iræ, dies illa,*’ of your translation; and if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you, I will transmit a copy of it. Sir, I pray God continue your health and his blessings to you and your deare lady, and pretty babies; for which, I am daily obliged to pray, and to use all opportunities by which I can signify that I am

“ Deare Sir,

“ Your most affectionate, and endeared servant,

“ JER. TAYLOR.”

The reader will have noticed, in these letters, the marks and indications of the soreness which was left on his feelings, by the opposition

which his doctrine on the subject of original sin, had received among his friends and the clergy of his own church.

In the same year was published his "Deus justificatus," and an essay on "Artificial Handsomeness," which has been generally attributed to Taylor on grounds and authorities, which Heber at some length, and we think not inconclusively, shows to be insufficient. Heber was bound to give reasons for omitting the essay in Taylor's Works; but there is no reason why we should enter on a subject of little interest in itself. A general resemblance of style were sufficient to deceive men of such slight pretension to critical talent as Wood and Kennett, whose opinions were decided by the publisher's artifice of putting J. T. D.D. in the title of the second edition. In our own estimation such a mark leads to the clearest evidence of a paltry trick: the subject and the view were alike unworthy of Taylor, and inconsistent with his character.

Another question of far more importance is at this period discussed by Taylor's biographers, at some length; but, as they merely show, that no conclusion is attainable on any satisfactory grounds, we shall not here add our doubts or theirs, to a memoir so loaded with questions. At this period, Taylor's family was attacked by the small-pox, in consequence of which, two more of his sons died: the difficulty is consequently raised by some apparent discrepancies between the several accounts which state the births, deaths, and the survivors, until the point can be settled upon further authority, we must leave it as it is. The fact referred to here is, however, placed beyond question, by the following letter of February, 1657:—

"DEARE SIR,

"I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least, pardon mee, that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a returne to your so kind and friendly letter, when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small-pox and feavers among my children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boys; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, and then I hope to waite upon you, and by your sweet conversation, and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet, at least, to entertain myself and keep me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Dear Sir, will you do so much for mee as to beg my pardon of Mr Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his friendly letter and expressions. Sir, you see there is too much matter to make excuse; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But, for myself, I bless God, I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure highly pleased with thinking how infinitely sweet his mercies are when his judgments are so gracious. Sir, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered; but, still, my little sadnesses intervene, and will

yet suffer me to write nothing else; but I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

“Deare and honoured Sir,

“Your very affectionate friend, and

“heartly servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

“February 22, 1656-7.”

The children mentioned in this letter are clearly distinct from that whose death was noticed a little before. Taylor's assertion that he had but one son left, cannot be reconciled with Lady Wray's statement that she had two uncles, surviving sons of Bishop Taylor. We must, however, observe, that as both statements are made on unquestionable authority, but one inference remains and we see no reason to reject it: Taylor's second wife still living must have brought him other children. Nor is there any difficulty against this consideration to be drawn from any general statement of the whole number of his children; for there is nothing more liable to inaccuracy than such statements. There is indeed some force in Heber's conjecture, that the two sons of his first marriage were at the time separated from him; but this, he justly observes, is inconsistent with the assertion in the above letter, that he had then but one son left. This expression might, indeed, be no more than a strong phrase to signify that his parental affections were so far bereaved of their hope and consolation: such a figure is not infrequent in common phrase, it is the language of strong feeling, and is not measured by the critical square; *De non apparentibus et non existentibus*, &c., is no uncommon illusion of deep grief, that refuses to travel far for consolation. Heber observes that “it is strange whichever hypothesis we adopt, that he does not say any thing of his daughters.” We think the conjecture here made would account for the omission; they had not yet been born. One thing on the whole is plain, Taylor was not in the habit of allusion to the individuals of his family: it was not the style of his letters; and as there can be no other authority of any great certainty, in his unsettled life, we are at liberty to make any supposition most consistent with the few authorized facts.

After the deprivation here mentioned, all authorities, together with the traditions still surviving in South Wales, agree that Taylor left his residence in Golden Grove and went to London, where he “officiated in a small and private congregation of episcopalians:” according to Wood, the charge would seem to have been of a permanent nature, but Heber seems to us to make the contrary appear more likely. The following entries of Evelyn mark the time of his stay in London.

“25th March, 1657. Dr Taylor showed me his MSS. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor dubitantia*, now fitted for the presse.

“7th June. My fourth son was born, christened George after my grandfather; Dr Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

“July 16th. On Dr Jer. Taylor's recommendation, I went to Eltham to help one Moody, a young man, to that living by my interest with the patron.”

From the cessation of such entries, there is strong reason to infer that Taylor's visit was limited to the period they mark. Within this period the two following letters were written. The first relates to an act of great and well directed generosity of Evelyn's, who at this time relieved Taylor from his severe and pressing embarrassments by an annual pension.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token—full of humanity and sweetnesse that was, and this of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive: and yet, as I no ways repine at the providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decree in heaven for my support and comfort, soe I doe most thankfully adore the goodness of God to you, whom he consigns to greater glories by the ministries of these graces. But, Sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done, that you thinke I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kinde to mee, and oblige mee not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you and honour you, and pray for you; and in all this I cannot say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesse and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reache of my returnes, and my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for me to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am obliged and ashamed, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent myself to be,

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged

"Friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

The request contained in the following letter, relates to the christening of Evelyn's son. Taylor was at the time engaged on his Essay on Friendship, to which he here alludes. This essay was dedicated to a Mrs Katharine Philips, a woman of letters, whom Heber conjectures to have written the already mentioned essay on "Artificial Handsomeness." This lady, a friend, and, probably enough, an imitator of Taylor, was the wife of a gentleman in Cardiganshire. She had the common and not very high talent of stringing verses with fluency and ease: and having the advantages of person, manner, and fortune, obtained that degree of admiration which these advantages are sure to obtain for moderate talents. In that age of patronage and literary adulation, such a character was certain to find flattering records. In any age,

however, says Heber, "She would have been a 'blue stocking' of distinguished celebrity." And this is now at least, no small praise.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"Your messenger prevented mine but an houre. But, I am much pleased at the repetition of the divine favour to you in like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, and care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crowned my innocent endeavours in my descriptions of friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe my first essay; for when any thing shall be observed to be wanting in my charaeter I can tell them where to seek the substance, more beauteous than the picture; and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I shall, by the grace of God, wait upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then, and after, make for him: that then also, I shall wayte upon your worthy brothers; I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse and of the divine providence.

"Sir, I am,

"Your most affectionate and most faithful

"Friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

June 9th, 1657.

The following letter is not merely interesting from the characteristic style, and the intellectual vigour which it displays: it is also curious as a specimen and illustration of the manner in which the old scholastic philosophy still remained diffused in the mind of the day. And also of the loose assumptions and opinions, on which the acutest understandings could rest, as the grounds of argument. A subject not yet unhappily without its advantages and far from being fully cleared. Evelyn's study of Lucretius seems to have unsettled his belief in the immortality of the soul, and suggested some troublesome doubts on the divine Being. Taylor attempts to dissipate these errors.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Sir,

"I am very glad that your good nature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit

the world rather than humour your owne retirednesse. I have many reasons to encourage you, and the onely one objection which is the leaven of your author 'de providentia,' you have so well answered, that I am confident, in imitation of your great master you will bring good out of evil: and like those wise physicians, who, giving alexipharmics, doe not onely expell the poyson, but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportunities, and give all advantages, to the reputation and great name of God; and will be glad and rejoyce to employ your pen for him who gave you fingers to write, and will [*quere witt?*] to dictate.

"But, Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soul: that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment; which you conceive is not agreeable to the apostles' creed, or current of Scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other, may both be true. For the soule may be immortal and yet not beatified till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequents to each other. For the soul may be alive, and yet not feele; as it may be alive and not understand; so our soule, when we are fast asleepe, and so Nebuchadnezzar's soule, when he had his lycanthropy. And the socinians, that say the soule sleepes, doe not suppose that she is mortal; but, for want of her instrument, cannot doe any acts of life. The soule returnes to God, and that in no sense is death. And I thinke the death of the soule cannot be defined; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For, if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body; for, oftentimes it does not worke any of its nobler operations. In our sleepe we neither feele nor understand. If you answer and say it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of its life; I reply that, if one act alone is sufficient to show the soule to be alive, then the soule cannot die; for in philosophy it is affirmed that the soule desires to be re-united; and that which is dead desires not; besides that the soule can understand without the body is so certaine (if there be any certainty in mystic theology,) and so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves, as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember; that, if one act be enough to prove the soul to be alive the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soule; because, she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand: for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soule are not organical.

"But to the thing. That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment I doe believe next to an article of my creed; and so far I consent with you; but, then, I cannot allow your consequent; that the soule is mortal. That the soule is a complete (*quere complex*) substance I am willing enough to allow in disputation; though, indeed, I believe the contrary; but I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being wholly relative and incomplete. But suppose it: it will not follow that, therefore, it can live in separation. For, the flame of a candle, which is your owne similitude, will give light enough to this

inquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus his lampes whose flame had stood still 1500 years, viz., in Tullie's wife's vault. For, if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhaust long before that: if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none; for what need is there of it, if there be no use for it, and what use if not feeding the flame, and how can it feed but by spending itself? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhaust, is because that little particle of fire is soone overcome by the circumflant aire and scattered, when it wants matter to keepe it in union and closeness: but then, as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame, when the matter is exhaust, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it, for itselfe is matter; it is a substance: and so is the soule. And as the element of fire, and the celestial globes of fire, eat nothing, but live of themselves; so can the soule when it is divested of its relative, and so would the candle's flame, if it could get to the regions of fire, as the soul does to the region of spirits.

"The places of Scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting, or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to—why the apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soule. I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. Second: And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them which in Athens was believed by all their schooles of learning? For besides that the immortality of the soule was believed by the Gymnosophists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the East, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thales Milesius, and by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero, and all the Latins; and nothing of all the Christian schooles of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in Scripture, I know you will in no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven. He purposely, and by design, twice says, 'whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not;' by which he plainly says, that it was no wayes unlikely that his rapture was out of the body; and therefore it is very agreeable to the nature of the soule to operate in separation from the body.

"Sir, for your other question, how it appears that God made all things out of nothing, I answer, it is demonstratively certaine, or else there is no God. For if there be a God, he is the one principle; but if he did not make the first thing, then there is something besides him that was never made; and then there are two eternals. Now, if God made the first thing, he made it of nothing. But, Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most friendly assistances that are in the power of,

"Deare Sir,

"Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

This letter must lead many thinking readers to reflect upon subjects which never lose their interest to those who are capable of reflection,

for they seem more nearly to concern human happiness than any other topics of mere speculation; and as they have been placed less within the scope of our faculties than most subjects of human inquiry, so they have led to more various and important errors—errors which have become largely, and we fear inextricably, diffused in the whole texture of men's reasonings; not merely raising erroneous systems of philosophy, but casting also clouds of confusion and mistake upon the light of those divine communications, which had indeed been far less needful than they are allowed to be, had we by nature the power effectually to investigate the spiritual being of God and man; or, what is perhaps more correct to say, had we within our field of observation *any data whatever* for such investigations. We believe that the strong instinctive curiosity which always leads to such questions, may, if referred to its final cause, be considered as one of the remaining indications of that great original destination which Scripture unfolds; and it is perhaps another, that it has been one of the most fertile sources of our wanderings from divine truth: thus indicating the perversion of reason attendant on the departure from God. Heber has strongly and elaborately commented on the errors incidental to Taylor's period. We would gladly extend the argument much farther, could it be done in the compass of a paragraph. It is easy to dismiss exploded errors, but it would demand more than a volume to purge the philosophy and theology of these times from the tenacious and pervading growth of speculative error. The slightest infringement upon received notions is unsafe. The dogmatism of learning is not more peremptory in the vindication of established notions, than decisive and curt in the rejection of new opinions. This is, we know, a saving principle: but popular error is preserved by the same means as truth; even the infidel will exclaim at an attempt to demolish any of the foundations of the baseless fabric of that nugatory religion, which he only sets up to escape any better. It would be imprudent here to point out and expose the imaginary first principles on which divines and philosophers have woven webs of subtlety, sometimes for the defence of truths which required no such aid, and sometimes, with not less effect, for the demolition of those truths.

On the immortality of the soul, it is curious to observe how readily some of the ablest (certainly subtlest) reasoners have recourse to a consideration, of all others farthest away from the scope of probable reasoning—namely, its substance; as if in reality anything of its substance, or of any substance, could be in any way ascertained; and thus have one class of supererogatory demonstrators of truth set it up upon shadowy supports, for its enemies to demolish. The principal proof of the soul's immortality is, the fact that it is involved in the authenticated revelation of God's purposes. Another proof of great value is to be derived from the consideration of final causes, founded on a spacious and unbroken *analogy*, which, looking through the entire system of known things, uniformly sees that *purpose* is uniformly indicated by *adaptation*. We do not here advert to those faculties and functions which are the needful adaptations for the moral and political system of human being; for though we quite concur in thinking every fact that can elevate the nature of man valid in corroboration of proof, and therefore fit to be added when the subject is treated *in extenso*, yet we cannot consider

any adaptation, of which the *present purpose* is obvious, to amount to a direct proof of any further purpose. But every reader is aware of the common and true facts, so frequently dwelt on by the preachers and poets, from which they make it appear that man alone, of all known beings, lives and acts least in unison with the higher faculties and endowments of his moral and intellectual being, having several high moral capabilities which find no answerable purpose in our known state. These are mostly familiar; but we may here instance the *religious sentiment* so common to mankind, the susceptibility of *spiritual desires and fears*, and our deep anxiety about the future, as constituting an adaptation, from which a strict regard to the law of analogy must infer a certain degree of probability in favour of a further purpose. When indeed the point is proved by revealed religion, or rendered highly probable by analogy, everything we know of man, or observe in human life, becomes strong corroboration; for in truth the immortality of the soul, like any fundamental truth, is essential to the just understanding of the whole. And thus the great moral argument arises: deny the immortal being, and the entire moral order presents a confused and disordered state of things; admit it, and all can be explained. And this is an argument of exceeding force, and indeed beauty, when stated at length. On this the christian may supply the true comment upon all the magnificent descriptions of the heathen. *Non quum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria preteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa; non posse eam naturam quæ res eas contineat esse mortalem.* It is indeed, whatever may be the value (in reason) of the fact, difficult to reflect upon the vast and seemingly unbounded scope of thought—the multitude of things, comprehending past, present, and future, which lie together within its grasp—and the still wide, and apparently infinite, expanse of possibilities and combinations, which expand like an unexplored deep on all directions of its range;—to think of the mind otherwise than as an immortal soul—a *body* celestial, which the chemist cannot reduce to its elements, or trace to its ulterior form. *Animus autem solus, nec quum adest, nec quum discedit, apparet.*

We cannot now wait to offer many reflections which the second topic of Taylor's letter has strongly suggested; but we have much less hesitation in incurring the risk attendant on that brevity which we are compelled to maintain, as we have far less fear of offending the prejudices of mere speculative theosophists; having always felt a deep conviction of the mischief, as well as the absurdity, of those wholly unwarranted assumptions by which they have attempted to measure the divine nature, and trace the being, attributes, and purposes of God, with far more pretence of demonstrative certainty than would bear the test of being applied to anything really within their sphere of observation. Of God, nothing can be known beyond the scope of his explicit revelation, with the exception of some very general conclusions to be drawn from the moral and physical structure of the very small speck of a creation, which may comprehend infinity. These latter, though conclusive as to the fact of an all-wise and powerful intelligence, can, *per se*, lead no further than conjectures as to the nature and specific attributes of the Creator. From this the reader will un-

derstand how little weight we allow to the imaginary demonstrations of the *a priori* school, of whose fundamental assumptions we think it no wrong to say that they are wholly unwarranted. To prove this, we should say more than our space admits of. When, however, we suppose God known in the *only one way* by which he can be known to *human* intelligence, then indeed much and valuable inference may be derived, by a sane and rightly disciplined intellect, to confirm, enlarge, and throw collateral light upon our knowledge. Such, in fact, is the nature of the argument suggested by St Paul in the beginning of his argument to prove the universality of man's condemnation (Rom. i. 18—21). Yet even of this method of inference it must be observed, that it demands more caution than is always met in the theologian's page; for the scope of revelation itself is variously limited; referring as it does to that minute province of an infinite system, which relates to man, and to the actual state of man; nor can anything be radically comprehended beyond this immediate relation, without taking into calculation a wide range of absolutely unknown things, and incomprehensible principles.

Looking within our own narrow limits, we have instances enough to illustrate this reflection. We have before us the wretched abortions of our most reputed philosophers in their efforts to explain the intellectual powers of man. Hardly successful in the precise observation of their facts, all their attempts at systematic views, from Locke (the least absurd, because the least presumptuous,) to Brown and Kant, present little else than a crude mass of inconsistencies and presumptuous assumptions; and it is unlikely that the same order of intelligence should be more successful in an infinitely more profound investigation of the same kind. Evelyn's question, as to the proof that God created all things out of nothing, may seem to those readers who are not conversant with this branch of speculation, hardly to demand these sweeping strictures. To one who has toiled through Clarke and other writers of metaphysical divinity, the provocation at least will seem to ask far more. On the question itself, we so wholly agree with Bishop Heber, that we shall extract his comment as it stands. "The argument by which he attempts to prove that God created all things out of nothing, is tainted in some degree with the fault which I have already noticed, of reasoning from propositions as if they were axioms. He assumes it as a necessary definition of God, that he is the one principle of all things, the only Eternal. He then argues justly, that, if there were anything that God did not make, there would be more eternals than one; and concludes, that, in such case, neither of those eternals could be God. Surely this is running on too fast." It is indeed unnecessary to expose the wretchedness of such fallacies, further than by a simple statement. The principle is an assumption, and the inference does not follow. There is no ground for the assumption that any number of things *could not in possibility* co-exist with God through all eternity. Such an assumption is only to be maintained by the consequences which the postulant attaches to it, and these, as *inferences*, are demonstrably false. It does not follow that any species of imaginable co-existence, of which the effect cannot be specifically traced, can affect the independence of an eternal intelligence and power. The notions of first cause, self-existence, of the impossibility of certain conceptions, &c., of which Dr Clarke makes

such powerful use, are mere verbal quibbles, founded on human ignorance, and therefore hard to answer. Indeed it is curious to observe that, in point of fact, the greater part of his argument turns on the extent and powers of the human faculties. The Doctor was misled by his illustrations. His example of self-existence was *pure space*. Of infinity and eternity he talks as *modes* and *attributes*, and reasons of them as things having properties and definitions, and as if they were capable of being made the data from which any inference can be drawn, other than those of number and dimension. Indeed, his main argument against the possible co-existence of God and matter from all eternity—viz., that “it is an express contradiction that two different beings should be necessarily existing”—will, if duly followed up, demolish the greater part of his previous reasoning in the same book; for he proves space to be a thing, and necessarily existent, according to his own definition. We have allowed our pen to be carried too far on this point; and as it is indeed endless, we must extricate ourselves abruptly. We have long wished to follow out the whole argument at length, for the purpose of converting Clarke’s ingenious and profound book to its proper use—the demonstration which it affords of the utter incapacity of human reason, and the inadequacy of human language, to such investigations. Men, like Clarke, may arrive at conclusions which cast a spurious and superfluous gleam upon the truth, which God has thought proper to show as “in a glass, darkly;” but the same materials may be transformed to any set of data, and lead to any inferences, in the legerdmain of mere language. Enough will ever be found to convert them to uses more in conformity with the bias of human nature to deny or deprave the being and character of God.

The opinion of Taylor, that “the felicity of christians is not till the day of judgment,” is open to much consideration: but the length to which we have been led by this letter, forbids our entering upon it here. The existence of some intermediate state we are inclined to conjecture: of the nature of this we think inquiry vain. Our only source of information is not explicit; and our inference is, that certainty was not intended to be given. To the reader, who would reflect on the subject, we may suggest, that the subject seems to have been discussed by St Paul, in a manner which precludes the notion that he would have omitted a point of such prominence, had it been within his reach: the 23d verse of 1 Cor. xv. seems to bear strongly on the question, and the entire of the same chapter may be recommended as offering as much light, as it is likely, man, in his present state, is capable of receiving; and more than any effort of reason can possibly obtain. The light of revelation is of course confined to its intent, to enlighten our present state, and convey that information, which is necessary and sufficient to guide fallen creatures on the narrow way that leads to another and higher state: in the diligent study of these communications, it is necessary, for evident reasons, that many indirect and incidental intimations should be conveyed; such is the condition of a scheme but partially made known; but before these incidental gleams can be fully interpreted, more must be seen. It is, indeed, antecedently improbable that any information as to our future state which God has thought proper to withhold, should be reasoned out, on the

defective and indirect hints we can find in the holy Scriptures, yet these afford the sole data from which we can hope to reason with any degree of assurance.

The controversy on original sin still continued to be a source of vexation to Taylor. The clergy of the church of England were content with protesting against doctrines opposed to their articles and formularies: recognising the value of Taylor, they did not consider it either prudent or necessary to repel, wound, and force him out of the ranks by an unseasonable controversy. Having justly, perhaps, estimated the weight of his authority on such a point, they went no further than seemed desirable for the purpose of leading him out of the error into which he had strayed. But there were those from whom considerations of this nature were not called for; the protestants of other churches felt it right and expedient to oppose fallacious views so recommended by the eloquence and reputation of the author. Of the opponents who gave him most trouble, the chief were two presbyterian clergymen, Henry Jeanes of Chidzoy in Somersetshire, and John Gaule of Slaughtonshire, in Huntingdonshire.

Of the controversy which thus arose between Taylor and Jeanes, we have the following account, which Heber quotes from the "advertisement to the unprejudiced reader," prefixed by Jeanes to his letter:—"One Mr T. C. (Thomas Cartwright) of Bridgewater, being at my house, broke out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolical) praises of Dr Jeremy Taylor. I expressed my concurrence with him in great part; nay, I came nothing behind him in just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity; but notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous; and I instanced in his 'doctrine of original sin.' Now his 'further explication' of this lay casually in the window (as I take it), which hereupon I took up, and turned to the passage now under debate, and showed unto Mr T. C. that therein was gross nonsense and blasphemy. He, for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business; but withal, he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give Doctor Taylor notice of what I said, whereunto I agreed, and in a short time he brought me from the doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them, whereupon I drew them up in a letter to Mr T. C., the copy whereof followeth."

The controversy thus begun, went on; and as often occurs, deepened in its progress in interest and animosity. "Each," says Heber, "began as is usual in such cases, to lose their temper at the second replication. Each accused the other of unfairness and intemperance, and I regret to say, that of the two, Jeremy Taylor was the most capacious and personal. Yet he had some reason to complain that his opponent's whole weight was directed, not against the general principle of his book, but against a detached and general expression; and that his apparent end was not so much to refute the pelagianism of Taylor, as to derogate from his reputation, in the mind of one of his friends and admirers."

The same year Taylor reprinted several of his earlier works, then out of print, in folio: he also published his Συμβολον Ηθικοπολεμικον. At the same time also appeared the "Discourse of Friendship," which we have had already occasion to mention. He now also is said to have shown Evelyn his "Ductor Dubitantium," which remained under his hands for many following years. It was the work, of all he had written, to which, having probably expended upon it most intellectual labour, he therefore by a natural error of the mind, attached the highest importance. He was therefore also proportionally timid and dilatory in its completion. Some have thought this work to form the substance of a course of sermons which he had preached at Uppingham; but it is justly observed by Mr Bonney, that the style was totally unsuited to the pulpit. On the "Essay of Friendship," it is said to be apparent, from the postscript, that it was not designed for publication, but for the perusal of his private friends. "If you shall think fit," he writes, "that these papers pass further than your own eye and closet, I desire they may be consigned to the hands of my worthy friend doctor Wedderburne, for I do not only expose all my sickness to his cure, but submit my weakness to his censure, being as confident to find of him charity for what is pardonable, as a remedy for what is curable: but indeed, madam, [the papers are dedicated to Mrs Philips already mentioned,] I look upon that worthy man as an *idea* of friendship, and if I had no other notices of friendship or conversation to instruct me than his, it were sufficient: for whatever I can say of friendship, I can say of his, and as all that know him reckon him amongst the best physicians, so I know him worthy to be reckoned amongst the best friends."

In February, 1658, we find him in London; but so uncertain are all traces of detail at this period of his life, that all we can tell the reader is, that he was again a prisoner, and in the Tower. The indiscretion of Royston had ventured so far as to offend the known prejudices of the uppermost party, by prefixing a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer, to his "collection of offices." A recent act of Cromwell's parliament had prohibited representations of this nature as scandalous and idolatrous. He seems, however, to have been soon released by the strong representations of Evelyn in his favour. The following letter was probably written from the Tower, on the occasion of the death of two of his patron's sons:—

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"DEARE SIR,

"If dividing and sharing griefs were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated; for I account myself to have a great cause of sorrow, not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrows without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadnesse in your loss are so just and reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have great cause to mourne; so certaine it is that grieffe does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I doe

but encrease the flame. "Hoe me male urit," is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose, but I must hold another and brighter flame to you, it is already burning in your heart; and if I can but remove the darke side of the lanthorne, you have enoughe within you to warm yourselfe, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy termes: nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnessees will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable griefe; and, indeed, though the griefe hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides they are no losers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffered for their interest: you (would) have suffered them to goe from you, to be great princes in a strange country; and if you can be content to suffer your own inconvenience for their interest, you command (commend?) your worthiest love, and the mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God, and he that smites here will spare hereafter; and if you by patience and submission imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable: because it is in some sense chosen, and therefore in no sense insufferable. Sir, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider, that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldomest stories of their children; and the apostles had none, and the thousands of the worthiest persons, that sound most in story, died childlesse; you will find it a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments and reasonings. If the breach be never repaired, it is because God does not see it fit to be; and if you be of his mind, it will be much the better. But, Sir, you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort; I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort, stand in the breaches of your own family, and make it appear that you are to her more than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your christian courage and bravery; and that I may see, that God never displeases you as long as the main stake is preserved, I mean your hopes and confidence of heaven. Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want; that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind, and shall alwayes doe you honour, and fain also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate and obliged

"friend and servant,

"JEREMY TAYLOR."

"February 17, 1657-8."

This letter evidently implies the hope of immediate liberation, and accordingly he appears in a week after, at Say's court. This we learn with certainty from Evelyn's memoirs, in which he writes, "Feb 25, 1658. Came Dr Jeremy Taylor and my brothers, with other friends, to visit and condole with us." By the following entry, we trace him to March. "March 7th. To London to hear Dr Taylor in a private house, on xiii. Luke, 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed communion, of which I participated," &c.* There is some reason to suspect that the commitment of Taylor may have been irregular, at least on some subordinate authority, as Heber mentions in one of his notes that no traces of any order to this purpose appear in the minutes of the privy council. To account for this, he thinks it necessary to resort to the supposition that "in those arbitrary times, the committees and inferior agents of government exercised the power of imprisonment." In the same note he gives a letter written by Evelyn to the lieutenant of the Tower, which seems to involve such a probability. That Taylor's presence in London was still occasional, is inferred from the rareness of these notices of Evelyn's, and we think the inference not to be avoided: from this there is little if any deduction to be made on the consideration of the private nature of such occasions. It is generally indeed admitted by historical writers, that Cromwell was himself disinclined to measures of intolerance: our views of human nature as confirmed by historical precedent, would incline us to a similar belief: the sagacious usurper, who is raised to power by the prejudices of faction and the delusions of the people, is seldom quite sincere in his attachment to the violent moving principles by which he has been raised, and by which he may be reversed; the sooner he can allay the fluctuation of the waves, it will be his interest; and it is indeed thus that the extreme of licentious liberty so often terminates in the opposite of despotism. But Cromwell did not live to attain this consummation; the revolution which placed him on the seat of the British monarchy was yet to be completed by the exertion of his extraordinary vigilance, resolution and sagacity. The people of England had not been converted, but overwhelmed: and years of wise and successful government were wanting to set him free from the championship of fanaticism. The independents were the main column of his throne; the Presbyterians, though they favoured his government, were far less certain, and though they were less formidable by their relations with the state and army, yet held a far larger base in the mind of the country. Jealous too of the influence, power, and favour of the independents, they showed many symptoms of a restless disposition to press upward and break in upon the actual circle of his power. It was therefore a subject of the most anxious care and watchfulness to give these ambitious and powerful parties no *common* causes of discontent. Hence, while he endeavoured to gain the utmost possible extent of goodwill, by the most unfettered licentiousness of conscience, in every direction not immediately offensive to any prevalent party, he felt himself compelled to the utmost stretches of tyranny to the episcopal churches. Such a state of things well accounts for the clandestine

* Vol. i. p. 312.

meetings of the members of the church of England, as well as for the little record which can be traced of them. It indeed also helps to explain the difficulty which we have noticed above on the subject of imprisonments apparently unwarranted. Cromwell was frequently compelled to act on private information or suspicion, and when it suited his purpose, showed no respect to the forms of state. He might desire to put a suspected loyalist out of the way for a few weeks, without betraying him to the fanaticism of men like Harrison and Desborough, or the "three or four precious souls standing at his elbow," who were far more anxious for a spiritual tyranny of their own imagination, than for the power and safety of their master.

But the time had arrived which has left to Ireland the high privilege of numbering this excellent divine among her worthies. During some of his visits to London, he formed an acquaintance with lord Conway, who had been active in the service of the late king, and according to Mr Bonney's just conjecture, who was probably among the royalists who attended on his occasional ministry in London. This nobleman, feeling for the risks which Taylor incurred in the city, and possibly anxious to secure his services in the vicinity of his own extensive possessions, made him a proposal of which the nature can be inferred from the letter which we shall extract. This letter is imperfect from mutilation, a circumstance justly regretted by Heber, as he observes that the subject of usury is treated in it more rationally than was to be expected from a writer of his time.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

May 12th, 1628.

"Honoured Sir,

"I return you many thanks for your care of my temporal affaires; I wish I may be able to give you as good account of my watchfulnesse for your service, as you have of your diligence to doe me benefit. But concerning the thing itself I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a presbyterian and myselfe shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other downe; which meethinks is like the worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of removing myselfe and family. It is wholly arbitrary; for the triers may overthrow it, and the vicar may forbid it; or the subscribers may die or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thanks to your friend, who had so much kindnesse for mee as to intend my benefitte, I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him and you than if I had accepted it.

"Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations and the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this, that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immersed in the delices and joyes of religion; and as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off

continually, so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites, I say with new appetites,—for in religion every degree of love is a new appetite—as in the schooles we say, every single angel does make a species, and differs more than numerically from an angel of the same order.

“Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case you have only made yourself a merchant with them; onely you take leave that you be secured; as you pay a fine at the assurance office. I am onely to add this. You are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you imploy your money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffique, or exchange it to your profit. You may doe this by yourselfe or another, and you may as welle get something as he get more, and that as well by money as by laud or goods; for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants and of all the world as any thing else can be; and meethinkes, no man should deny money to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for money; and as lands are of a price, then (when) they are sold for ever, and when they are parted with for a yeare, so is money; since the employment of it is apt to minister to gaine, as lands are to rent. Money and lands are equally the matter of increase; to both of them our industry must (be) applied, or else the profit will cease. Now as a tenant of lands may plough for mee, so a tenant of money may go to sea and traffique for me.” * * * * *

Taylor felt a natural reluctance to quit the land of his birth and the home of so many good friends and endearing associations; but the attraction of new prospects is strong to one whose life has been always a combat with difficulties; and the prospects which now perhaps awakened his imagination, were not without reasonable and strong foundation. The following letter of lord Conway is highly descriptive of the times, and shows the earnest interest he felt for Taylor. It is written to major Rawdon, his brother-in-law, who seems to have written “a discouraging account of the state of the country.

“Dear Brother

“That which you write me in your letter of the 2d of this month, was sufficient to have discouraged him and all his friends from any further thoughts of that country; but I thank God I went upon a principle not to be repented of, for I had no interest or passion in what I did for him, but rather some reluctancy. What I pursued was to do an act of piety towards him, and an act of piety towards all such as are truly disposed to virtue in those parts, for I am certain he is the choicest person in England appertaining to the conscience; and let others blemish him how they please, yet all I have written of him is true. He is a man of excellent parts and an excellent life; but in regard that this is not powerful to purchase his quiet, I shall tell you what is done in relation to that Dr Petty hath written by him to Dr Harrison and several others, and promised to provide a purchase of land at great advantage, and many other intimate kindnesses, wherein your advice will be askt. Dr Cox, a physican, and a

very ingenious man, who hath married the chancellor's sister, hath written on his behalf very passionately, and some of so near relation to my lord Peepes, hath recommended him to him. Serjeant Twisden, one of the eminentest lawyers in England, who married Sir Matthew Tomlinson's sister, hath written to him very earnestly, and so hath his wife also. Mr Hall, an understanding man, and always one of the knights of Lincolnshire, hath recommended him to his friend Mr Bury, and so hath Mr Bacon, one of the masters of request done for him to my lord chief baron. But besides all this, my lord Protector hath given him a pass and a protection for himself and his family, under his sign manual and privy signet. So that I hope it will not be treason to look upon him and to own him. Dr Loftus is his friend. I have sent you and his sister a box of pills of the same proportion as that I sent last summer.

"Your affectionate brother,

"E. CONWAY.

"KENSINGTON, *June 15th, 1658.*"

By the strong interest that was thus exerted for him, by the dangerous and unsettled condition of the church in England, and by the prospects of peace and competence, Taylor was, however reluctantly, induced to consent to the wishes of the earl of Conway, and accept of a lectureship in Lisburn. A house was provided for him on lord Conway's estate near the mansion of Portmore, a splendid and princely edifice, after a plan by Inigo Jones, and of which the stables alone now remain. Taylor is said to have divided his residence between Lisburn and this place. For one like Taylor, of contemplative disposition and studious habits, it would not be easy to find a retreat more suitable. The park of Portmore is bordered by the calm expanse of Lough Neagh, gemmed with its fairy isles, and haunted by the traditionary shadows of ancient times and things, "the round towers of other days," supposed by the superstition of the place to lie beneath its waves. Comparing the description of Heber with the map, Portmore seems to lie between this lough which stretched off to the south, and the small lake Lough Beg on the north. On the borders of this latter lake, there is reason to believe that the old church stood, in which Heber tells us that he often preached to a small congregation of loyalists, as there yet is to be found an ancient churchyard on the water side,* an interesting feature in so calm and thoughtful a scene. According to the tradition of the place, it was Taylor's custom to retire for study or devotion to some of the islands, chiefly, it is said, to Ram Island in Lough Neagh, and to a small rock in Lough Beg. On the first, there are the ruins of a monastery and a round tower; "the other is," says Heber, "still more retired and solitary." Here his time was divided between his lectures and preaching, and the earnest prosecution of his elaborate and anxious work, the "*Ductor Dubitantium*;" and with all his manifest disadvantages, it is impossible not to agree with Heber in viewing it as the happiest part of his life. Away from the painted shadows and illusive hopes which constitute the sum and substance of

* Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, i. 600.

the troubled passing stream of the world, free to converse with self, nature and God, to meditate on the interests and hopes of the eternal world, and labour for the kingdom of Christ and the true welfare of mankind: such a state was, to one of Taylor's intensely active spirit, equivalent to an approach to that higher state in which the cares and sorrows of this fleeting scene may be forgotten. In such a state, it is true, none can be long suffered to remain without many and painful interruptions; but it is to be hoped at least, that those cares which are all connected with important duties, and with the exercises of the highest spiritual graces, are to be met with calmer fortitude, and more pure and strenuous labour, by those to whom it is thus allowed to gather strength and spirit in pious and contemplative retirement. Of some such frame of spirit Taylor's letters bear pleasing evidence. They at the same time curiously convey the strong indication of that interest, which the remote noise of life carries into the "loopholes of retreat,"—a sense wholly distinct from the painful self-interestedness of those who are involved in the strife; and which, while it is not unpleasantly tinged with a softened gleam of hopes and wishes, is elevated by high affections, and soothed by the ordinary effect which remoteness and isolation produce. The clash and din of human pursuits melt as it were into the murmur of the stream of ages, and the lapsing current of human things. But we are castle-building in Lough Neagh and Lough Beg: like some one of Hazlitt's table-talkers, we keep good company, and forget ourselves.

The first of these letters, written from Ireland, is dated from Lisnagarvy, the ancient name of Lisburn. Heber observes that it is characterized by a cheerfulness which is not to be observed in the general tone of his former letters:—

To John Evelyn, Esquire.

" LISNAGARVY, April 9, 1659.

" Honoured Sir,

"I fear I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour me with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health and that of your relatives, that I may rejoice and give God thanks for the blessing of my honoured and dearest friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might without interruption attend to the finishing of the employment I was engaged in, which now will have no longer delay than what it meetes in the printers' hands. But, Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you so prosperously begun—your owne Lucretius. I desire to receive notice of it from yourself, and what other designes you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning: for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that by the worthiest testimonies, it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But, sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning; how is any art or science likely to improve? what good bookes are lately publicke? what learned men, abroad or at home, begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the places of the dead Salmatius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresk Petavius, and the excellent persons of

yesterday? I perceive here that there is a new set rising in England, the perfectionists; for three men that wrote an examen of the confession of faith of the assembly, whereof one was Dr Drayton, and is now dead, did state some very odde things; but especially one, in pursuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, and to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendering; but learnedly enough and wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, W. Parker, who indeed was the worst of the three; but he takes his hint from a sermon of Dr Drayton, which since his death, Parker hath published, and endeavors to justify. I am informed by a worthy person, that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity and great revelations and skill in all scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual and mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little of them when I was in England; but further off I heare most newes. If you can inform yourselfe concerning them, I would faine be instructed concerning their designe and the circumstances of their life and doctrine; for they live strictly, and in many things speake rationally, and in some things very confidently. They excell the socinians in the strictness of their doctrine; but in my opinion fall extremely short of them in their expositions of practical scripture. If you enquire after the men of Dr Gell's church, possibly you may learne much; and, if I mistake not, the thing is worth enquiry. Their bookes are printed by Thomas Newcomb in London, but where, is not set downe. The examen of the assemblie's confession is highly worth perusing, both for the strangenesse of some of the things in it, and the learning of many of them.

"Sir, you see how I am glad to make an occasion to talke with you; though I can never want a just opportunity and little to write to you, as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindnesse by which you have obliged,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most affectionate and endeared

"Friend and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

From the state of tranquil happiness which we have been assigning to Portmore, we are obliged reluctantly to make some considerable deductions. His means were far from that state of independence which is so permanently essential to comfort and peace of spirit: and he was compelled to receive the pension which the good and generous Evelyn still continued to pay, though from a diminished fortune. Taylor was also assailed by malice: a person of the name of Randy, a general agent residing in the neighbourhood, became jealous of the respect and kindness of which Taylor quickly became the general object. This chicaning miscreant felt his reptile self-importance wounded by the honour shown to one whose poverty he considered as the lowest demerit; and whose high virtues and noble understanding were beyond his comprehension. Nor was his eager malice slow to hunt out a vulnerable point: it was, he thought, enough to send information to the Irish privy council, that Taylor was a disaffected character, and had used

the sign of the cross in baptism. Taylor was incapable of bringing home to his mind the small springs of party, and the little motives which so often govern the acts of councils and cabinets, and could not entertain any serious apprehension, though his friends were deeply alarmed. In the following letter the matter is mentioned incidentally, and so as to indicate plainly how little it was in his thoughts:—

To John Evelyn, Esq.

“PORTMORE, *June 4, 1659.*

“HONOURED SIR,

“I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retain me in your memory and affections, as if I were still neere you, a partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your goodness, your piety, and candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities and endearments by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little bookes, and am very much pleased with the golden booke of St Chrysostom, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy; and when I read it, I could not choose but observe St Paul's rule: *flebam cum flentibus*. I paid a tear at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little enchiridion is an emanation of an ingenious spirit; and there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers; and though by the publication of these you have been civil and courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your owne. I am much pleased with your waye of translation; and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would doe profit and pleasure to the publicke. But Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, and having been requitted yourselfe by your labour, I cannot perceive why you should not give us the same recreation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you to whom it was alloyed by your great labour: especially you having given us so large an essay of your ability to doe it; and the world having given you an essay of their acceptation of it.

“Sir, that Pallivicim whom you mention is the author of the late history of the council of Trent, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seen it, but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo, *Assertionum Theologicarum*, but these speake but very little of the man. His history, indeed, is a great undertaking, and his family (for he is of the Jesuit order,) use to selle the book by crying up the man: but I thinke I saw enough to suspect the expectation is much bigger than the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England: you know what spirit he is of, but I suppose he hath met with his match; for Mr Piers hath attacked, and they are joined in the lists. I have not seen Mr Thorndike's booke. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not

the title nor the subject, and the man is indeed a very good and learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no peradventure, but he hath tumbled into his heap many choice materials. I am much pleased that you promise to enquire into the way of the perfectionists; but I thinke L. Pembroke, and Mrs Joy, and the lady Wildgoose, are none of the number. I assure you some very learned and very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castellio is their great patriarch; and his dialogue *An per spir. S. homo possit perfecte obedire legi Dei*, is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, and in Dr Gell's last booke in folio there is much of it. Indeed you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, and they understand him as nurses doe their children's imperfect language; something by use, and much by fancy. I hope, Sir, in your next to me, (for I flatter myself to have the happiness of receiving a letter from you sometimes), you will account to me of some hopes concerning your settlement, or some peace to religion. I fear my peace in Ireland is likely to be short; for a presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion; and for using the signe of the crosse in baptism. The worst event of the information which I feare is my return into England; which although I am not desirous it should be upon these terms; yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

"Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to you for your kindness and charity in your continued care of me and bounty to me; it is so much the more because I have almost from all men but yourselfe, suffered some diminution of their kindnesse, by reason of my absence: for as the Spaniard says, "the dead and the absent have but few friends." But, Sir, I account myselfe infinitely obliged to you much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray, Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured brothers: I shall be ashamed to make any addresse, or pay my thanks to them in words, till my rule of conscience be publicke, and that is all the way I have to pay my debts; that and my prayers that God would. Sir, Mr Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, St Paul's church-yard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives, he transmits to me carefully; and so will Mr Royston, tho' I do not often employ him now. Sir, I fear I have tired you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to doe much more than to pardon the excesse of my affections. Sir, I hope that you and I remember onc another when we are upon our knees. I doe not thinke of coming to London till the latter end of summer or the spring, if I can enjoy quietness here: but then I doe if God permit, beg to be in the interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for indeed it will be a great pleasure and endearment to,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your very obliged, most affectionate,

"and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

To this we must add the letter written by the earl of Conway on the occasion: which, as Heber observes, does him much honour. It will convey to the reader a more correct notion of the danger, by showing how it was regarded, by one who knew the world, and the true composition of its ruler's councillors.

"I received a letter yesterday from Dr Taylor; it hath almost broke my heart. Mr Tandy hath exhibited articles against him to the lord deputy and council, so simple, (as colonel Hill writes,) that it is impossible it should come to anything: the greatest scandal being, that he christened Mr Bryer's child with the sign of the cross. I have written to Hyrne to supply him with money for his vindication, as if it were my own business. I hope, therefore, when you come over you will take him (Tandy) off from persecuting me, since none knows better than yourself whether I deserve it at his hands. I would have sent you the doctor's letter to me, but that I know not whether this will ever come to you. The quarrel is, it seems, because he thinks Dr Taylor more welcome to Hillsborough than himself.

"E. CONWAY.

"KENSINGTON, *June 14, 1559.*"

The fears of Taylor and his good friends were, however, to be of short duration. He was brought to Dublin by a warrant directed to the governor of Carrickfergus: but he was subjected to no annoyance further than a fatiguing and harassing journey in very bad weather, of which the consequence was a severe fit of illness upon his arrival. He was thus, perhaps, saved from any further proceeding, as it is likely that during the interval of his indisposition, the members of the council had time to obtain more correct information, and a view of the matter more consistent with the real characters of the parties: Heber thinks that his illness was made a plea for "letting him off more easily." However this may have been, it seems nearly certain that he was not brought before the privy council, as no entry to this effect has been found on the minutes.

At this time also he seems to have suffered from some depredation committed on his farm: this appears from a statement of Lady Wray's, whom Heber quotes. She, as the bishop justly remarks, was under an obvious mistake as to the offending party, whom she describes to be Sir Phelim O'Neil. As the reader of this history must be aware, Sir Phelim was then dead for many years. The country was, however, at the time, in an unsettled state; the powers of the parliamentary government, at no time established on a secure basis, were enfeebled by the commotions which preceded their total overthrow, and various predatory parties infested the country.

Among the Irish peasantry, he was at the same time become an object of respect amounting to veneration; and evidently lived on terms of the kindest intercourse with them. This most creditable and praiseworthy circumstance, appears to have been tortured by the high party prejudices of the Cromwellians into the old charge of a leaning to popery. This calumny he is mentioned to have complained of in his "Letters to persons who have changed their religion;" which,

says Heber, "though not now published, appear to have been written at this time." The only work which he published in this year was the "Ephesian Matron," a story told by Petronius, and introduced into a previous work, the "Holy Living and Dying," from which Mr Bonney thinks it to have been now extracted by the bookseller.

A letter of the same year to Dr John Sterne, is given in Heber's life as the only remaining specimen of Taylor's latinity, excepting the epitaph on Lady Carberry. Sterne was the professor of natural philosophy in the university of Dublin, and the letter was published in his *Θανατολογία*. We extract it from Heber.

"Viro amicissimo et integerrimo Johanni Stearne, Medicinæ et Philosophiæ, Professori Doctissimo, *ευχαριζειν*.

"Quamprimum earum mihi facta est copia, in schedas tuas involaverunt oculi et mens, amor et acumen, et tota quanta est curiositatis suppellex, ut discernerem quicquid id fuit quod parturiens et ferax ingenium in lucem hodiernam destinârat bono publico.

"Tam recte novi ingenium tuum, Stearni doctissime, ex monumentis publicis, et privatis præclaræ tuæ eruditionis indicibus, ut difficile non fuerit hariolari quid intus lateret in Enchirido quod festinantius singularis tua humanitas præmiserat, enimvero, nec falsus fui. Præsensit enim animus me in hisce tabulis, ingenii cupedias et bellaria, philosophiæ inventa non vulgaria, rationis *ἀγρον ἔυρημα*, artis medicæ, quam hodie in Hiberniæ metropoli adornas, specimen non mediocre: at cum irrueram in interloquium, (placide enim et moderate tot *τραγήματα* adire, nec enim diffitebor, impos plane fui,) me divinum sensi; et quem prægustaveram, lepide quidem vaticinatus qualem perlecturus eram libellum, cum demum aut avidius, ne totum non exaurirem aut pitissans, ne citius quam volueram clauderetur festum, certe mira cum ingluvie non uno modo ordinata, ingessi in animum meum; et tandem ruminans quod delibaveram, sensi clarissime (et lætatus sum) scientiæ reconditoris arcana reserata, ingenii incomparabilis *επιχειρήματα* veritatis illustre et ingenuum ministerium, et quæstiones nodosas satis, sed nec inutiles, quas quæ aut solvisti dextre aut dissecuisti strenue, in omnibus vel Aristoteli Alexandro suppar; adeo ut non ineptum judicaverim gratulari reipublicæ literariæ hoc novum emergens decus, imo et tibi in aurem insusurrare quam feliciter Spartam hanc exornaveris; certe bono publico, honori Academiae Dubliniensis, usui et ornamento literatorum, saluti sedentis et desidis turbæ cogitabundorum hominum, quin imo et inclytæ famæ tuæ. Tantum est nihil enim superest, nisi ut te amem, ut legam, ut relegam, et ut (quod vovit Socrates in intuitu et speculatione mortis,) ego pro tuis de morte præclaris lucubrationibus et longævitatibus salutaribus documentis nuncuparem Gallum Æsculapio; vel potius tibi (quod Apollinis filio Heraclides constituit) *ελαίου κρηνην χρυσήν του ογδοου*. Serpentem autem et canem in æde Æsculapii tu cave. Etenim non ita pridem sensisti mordacium animalculorum morsiunculas. Vale.

"Ex amænissimo recessu in Portmore dedit

"JEREMIAS TAYLOR,

"S.S. Th. Professor."

We next have to present a letter of, perhaps, nearly the same time, but far more characteristic of the writer.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

“Honoured and Deare Sir,

“Yours dated the 23d, I received not till All Saints’ day: it seemes it was stopped by the intervening troubles in England; but it was lodged in a good hand, and came safely and unbroken to me. I must needs beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health, and present conditions, and of your family; for, I feare concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affaires or content. It is now long since that cloud passed; and, though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors and evil prognostics, yet, you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securities. That was not God’s time to relieve his church, and I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, and whether it was for or against us. But God disposes all things wisely; and religion can receive no detriment or diminution but by our owne fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you; for, I promise to mysele that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, and that you are entered into the experimental and secret way of it, which is that state of excellency whether [whither] good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance and caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but a novice; but, by the goodnesse of God, I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great but a good worke, and I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtaine of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all soules who are very deare to God. Sir, if it please God, I propose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the meane time, be pleased to accept my thankses for your great kindnesse in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr Martin. I am sorry, the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burdened, than that I should have received kindnesse on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies now, for, I suppose you are very busy there; but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot separate your affairs from being of concerne to,

“Deare Sir,

“Your very affectionate friend,

“and humble servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.

“PORTMORE, *November 3d, 1659.*”

On this letter, bishop Heber gives the following just and discriminating comment. “With such humility did the author of the ‘Holy

Living and Dying,' regard his own attainments in religion, and such were his impressions of the happiness and consolations even in this life, conferred by a pure and exalted piety." If there is something mystic in the tone which he adopts, and we are reminded in spite of ourselves, of his previous inquiries concerning the perfectionists, let it be remembered that his subsequent, no less than his preceding writings, bear testimony to his freedom from any error of this kind; and that his devotion through life appears to have continued, as we have hitherto seen it, however intense, however unremitted, however (I had almost said) seraphic; yet, practical, peaceful, energetic, and orderly; of a kind which, instead of seeking food in visions of enthusiastic rapture, or displaying itself in a fantastical adoption of new toys and instruments of theopathy, made him the better friend, the better parent, the better servant of the state, the better member and governor of that church which he had defended in her deepest adversities." We cannot within any reasonable compass express the volume of reflection suggested by the latter part of this pregnant passage. But happily, indeed, there is now the less need, as all topics connected with the practice of Christian piety receive a large portion of the public attention, and employ a reasonable portion of the soundest intellect of the day. The character of the meek and humble follower of Jesus, who walks in faith, hope, and charity, instructed and led by the precept and pattern found in the Word of life, and giving God the worship of the heart and not of fallible human reason, is now better known by numerous and abundant examples, than it has been, perhaps, at any time since the reformation. Though, unhappily there are, and during the present constitution of the world will continue to be, enough who want to learn that the Almighty who has revealed his will to man, will not allow any religion of human invention to be substituted for that which he has given. And, that the rationalizings of intellectual theory, or the reveries of morbid excitement, whatever of their myriad forms they wear, when weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, will be but madness and folly. The religion of opinions is agreeable to the love of mental stimulus—and the religion of mere morals, is the easy compromise of social necessity, prudence, and the natural affections. Yet it seems strange that those who pride themselves in the use of reason, will not see, that any religion which omits the simplest enunciations of Holy Writ, must be false in theory; and any which sets aside the love and fear of God, defective in practice.

An important change in Taylor's life was at hand, and the following letter intimates his approaching journey to London, where he was to receive that exaltation which his services so fully deserved.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"PORTMORE, February 10th, 1659-60.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"I received yours of December 2d, in very good time; but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God, about that time to lay his gentle hand upon me; for I had bene, in the worst of our winter weather, sent for to Dublin by

our late anabaptist commissioners; and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill; but in my return, had my ill redoubled and fixed: but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope ‘ad majorem Dei gloriam;’ and now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, and particularly for the enclosed. Sir, the apology you were pleased to send me I read both privately, and heard it read publickly with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy and the dress is clean, and orderly, and beauteous; and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice: it is impossible but it must doe good to those guilty persons to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your character hath a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many ‘beaux esprits.’ But that which I promise to myself as an excellent entertainment, is your Elysium Britannicum. But, Sir, seeing you intend it to the purposes of piety, as well as pleasure, why doe you not rather call it Paradisus than Elysium; since the word is used by the Hellenish Jewes to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure, and excludes not the material and secular. Sir, I know you are such a ‘curieux,’ and withal so diligent and inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you; and, therefore, it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heape. I hope ere long to have the honour to waite on you, and to see some parts and steps of your progression: and then if I see I can bring any thing to your building; though but hair and stickes, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readinesse to serve and to honour you, and to promote such a worke, than which, I thinke in the world, you could not have chosen a more apt and a more ingenious.

Sir, I doe really beare a share in your feares and your sorrowes for your deare boy. I doe and shall pray to God for him; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends, by these clouds to convey him and you to brighter graces, and more illustrious glories respectively; I dare not with too much passion speake against the so great good of a person that is so deare to me, and a child that is so deare to you. But I hope that God will doe what is best: and I humbly beg of him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather and season of the spring gives leave, I intend by God’s permission, to returne to England: and when I come to London with the first to waite on you, for whom I have so great regard, and from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, and in whom I know so much worthinesse is deposited.

“I am, most faithfully and cordially,

“Your very affectionate and obliged servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

Taylor’s visit to London had, it is supposed, no further design than the last revision of his “Ductor Dubitantium,” then in the press: the thoughtful reader will easily conjecture a variety of inducements common to every man under similar circumstances, and from which we cannot see the necessity of assuming Taylor to have been altogether

exempt. Besides, the natural desire which a man of letters, and a man of many strong affections, must ever feel to visit the centre of literary resort, and the scene of many ties of regard and respect: the moment was pregnant with vast interest in every way for a known loyalist of his reputation, and old connexion with the court. His journey, says Heber, "was as well-timed as if he was in the secret of Monk's intentions." Of these intentions a general surmise pervaded the kingdom, and was, as sometimes occurs, more lively in places more remote from the centre. The people formed opinions from their earnest wishes, and from a common feeling of the tendency of events not beyond the reach of popular common sense—while they were unimpressed by several expedients with which Monk disguised his intentions from those who might be supposed to watch him most narrowly. It is thus that those who are nearest and most concerned are often the last to divine what is to come.

On the 24th April, 1660, the day before the meeting of that parliament which, in a few days, restored the kingdom, there was a meeting of the loyalists of London and its environs, who issued a declaration of the sentiments expressive of their confidence in Monk. Among the signatures to this declaration, was that of Jeremy Taylor. He was thus placed in the most advantageous point of view before the king and his advisers: and with pretensions to notice not exceeded by those of any other member of his profession; the splendour of his reputation both as a preacher and writer; the exalted worth of his character; his signal piety; the devotion with which he had served the late king, and the persecutions he had suffered in consequence of his well approved loyalty, were all matters too notorious to be overlooked; nor had the moment yet arrived when Charles, with the proverbial ingratitude of princes, felt privileged to overlook past merits. The shortlived ebullition of royal gratitude lasted long enough for the exaltation of Taylor; to whose claims we should have added one the most likely to be serviceable, that he had gained the respect and approbation even of his enemies. A motive of a different kind, though not less a tribute to his worth, is thought by Heber or some of his authorities, to have influenced the generosity of Charles—he was as anxious to remove the christian moralist, as Cromwell to remove the loyalist: if so, he could not have fallen upon a better expedient, than to improve upon the Protector's example and send the subject whose virtues were sufficient to overawe an usurped throne, and a licentious court, to Ireland. How far the dedication of his great work may have had its share is little worth computing, as it is morally improbable that either Charles, or any one about him, ever spent a second thought on the matter; and finally, to say what we think, we presume that the only moving influence was the first impulse of the restored monarch to give satisfaction to those whose office of restorers was not quite concluded before Taylor's appointment to the Bishoprick of Down and Connor. This took place on the 6th August, 1650, a little more than two months from the king's arrival, when he was nominated by the privy seal, and immediately after by the influence of the Duke of Ormonde elected vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin.

This appointment was not unsatisfactory to Taylor, whose affections

had already been strongly called forth to Ireland and its people, whom he loved, and who returned his regard: there he had passed the most calm and settled years of his life—his family was already there and like himself won to the place. His promotion was still not unattended with a host of disadvantages and difficulties; the Irish church was yet in a state of disorganization; its revenues dilapidated and its order and discipline dissolved and disarrayed. The state of the university was no less ruinous: the Cromwellian government had both seized upon its estates, of which large portions had been alienated, and obtruded unfit persons into its fellowship, by arbitrary appointments or irregular elections. There was at the time of Taylor's appointment, not one fellow or scholar who had been legally elected. Taylor proposed, as the only practicable course under such circumstances, that he, the archbishop of Dublin, and the new provost appointed by the crown, should be empowered to elect seven senior fellows. The Marquess of Ormonde, however, was reluctant to suffer a power which he considered to be placed in his own hands, to devolve to any other authority; but still considering Taylor's proposal as substantially the more expedient procedure, he desired that he and the provost would recommend five persons, who might be appointed by himself, as minister of the crown in Ireland. Such was the course adopted; it presented an opportunity to Taylor of providing for his friend Dr Sterne. This person was in fact incapacitated by marriage as the statutes then stood: but Taylor pleaded for him the difficulty of finding persons qualified by their learning to fill such a station. Thus he had the satisfaction of obtaining for his friend a station of honourable independence suited to his tastes and acquirements. By the statement of Carte, Sterne appears to have been connected with the university: he was living in a house which belonged to it, and was largely acquainted with its constitution and affairs, so that Taylor was justified in the representation, that his experience was indispensable for their purpose. The other appointments were Joshua Cowley, Richard Singard, William Vincent, and Patrick Sheridan: these appointments formed the nucleus for the restoration of our university. The chancellor could in virtue of his office give them the necessary degrees; but their power as a legal corporation to exercise an ownership over the college estate could only come from the crown. This was, however, quickly arranged, and it only remained to re-establish and complete the statutes and discipline of the university. This weighty task was committed to the hands of Taylor, who probably availed himself largely of the experience of his friend Dr Sterne. He collected, arranged, and revised the statutes left incomplete by Bedell, and settled the forms and the course of studies and lectures; thus, says Bishop Heber, "laying the basis of that distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since attained."

In his diocese the labours of Taylor were far more arduous. There he was encountered by obstacles sufficient to neutralize ordinary effort, ability, or virtue. These obstacles we have already had to dwell upon, and shall not therefore return to them here. Suffice it to say, that the diffusion of puritanism the known effect of the recent convulsions, prevailed most in the diocese of Down. The episcopal

clergy had been swept away, and their places supplied from the ranks of those dissenters, who while they differed in forms, agreed in doctrine with the protestant church. But as Heber justly remarks, their animosity appeared to be great in proportion to the minuteness of the essential causes of disagreement: and it was by slow degrees that the patient and charitable deportment, the exemplary life and able conduct of the bishop succeeded in gaining over the opinion of the laity to his side. They witnessed his exertions to soften by candour and kindness, the hostility by which his first advances were opposed: they justly appreciated the rejection of his invitations to settle by conference the points of disagreement. In reply to all his kindness, his patience, his liberality, eloquence and laborious exertion, the pulpits of his diocese resounded with denunciation and defiance: the preachers even carried their hostility so far as to enter into a compact among themselves "to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons." Such virulence, without any proportioned occasion, could not stand the test of that common sense, which in ordinary times prevails in the reasonable portion of society: and at length the nobility and gentry of the united dioceses came over to the bishop. And even upon the clergy themselves such was the influence of his character and conduct, and so well directed his efforts, that the same effect was produced, though more slowly: so that when the act of uniformity was soon after passed, the greater number were found to be exempt from any consequence of its operation.

It was not only by his wise and christian conduct in the discharge of his episcopal duties, that Taylor displayed the combined wisdom and moderation of temper and spirit which composed his character. He had been appointed in this critical juncture of restoration and reaction, to preach before the two houses of parliament; and availed himself of the occasion to inculcate sentiments of mercy and moderation where they were most wanting: while at the same time he reproved the captious and violent spirit of dissent which appeared to menace the existence of christianity itself, in a country in which every christian grace seemed to have been parched and blasted, by the long prevalent rancour of spiritual contention. He pointed out in forcible terms, the inconsistency of those who were zealous even to blood for forms, costumes, and phrases; while they seemed forgetful of christian holiness and charity, and substituted the gall and wormwood of human hate, for that love by which the followers of their master were to be known. In consistence with such exhortations he set before his auditors the wide-spreading calamities and sufferings which must needs follow on the execution of the then impending confiscations. He cautioned them against being biassed by interest, or by the thoughts of revenge, or the love of spoil, or by prejudice or pretended zeal,—or being warped from justice, by the sense of supposed national interests, or by the pretences of different religion. By an affecting image, he reminded them of the inconsistency of human affections and sympathies, and recalled their feelings to the truth. "If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave, a little before her intended marriage, an infant die before the birth of reason, nature has taught us to pay a tributary tear. Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which, though they

sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must indeed be as just as the laws,—and you must be as merciful as your religion—and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount—do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy!”

Under the pressure of such trying difficulties which demanded so largely the exertion of his thoughts and the devotion of his time, there must needs have been comparatively little time for the pursuits of literature: the following letter adverts to his writings during this interval.

John Evelyn, Esq.

“Deare Sir,—

“Your own worthiness and the obligations you have so passed upon me, have imprinted in me so great a value and kindness to your person, that I thinke myself not a little concerned in your selfe, and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shall we expect your ‘Terrestrial Paradise,’ your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your own kind hand, and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language, and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent (an) idea; for as a father in his son’s face, so is a man’s soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publike concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful employment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the Bookseller) hath two sermons, and a little collection of rules for my clergy, which had been presented to you if I had thought (them) fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

“Deare Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his.

“I am,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate friend,

“JEREM. DUNENSIS.”

This letter, we are informed by Heber, is the last which has been discovered of the correspondence between these two eminent persons, which had been continued so many years, and which is so honourable a testimony to both. It is supposed by the bishop to have first slackened on the part of Evelyn; but we think it unnecessary to assume on this ground any diminution of regard. Such fallings off are unhappily too frequent a result of human affections, and we cordially subscribe to the just and eloquent reflection of Heber, on the proof thus afforded: "how vain is that life, when even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay," &c. But, though this sad condition of our state must be admitted for a common truth, yet we are inclined to make a favourable exception for the nobler, and, above all, the holier spirits, whose paths in life are to be traced throughout in deeds of charity, and in the exercise of the best affections. The growing selfishness of human pursuits soon corrupts and withers the youthful affections, by which it is moderated for a few years; and having gained the supremacy, ejects all rival regards, and makes a sad cold void of the heart. But there is a far more obvious and honourable view of that estrangement, which so often occurs between the noblest friends: as life advances, its cares and duties thicken upon our paths with a strength proportioned to that of the man; while our powers and energies, from the moment of the highest pressure, or mostly sooner, begin, with an accelerating rapidity, to decline. Engagements multiply, and languor increases; while the fervid impulse of youthful passions ceases to administer its fuel. The difficulties of letter-writing will thus ever be found to present a serious obstacle to the prolongation of intercourse between the most tried friends; for, unless where there is a natural predisposition to epistolary garrulity, the mere want of matter, and the energy of spirit which moves to thinking and language, will be found sufficient reason for procrastination, which must soon necessarily amount to cessation. Before they arrive at the maturity of experience, wise men have learned the emptiness of human speculations, and the narrow limit of their faculties: experience has made common the trite iterations of life, and thrown the vail of impenetrable darkness over the unfathomed vastitudes beyond it. The anxious confidences of hope and fear have departed; there is no impulse to communicate the "weariness" of age. Such is the general tendency, which in every special case has some peculiar cause of increase or diminution.

In the same year, Taylor had to sustain a heavy affliction, in the loss of the only surviving son of his second marriage, who was buried at Lisburn, 10th March, 1661. Little can be ascertained concerning his private history during this interval of his life; and we can do no more than mention the few incidents which have escaped oblivion. He rebuilt the choir of his cathedral church of Dromore at his own expense, and his wife contributed the communion plate. He also at the same time invited over George Rust, fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, with a promise of the deanery of Connor, then expected to become soon vacant. He continued to reside at Portnmore, where he preserved his close intimacy with the Conway family, and rendered himself beloved by the people of all ranks through the surrounding district, by

his benevolence and the ready kindness of his charity, and the affability of his address and conversation. Heber observes, that the only particulars which can be gleaned of his life in this place are due to his connexion with a ghost story, which has found its way into the records of human superstition. It is related that, in the year 1662, on the eve of Michaelmas day, a spirit appeared to one Francis Taverne, a servant of lord Donegal, on horseback and dressed in a white coat, and made certain disclosures to him for the purpose of recovering the rights of an orphan son, who had been fraudulently or wrongfully deprived by his mother's second husband. This curious tale may be found in the fullest detail in the notes to Heber's life of Taylor. We should willingly extract it here, but from the necessity which we feel to avoid protracting this memoir with stories, of which there is a full abundance to be found in numerous popular works. It would be still more in character with the plan on which these memoirs are written, to dwell on the curious moral and intellectual phenomena connected with this class of traditions; their early prevalence in human history; the remarkable analogy which seems to pervade them, so as to offer something like that traceable law of occurrence which is the usual indication of some causal principle; and, finally, to point out the errors in reasoning on either side, to which the credulous and incredulous classes of mankind, standing at the opposite extremes of error, are led by their several prejudices and prepossessions. For this end, we shall, indeed, be enabled to avail ourselves of a better occasion, though on a different topic.

It was remarked, with some bitterness, that Taylor took a part in this affair, which seemed to indicate that he did not quite discredit the story. But it is evident that no such inference could be drawn from any course pursued by one, who may have felt it advisable to propose the tests best adapted for the exposure of a fraud, to those who might be more easily deceived. Heber observes, and shows that his writings afford strong ground for an opposite inference. But we do not think the point of any moment. Taylor clearly exhibits his disbelief, by the use of arguments, which, like all those we have ever met, are not very conclusive. It is unfortunately an old pervading error of human reason, to consider all questions as within its cognizance, and in default of satisfactory proofs or disproofs, to consider it legitimate to apply the nearest that can be found; and overlook the sure law, that the conclusion, on either side, cannot be more certain than the premises.

There is a question of more importance, connected with a sermon which Taylor preached this year before the university, in which he has set his notions of toleration on a most clear and just ground. According to this view, the just limit of toleration is to be found in the just conservation of social interests: in any society, whether lay or ecclesiastical, the first right is that of self-preservation, without which neither churches nor states can stand. Those, therefore, who hold tenets practically inconsistent with the body politic or ecclesiastical, cannot be entertained as constituent members of that body. Such appears to be the inexpugnable ground on which Taylor took his stand, equally remote from those who are governed by sectarian feelings and revolutionary licence. Heber quotes two passages, one from

the "Liberty of Prophesying," and the other from the sermon here noticed, to show the consistency of his views at the several periods.

In 1663, Taylor published "A Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation," which he dedicated to the duke of Ormonde—three sermons preached at Christ Church, Dublin, and the funeral sermon on the death of primate Bramhall, "full," says Heber, "of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen."

He was also at the same time engaged on the last work which he lived to publish, the "Dissuasive from Popery," a work undertaken at the desire of the Irish bishops. Much success from such efforts to enlighten the poor Irish was not to be hoped; and Taylor, who undertook the task with some reluctance, was not sanguine in his expectations. He had the sagacity to perceive that truths so obvious to all unprejudiced minds, and prejudices which were identified with political distinctions, and with the national feelings to which such distinctions gave birth and permanency, were not to be reduced by reason. He also perceived the hopelessness of such a reliance, in the peculiar situation of the people, when the only provision for their instruction was in a language of which they were then totally ignorant. And thus, while their pride and affections were bruised and outraged by a policy of which they could in some degree feel the consequences, they were left in total darkness as to the grounds, form, and worship, of the religion which was pressed upon them solely as the religion of a people they were taught to hate. Some efforts had been made to redeem our countrymen from this afflicting condition. Usher, Bedell, and afterwards Boyle, attempted, by promoting a knowledge of the Irish tongue among the clergy, or by translations of the Scripture and liturgy, to break down the wall which shut in the people within their enclosure of superstition and barbarism. But such efforts were more difficult than can at first sight be calculated; and Heber observes, with truth, that even to our own times the evil has been suffered to continue. The English government, he observes, preferred the policy of endeavouring to enforce the dissemination of the English language. Such an object we consider of the utmost importance to the civilization of the country; but we think it a fatal truth, and a fundamental error in the policy of the English government, then and at all times, to adopt practically the false principle, that it is the part of human policy to overlook altogether the spiritual interests of the country. When we admit the nice limits and exceeding difficulties attendant on the due consideration of those interests, under many combinations of circumstances, it is not with the least admission of any qualification of this important truth. The policy of governments, when not (as in modern times) viewed as a shallow game, within the comprehension of any order of ignorance, is, of all branches of human knowledge, the most abounding with difficulties and complications, which task to the utmost, and often defy, the best qualities of the human mind, whether moral or intellectual. Had not the English government been ever more earnest to reduce the Irish people to a low state of subjection than to make them prosperous and

bring them to God, both objects had been long since attained. We must however add, what could not be as fully known to Bishop Heber, the knowledge of the English tongue is widely prevalent among the Irish peasantry. We may even add, that under the influence of later events, and the strenuous efforts which have been long making by religious societies and individuals for their instruction, the real mind and spirit of the Irish people has within recent years undergone a vast, but silent, and, therefore, yet unknown change—a change, indeed, not yet apprehended by themselves. Of this we shall take occasion to speak more fully and explicitly hereafter. But, reverting here to Taylor and his time, he justly remarks on the same topic—"The Roman religion is here among us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living—a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be *populus unius labii*—a people of one language, and unmingled with others," &c.

After a life signalized by valuable labours, by christian talents, and graces of the highest order, shown as remarkably in sufferings, privations, and sad bereavements, as in prosperity; and after a career no less exemplary by the humbler, but not less acceptable, lessons of humility, patience, and charity, than by the faithful discharge of the duties of a high and important station,—Bishop Taylor died on the 13th August, 1667, in the 55th year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were interred under the communion table in the cathedral church of Dromore. It is mentioned by Heber, that they were afterwards disturbed, to make room for those of other bishops; but Bishop Mant, on satisfactory grounds, clearly shows the statement to be quite erroneous.* More founded was the complaint that there existed no monument to mark the last abode of so much worth and genius, in a church on which Taylor himself had expended large sums for its repair and improvement. Bishop Percy had designed to repair this disgraceful want, but was prevented by the rapid increase of bodily infirmity and decay. We are however enabled to add, on the authority of Bishop Mant, a successor in the same diocese, that this reproach "has been removed by the clergy of the united diocese of Down and Connor, who, in the year 1727, placed in the cathedral church of Lisburn, a white marble tablet commemorative of the most renowned bishop of the see, appropriately decorated on each side by a crosier, and above by a sarcophagus, on which is laid the Holy Bible, surmounted by a mitre—indicating his principle and rule of action by the Latin motto, applied to that purpose by himself in his lifetime," &c. This motto is as follows:—

Non magna loquimur sed vivimus;
Nihil opinionis gratia, omnia conscientię faciam.

After which there follows a longer English inscription, expressive of the sense entertained by the inscribers of Taylor's character. This inscription is worthy of extraction here, both for its discriminate truth and the eloquence of its composition, which will lose nothing by our economy of space, in omitting the customary arrangement of such in-

* History of the Irish Church, p. 673, vol. I.

scriptions. There is a good engraving of the monument itself in Bishop Mant's work, from which we transcribe these lines:—

“Not to perpetuate the memory of one whose works will be his most enduring memorial, but that there may not be wanting a public testimony to his memory in the diocese which derives honour from his superintendence, this tablet is inscribed with the name of JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., who, on the restoration in MDCLX of the British church and monarchy, in the fall of which he had partaken, having been promoted to the bishopric of Down and Connor, and having presided for seven years in that see, as also over the adjoining diocese of Dromore, which was soon after intrusted to his care, on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry, died at Lisburn, August 13, MDCLXVII, in the 55th year of his age; leaving behind him a renown second to that of none of the illustrious sons whom the Anglican church, rich in worthies, has brought forth. As a bishop, distinguished for munificence and vigilance truly episcopal; as a theologian, for piety the most ardent, learning the most extensive, and eloquence inimitable; in his writings, a persuasive guide to earnestness of devotion, uprightness of practice, and christian forbearance and toleration; a powerful assertor of episcopal government and liturgical worship, and an able expositor of the errors of the Romish church; in his manners, a pattern of his own rules of Holy Living and Holy Dying; and a follower of the great Exemplar of Sanctity, as portrayed by him in the person of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

“Reader, though it fall not to thy lot to attain the intellectual excellence of this master in Israel, thou mayest rival him in that which was the highest scope even of his ambition, an honest conscience and a christian life.

“This tablet was inscribed by the bishop and clergy of Down and Connor, in the year of our Lord 1727.”

A funeral sermon preached by his chaplain and successor, Rust, affords a just and clear view of the life, character, and genius of this extraordinary man. It is difficult, if not impossible, for human praise to afford any just reflection of that piety and those exalted christian graces, which can only be truly estimated in the balance of eternal wisdom. Goodness, the fruit of divine grace, demands no profound intellectual powers to ripen or sustain it, nor is it adequately to be described in those gaudy tints which decorate the painted show of earthly vanities; but Taylor's genius was itself cast in a spiritual mould, and all his splendid and varied gifts were harmonized together, and exalted, by the one pervading and characteristic spirit. The angel temper seemed, for once at least, infused into a frame endowed with angelic capacities—such as not often are found separately, far more rarely together, in the composition of human character. A deep and spacious intellect, rapid, apprehensive, and vigorous—a fancy, alert, profuse, and ready—an imagination which seemed to wield and bring together at will, the world of life, form, and circumstance: with

these, the exhaustless command of all the resources and sympathies of taste, passion, and sentiment, and the copious and well-tuned elocution which is but a result of such endowments. In some, a combination of such powers might have its sphere in some immortal epic or dramatic work; in others, as circumstances led, they might be lost in the fruitless mazes of metaphysical speculation; but in him, they were aptly framed together by the one ever-presiding control of a pure and holy spirit. It would be difficult to find a succession of literary productions indicating throughout so much vivacity of impulse, and exuberance of fancy, with so uniform a sobriety of reason and steadiness of purpose. Something of all this seems to have been equally manifested in the entire of his conduct, manner, and deportment. It might indeed be anticipated, but the sermon of Rust contains many expressions of it. The following seems to be the language of lively rhetorical exaggeration, but is, doubtless, merely descriptive:—"To sum up all, this great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for a university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his clergy whom he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But alas! our Father! our Father! the horses of Israel and the chariots thereof! he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven," &c. By the way—from this specimen of a discourse, which offers no bad imitation of Taylor's own style, some small fragment of the orator's mantle must have fallen to his successor. We select some further passages, which may serve to give more precise ideas of this illustrious christian scholar than the above strain, which, though far from being inappropriate, yet carries the form of rhetorical enumeration into some strangely assorted combinations. "Nature," says Bishop Rust, "had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuousness; and there was so much soul and fineness in his wit, and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words; and his very tone and cadences were unusually musical." After some further commemoration of these and other striking and great endowments, the bishop proceeds: "To these advantages of nature, and excellence of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were few kinds of learning but he was a *mystes* and a great master in them. He was an excellent humanist, and highly versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly digested all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian."

Among other accomplishments of learning, Rust mentions his

thorough acquaintance with "the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church." After dwelling on the eminence of his Christian attainments, and that exemplary devotion which rendered all other distinctions comparatively nothing in his own estimation, the orator proceeds: "He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts, learning, and eminence of place, he had nothing in him of pride and honour, but was courteous, affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, even to the impertinences of the meanest people. His humility was coupled with extraordinary piety; and I believe he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life."* His charity is inferred from the largeness of his income, compared with the little left to his family. On this it is mentioned by Ware, that having saved moderate portions for his daughters, he distributed all the rest to the poor.

Of the writings of Taylor we have made as much mention as our space admits. The subjects of many of the controversies in which he took an active part are such, in some cases, as to prescribe silence in a work designed for many classes, while in others we have briefly recorded our opinion. On the general character of his eloquence there is not much to be added: it was such as might be inferred as the result of such a combination of moral and intellectual characters as we have described: it is, indeed, chiefly from his writings that we have been enabled to reason out the features of his mind; and the peculiarities of his style must nearly suggest the repetition of the same language which we have used or extracted. The copious and somewhat exuberant play of allusion which appears to seize on every incident, or element of theory, or fancy, or recorded fact, or saying, which comes even remotely within reach of his line of march, is such as to display a boundless expansion of mind, and a spacious grasp of knowledge, as well as to indicate the warmth and intensity of spirit, which could excite so much activity of the whole mind. He seems to be involved in the peculiar atmosphere of his subject, and to write with a wholeness and sincerity of heart, not often attained by the orator or author. In most compositions, it is not easy for the experienced and critical reader to avoid the impression constantly produced by the perception of the artifices of style, and the too obvious exposure of the resources of art. There is nothing of this unpleasant qualification in the eloquence of Taylor: for, although he seems to disport with facility in the most striking and splendid, harmonious and most dexterous dispositions of language, yet these appear to be but the dictate of instinctive taste, and a portion of the rolling torrent of allusions, comparisons, and arguments, which seem unselected and unsought, and rather the result of impulse than volition. Such a character of style, so curiously adapted to the form of the intellect in which it had its origin, was, it should here be recollected, in a great degree favoured by the taste of Taylor's age,—a consideration necessary to redeem it from the charge of defects and excesses which are not tolerated in our more precise and succinct method of composi-

* Rust's Discourse, quoted here from Mr Bonney.

tion. To this point we shall have an opportunity of reverting, with the fulness which it demands: the precise trim of modern composition which rejects superfluity, and requires the utmost nicety of distinction, the greatest exactness of application, and the most orderly array in the succession of thoughts, was then unconceived. The characteristic effort, by which the modern is compelled to govern and restrain the first cloud of conception which rushes upon the intellect, to weigh in a scrupulous balance, and to reject with rigid control all that too remotely, too slightly, or superfluously supports his main design, had then no existence in the rhetoric of the English tongue. There seemed no reason why the whole torrent of suggestion should not be admitted in those elastic sentences, and immeasurable periods, in which it was the pride and delight of eloquent speakers and writers, to sport freely, and tumble like leviathan in the vasty deep. To scatter free and liberal flowers, and pour forth the fulness of extensive reading, was in some degree also the criterion of genius: and though now rejected for finer tests, it then produced a vast and powerful effect not now to be measured without much reflection. Though a false analogy, or a grotesque allusion, may now excite a smile, it was then received without question; in part because it appealed to less disciplined imaginations, and partly because it displayed power, and partly because it gratified the taste. If it contained no argument, it was at least a striking manner of expressing what the argument was: and was not, as would be likely to happen now, a mere substitution. We have the more dwelt on this consideration as Taylor's writings are recently published in forms which give them a chance of again attracting the public. Many may be offended prematurely by peculiarities which are become faults, and conclude wrongfully, to the discredit of one of the most just and acute writers of our language: while still more may fall into an error, far more to be lamented, and mistake those faults for excellencies; an error the more likely, because it is among those readers who are most likely to be attracted by the spirit of Taylor, that many corruptions of language are yearly springing up, to the great diminution of their influence on society.

We mentioned the death of one of Taylor's sons to have occurred a little before his own: another, the last who remained, died soon after in England. His widow survived many years. He left three daughters: of whom the second, Mary, was married to Dr Francis Marsh, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. The third, Joanna, married a Mr Harrison, of Maraleve, &c. Heber gives some interesting accounts of their descendants.

So far as any judgment can be formed from his numerous portraits, Taylor appears to have been "above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance."* There is yet an original portrait of him in All Souls' College, presented by Mrs Wray, of Ann's Vale, near Rosstrevor.

* Heber.

Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin.

BORN A.D. 1627.—DIED A.D. 1693.

FRANCIS MARSH, the subject of the present memoir, was a native of Gloucestershire, and was early distinguished for his classical attainments. He was elected a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he remained during the protectorate, seeking neither for employment or promotion from a government to whose views he was politically and conscientiously opposed. Among the loyalists, however, his talents, virtues, and learning, were duly appreciated; and, on the restoration, he had the distinguished honour of being selected and sought for by Jeremy Taylor, on his promotion to the see of Down and Connor, who, after admitting him successively into deacon's and priest's orders, presented him to the deanery of that diocese. In the following year, through the instrumentality of the lord Chancellor Hyde, he was advanced to the deanery of Armagh, with which was combined the archdeaconry of Dromore. These offices he held until 1667, when he was promoted to the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. In about five years from this period, he was translated to those of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1681, he was advanced to the dignity of archbishop of Dublin. These high and rapidly succeeding promotions were alluded to by the bishop of Meath, when preaching his funeral sermon, as tests of his merit, for he says, "this archbishop has been rather courted by preferments, than a solicitor of them, which ought therefore to give a due value and esteem to his memory and reputation." It is, however, fair to state, that he brings forward less questionable grounds for praise, as he not only speaks of his great learning, but adds, that he was "affable, mild, grave, and of an unblamable life." Having been appointed treasurer to St Patrick's, he took the oath of canonical obedience to the dean, but he subsequently resigned this office in favour of his son. After the accession of James, and the unfortunate substitution of Tyrconnel for Clarendon, in the government of Ireland, the latter resigned the sword of state to the new viceroy, in the archbishop's palace, where the council were assembled, and where he delivered an impressive and affecting speech, exhorting him to adopt the same course of impartial justice towards protestants, that he had himself practised towards the opposite party: this, his previous conduct, while lieutenant-general, made more than unlikely, and "never was a sword washed with so many tears as this," which Clarendon laid down. The worst fears of the protestants were quickly realized, and the reign of terror, of injustice, and of blood, which followed, obliged all of any eminence or virtue, to fly a country where these very qualities and attainments made them only the more prominently obnoxious, to oppression or to death. The archbishop accordingly removed with his wife and family to England, and nominated the celebrated Dr William King to act as his commissary in his absence, and to superintend and protect the interests of that diocese, over which he was subsequently destined to rule. King, probably

fearing that his unaided efforts would be insufficient to oppose the innovations, and unjust interference of the popular party, declined the appointment, on the ground of its not having been legally executed. It was accordingly arranged that the chapters should elect Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, manager and superintendent of the diocese, in the arduous duties of which office, he was ably assisted by Dr King.

On the abdication of James, the archbishop returned to Dublin, and at his own expense repaired, enlarged, and beautified the palace of St Sepulchre's. He did not however live long to enjoy the happy period that succeeded, when each could again "sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree," but, being attacked by apoplexy, died in 1693, and was buried in Christ's church, his funeral sermon being preached, as before mentioned, by the bishop of Meath. The vacant archbishopric was offered to Dr Tenison, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury, but some obstacles arising to this appointment, it was given in the year following to Dr Narcissus Marsh, a man of great prudence and learning, and though of the same name, apparently no relative to his predecessor.

Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin.

BORN A. D. 1638.—DIED A. D. 1713.

THE family of Dr Narcissus Marsh was ancient, and of Saxon origin; and maternally he was descended from the Colburns of Dorsetshire. He was born at Hannington, near Highworth in Wiltshire, in December 1638, at which town he was educated, and removed from thence to Oxford in 1654. After taking the degrees of Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Divinity, he took that of Dr of Divinity in 1671; and seven years after took the same degree in Dublin college. He was appointed chaplain to the bishop of Exeter, and also subsequently became chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, to which appointment many of his future preferments may be traced. He was early distinguished as a person of learning and sound understanding, and was selected by the duke of Ormonde, when chancellor of Oxford, as principal of St Alban's hall; and being a very accomplished preacher, he was generally chosen on public occasions to preach anniversary sermons, especially such as in those times required tact and judgment. In 1678 he was nominated by the duke to the provostship of Dublin college, which office he held for four years, and resigned it on being promoted to the bishopric of Ferns, where he lived in undisturbed retirement; "repairing churches, planting curates where wanting, and doing what good he could," until king James ascended the throne. His own very interesting manuscript diary, which is preserved in the library which he subsequently founded in Dublin, and which will cause his name to be long honoured and remembered, gives the details of his persecutions, vicissitudes, and escapes, at this period; and is also a painful record of the pecuniary aids he gratefully enumerates as having received in his flight, difficulties, and destitution. His house was beset at midnight by a party of

soldiers, from whom he with difficulty escaped; and having reached Dublin, obtained shelter from the provost, until he in his turn was compelled to fly with his family—when not having money to procure himself the common necessities of life, and being threatened with destruction if he attempted to return to his diocese, he fled to London, where he says, “I was kindly received by the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London and others; but especially by the bishop of St Asaph, who bestowed on me the parish of Gretford for my support under that calamity; and by the bishop of Salisbury, Dr Burnet, who earnestly invited me several times to be at his house until I might return to Ireland. The bishop of Lincoln also presented me with five guineas. The Lord remember them all for their kindness to the distressed.” During his stay in London, notwithstanding all his own anxieties and difficulties, he exerted himself actively and successfully for his suffering brethren, who had to fly from the bloody persecution then raging in Ireland, and who were less fortunate, being unknown and unprotected. After spending some months in London, he received an invitation from his old friend, Dr Bury, rector of Exeter college, of which he had been himself a probationer fellow. He remained with him for nine months, during which time he says he was “furnished with all necessities both by the Doctor and his wife, and by Mrs Guise, their daughter;” and when he was at length leaving these faithful friends, Mrs Bury offered him twenty guineas, which he says he refused, as “having no present occasion,” the bishop of London having just sent him the same sum.

Upon the happy event of the abdication of king James, the bishop returned to Ireland, and was shortly afterwards promoted to the archbishopric of Cashel. In his new character of metropolitan, he consecrated Dr Nathaniel Foy, bishop of Waterford,—he being one of those dignitaries who had incurred both risk, contumely, and imprisonment, for his firm and uncompromising adherence to the protestant faith; and in the archbishop’s diary, he expresses his “great hopes,” which were ultimately realized, that this newly consecrated prelate might be “made an instrument of God’s great glory.” In his first visitation sermon, this truly christian archbishop pressed upon his clergy their plain and practical duties, charging them in those dark and unawakened times, not to wait until they were formally summoned by the sick and dying, but to seek for and anticipate such calls: for he adds, “besides the necessity of doing so in that extreme exigence for the direction of a parting soul in the right way to heaven, how incongruous is it that the sick persons should put you in mind of your duty; whereas you ought to put them in mind of theirs.” He further says, “I shall only add hereto, that you should be very cautious how you behave yourselves towards men on their death-beds; that you neither run them into despair, that you do not send some to hell with false hopes, and let others go to heaven without any.”

In 1694, he was advanced to the see of Dublin, and in his diary he thus notices this event.

“April 20. The news came to Cork, while I was there (on his triennial visitation), that their majesties were pleased to declare I should be translated to the see of Dublin; and accordingly the king’s

letter was sent over for that purpose. and all this without my knowledge, or any means used by me for obtaining it. O Lord, thy ways are wonderful: and as this is thy sole doing, so I beseech thee to grant me sufficient assistance of thy Holy Spirit, to enable me to perform the work which thou hast assigned me. Amen."

He was accordingly enthroned in St Patrick's cathedral the following month, and applied himself, with conscientious earnestness, to the performance of the more extended duties and responsibilities which then devolved upon him. He directed his clergy scrupulously to attend to the instruction of the young, and enlarged upon and enforced their various practical duties, with the same zeal and primitive simplicity he had done at Cashel. His own efforts were laboriously and judiciously directed to the correction of abuses on a large scale; and the extreme age of the primate, incapacitating him from giving any assistance in the affairs of the church made the labour more oppressive. This is alluded to in a letter quoted by Bishop Mant, from a correspondence between him and Dr J. Smith, preserved in the Bodleian library, of which the following are extracts:—

"We having parliaments but seldom in Ireland, it might be supposed that here is occasion for many acts to be passed when we do meet; all which are prepared in this council, and sent to that in England before they can be brought into our parliament to be passed into laws; and my lord primate being above eighty-seven years old, and almost deprived of his sight and hearing, you cannot imagine but the weight of business to prepare bills to be passed into acts of parliament; for the church which nobody but churchmen will mind, hath lain and still doth lie heavy upon me; insomuch that for some months past I have not been able to command almost a minute's time from many bills prepared for the good of our church; whereof some are already passed, and the others I hope will suddenly be passed into laws, for the better establishment of this poor distressed church." In another letter, he states that he is occupied from ten to eleven hours every day, preparing in conjunction with some other bishops and privy councillors, those bills for parliament; and in a third, dated May 4th, 1700, about a year after holding the office of lord justice, he says, "it must be a great goodness in you to pardon my neglects, which I do still confess, promise amendment, and then do worse. But all arises from an unhappy circumstance that I do usually labour under. Worldly business is that which above all things I do hate; and that the more, because the affairs of the church, as things now stand, and during my lord primate's inability to act in his station, create me as much business as I can conveniently turn under. When I was dismissed last summer from the charge of the government, I hoped to be ever hereafter free from things of that nature. But Providence disposed of me out of one trouble into another; for our lord chancellor was no sooner summoned by the parliament in England, but I was appointed first commissioner for keeping the broad seal, which hath found me employment; that I hope will be over in a few weeks, that so I may be at some liberty to write to my friends."

Among his numerous efforts for the benefit of this country, there is one which must claim precedence of all the rest, not only from its last-

ing utility, but from the personal sacrifices that it involved. This was the building, endowing, and furnishing, a noble library for the express benefit of the public, in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace. The account of the origin, progress, and completion of this great design, along with the unexpected obstacles encountered and combated by the archbishop, are given with such interest and simplicity by his own pen, in the correspondence above alluded to, that we shall extract it as it stands, from Bishop Mant's work. Having applied to his friend Dr Thomas Smith, the great Oriental scholar and author of the Latin life of primate Usher, to recommend him some "choice books," he says, "and now, Sir, that you may know the better what sort of books will best fit me, I must declare to you a secret, which is this; that by the blessing of God I do design to leave all my Oriental manuscripts to the Bodleian library when I die; and for the rest of my books, I hope to dispose them thus:—

"The archbishop of Dublin's house, in Dublin, called St Sepulchre's, though it may well be called a palace for the stateliness of all the publicke rooms of reception, yet hath it no chapel nor library belonging to it, nor indeed any convenient room to hold an ordinary study of books, so that mine lay dispersed in three distant rooms. This consideration hath made me resolve to build both a chapel and library; which had been done by this time, if the title to the ground on which I am to build could have been cleared, which I hope will soon be done. The chapel is designed for the use of the archbishop's family; but the library for public use which will be of great use here, where there is no public library (that of the college being open only to the provost and fellows), and where the booksellers' shops are furnished with nothing but new trifles; so that neither the divines of the city, nor those that come to it about business, do know whither to go to spend an hour or two upon any occasion at study.

"In this library (if God shall enable me to go through with the work, in order to the building whereof I have laid by eight hundred pounds, which is the money that became due to me from the king whilst I was concerned in the government last summer), in this library, I say, my intentions are to lodge all my printed books when I die, having no relation to whom to leave them, that I think deserves such a favour.

"Sir, the design reacheth yet a little farther. I have now £600 worth of books lying ready in Dublin to be put into the library, as soon as it shall be built, which is the study of a learned gentleman that will give them freely, provided the king will settle upon him £200 per annum, out of the first-fruits of this kingdom, as a salary for being library-keeper (which he will attend), until I or my successor can bestow upon him the chancellorship or treasurership of St Patrick's in Dublin, on which are no cares, to be appropriated to that use for ever. The gentleman is Mr Bonhereau, who published *Origenes contra Celsum* in French, with learned notes, in Holland. He is a man as well qualified to be a library-keeper as any one I do know, being well skilled in critical learning, and one of great correspondence. The matter hath lain before the king for some time, and now that the parliaments are over, I hope we shall have a gracious

answer speedily,—my lord Galway being deeply concerned in it, because Mr Bonhereau is his secretary, and hath been so for many years.

“I have near £200 worth of books by me, that I would put into the library presently, were it built; and the rest when I die. And I hope if my lord Galway might continue in the government a little longer, to find a way by a removal, to get one of the fore-mentioned dignities for a library-keeper, without being chargeable to his majesty for anything but the first-fruits.”

About three years after, he writes thus to Dr Smith. “I have no news from this kingdom to requite you with, only that the library I have been for some time erecting for public use will, I hope, be finished by midsummer; which had been by Michaelmas, if Sir William Robinson, who is my architect, had not stayed so long in London the last year. The whole pile of building is ninety feet long, and will contain a greater quantity of books than I shall live to see put into it: and when the upper part, that is contrived like the cross part of the Bodleian library, shall be filled with books, then the lower part under it that is made like the upper, and is now made lodgings for a library-keeper, may be converted into a library also. The whole building will cost me about £2000 by the time it is finished, which I pray God enable me to do: for which also I desire your prayers.”

The next letter on the subject was written in the following year; and after his translation to Armagh; he says, “The structure being nearly finished, my next care must be to get it well furnished with such books as may render it useful to all sorts of persons; I am indeed earnestly pressed to purchase Dr Stillingfleet’s library, but it will cost £3000 before it can be brought over hither; and I fear that if it should come, it would not fully answer my design; because there must of necessity be many insignificant books in it. Wherefore, it being my design to furnish the small library that I have erected, which I conceive may be capable of receiving about 10,000 books of all sorts, with none but the most useful books in each faculty and science; my request to you is, that as opportunity will serve, you will yourself think and advise with your friends, what books in each faculty and science may be most proper to be put into a library, designed as mine is—as to divinity, civil and common law, medicine and anatomy, history, geography, mathematics, &c., and that you would draw up a catalogue of the authors, and their best editions. Classical authors are also not to be neglected.”

In a letter written two months after, he says, “I am very much solicited to purchase Dr Stillingfleet’s (late bishop of Worcester) books; for which purpose the catalogue is sent me. The collection is great; but, as far as I can yet discern, is on some subjects superfluous and redundant; on others, too deficient to form such a complete library. I desire your opinion of this collection if you have seen it, whose price I fear will exceed the strength of my purse at present, and that it might be better for me to purchase none but those books, and those by degrees, as I can best spare money.”

The archbishop, having notwithstanding at length purchased the library, writes thus to his friend:—

“I did not answer your last sooner, because I had then a prospect

of getting Dr Stillingfleet's library of books over hitherto very soon, of which I had a mind to give an account; which now, by God's blessing, are safely arrived; and I with some friends are very busy in looking them over and examining them. I am very well pleased with the purchase, there being very many excellent books amongst them, and most very well bound, and of the best editions; and I am the more so, because by this means I may ease you of a great part of the trouble I was putting upon you, of giving me an account of what books and editions of books you think proper for a library. But though the greatest part of my care is now over, yet the whole is not: for a library must be still increasing, as new books, or new and better editions of old ones, do come out. Besides, that many good books in some faculties and sciences are wanting. I therefore do still desire the continuance of your favour, in setting down such good books as you think fit for a library, as they occur to your mind."

To secure the perpetuity of this institution, the primate determined to have some bills prepared and passed through parliament for the purpose, but in doing so, met most unexpected and vexatious opposition from some of the members of his own profession;* notwithstanding this, he says, in a letter to Dr Smith, "It passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was very kindly and favourably received. Amongst other clauses, this statute declares the premises for ever discharged of and free from all manner of taxes already imposed, or thereafter to be imposed, by act of parliament, unless the same shall thereon be charged expressly and by name. In the mean time, the dissenting lords entered their protestation against it, with such reasons as the House of Lords thought to be very reflective on them, and therefore, at the next session immediately voted those dissenting lords should be sent prisoners to the castle, unless they would withdraw their reasons, which accordingly they did, and all was quiet.

"In the mean time, the House of Commons passed my bill, without any man's opposing it, or, as they say, *nemine contradicente*, and presently voted that a committee of eight of their members should be appointed, to give me the thanks of the house for my benefactions, which was accordingly done out of hand. The lords, knowing this, presently voted the same, and pitched upon the dissenting lords to do it, for their mortification. But only one of them being at the time in the house, a temporal lord was joined with him. * * *

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"By this you will perceive how difficult a matter it is for a man to do any kindness to the people of this country. If he will be a publick benefactor, he must resolve to fight his way through all opposition of it; it being a new and unheard-of thing here, that certainly hath some secret design in it to subvert the church, though they cannot tell what; and the reason of it is, "*Quia omnes, quæ sua sunt, quærent.*"

"This library, with the books, hath cost me near five thousand pounds Irish money; and I designed to expend so much more about it, as soon as God should enable me. But I confess this opposition has struck a

* Bishops of Killala, Ossory, Killaloe, and Raphoe, especially the two last.

great damp upon my spirits. I beg your prayers, that God would please to strengthen and encourage me in my former resolutions, without whose assistance, yea, and enlivening grace, I can do nothing more. Rev. Sir,—Thus far I had written near a month ago, and have laid by my letter to cool upon it thus long, and finding no exaggeration of the truth in what is before said, I now proceed to tell you, that since that time I have placed all bishop Stillingfleet's books in the said library, which I retained in my own house before the library was by act of parliament appropriate to publick use, and I do find that they do very near fill up all the space that is yet prepared in it for the reception of the books."

In the ensuing year, he again writes upon the same subject as follows:—

"Until this matter be settled, and an additional building be raised, or the present be carried on, as is designed, I fear that I shall not find room in it to place in it any more books, which does no more discourage me from prosecuting my design of rendering the library as beneficial to this kingdom as may be, than the opposition made to the bill hath done; which hath only made me more zealous in the business, since it hath received the general approbation. But I must beg your pardon, if I cannot consent to leaving any marks behind me of the opposition made to the passing of that bill, more than what of necessity must be entered on the journals of the House of Lords here. The opponents, some of them are worthy men:

* * * * *

Nescio quo fato, nec qua vertigine rapti, &c.

"I forgive them, and I pray God every man else may; at least nothing under my hand shall ever rise up against them." Amongst his many difficulties and discouragements, he had the gratification of receiving testimonies and congratulations upon the completion of his noble undertaking, from the best and highest in the land. The subjoined is from Archbishop King, and is of a previous date:—

"I understand with great satisfaction, that your Grace has concluded with Mr Stillingfleet for his father's library. 'Tis a noble gift to the church; and as it will perpetuate your Grace's memory here, so it will, I hope, be plentifully rewarded by our common Master. I could not on this occasion forbear expressing the sense I have of it, and rendering my thanks to God on behalf of your Grace, as well as acknowledgments to your Grace. I am further to assure your Grace that I am ready to join in an act of parliament to settle the library and gallery as we agreed, and I hope it will be ready to pass next session."

Both a librarian and a sub-librarian were appointed by the primate, who appropriated a charge of £250 per annum on certain lands in the county of Meath for the purpose of their endowment. He also directed, that the library, which then contained about 10,000 volumes, should remain open during the hours most suitable to the convenience of the citizens, and that all strangers should be freely admitted. About fifty years after, this library received a very important addition, by a bequest of valuable books and manuscripts from Dr Stearne, bishop of Clogher.

The primate now turned his active mind to the reform, and in many instances, remodelling of the diocese over which he was called upon to preside. At his own expense he repaired many of the deserted and dilapidated churches, and supplied them with proper ministers; and also purchased many alienated impropriations, and restored them to the church. The lamentable ignorance into which the Irish papists had at that time sunk, awakened the commiseration of many among the most zealous and conscientious of the Irish prelates, who forwarded a petition to the queen, through the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, that active and efficient means might be resorted to for their instruction and conversion. While this petition was under consideration, the primate and his clergy joined in a subscription for the purpose of maintaining two missionaries, to preach to the Roman Catholics in their native language; and, at the same time, through the exertions of Archbishop King, Mr Richardson, and others, the Scriptures were printed in Irish and disseminated.

In 1707, the primate was seized with an alarming illness, which he describes to his friend Dr Smith in the following manner:—"As to the present, a lazy indisposition seized me that day at dinner whereon my lord-lieutenant landed, which was June 24th, which rendered me unable to walk or stand without help. 'Twas a benumbness in my limbs, that is not yet quite worn off, nor can it be until I have liberty to ride and walk and stir about, which the business of parliament, convocation, and council, hath hitherto denied me, especially the council, which, since the recess of parliament, which is to meet again, September 20th, hath seldom sate, either itself or in a committee, less than eight or ten hours every day to prepare, adjust, and dispatch bills to the council in England for their approbation, that they may be returned hither in time enough to be passed in our parliament when it shall meet. This is our method. So that when I returned home at night, I have been still more inclined *ad dormiendum quam ad scribendum*. But God be thanked, my distemper, as the doctors tell me, is only the seurvies, not a touch of the palsy, as I at first apprehended. And the fore-mentioned business being now for a few days over, I have time to think of my friends and books."

From this period the health of the primate appears to have gradually declined, though his mental energies continued sound; and he continued to transact business almost to the close of his life, which did not terminate until 1713. Although in 1710 the duke of Ormonde told Swift, that "he was hardly able to sign a paper," when Swift answered, "he wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonths past."

On the 2d of November he was attacked by apoplexy, and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of St Patrick's, adjoining his library, where a stately white marble monument was erected, which has since been removed into the cathedral, and is placed at the south side of the west aisle: while a mural plate marks the spot in the church-yard where his mortal remains were laid. He never married, and he does not appear to have had any very near relatives. His charities were unbounded—the amount

of them being calculated at not less than £30,000. In Drogheda he built an alms-house for the reception of twelve widows of clergymen, and allowed to each of them £20 per annum. He also gave his aid and sanction to the missions in the East, and was himself a highly accomplished Oriental scholar. He excelled both in vocal and instrumental music, and understood thoroughly and scientifically the principles of harmony. He wrote an essay on sounds, with proposals for the improvement of acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, and on which Guido Grandi, a philosopher of Cremona, has largely commented. When provost, he published "*Institutiones Logicæ*," and also edited Philip de Trieu's "*Manuductio ad Logicam*," to which he added the original Greek text, and some notes on Gassendi's tract, *De Demonstratione*, printed at Oxford, 1678.

Anthony Dopping.

BORN A. D. 1643—DIED A. D. 1697.

THIS illustrious prelate was the son of a Mr Anthony Dopping, an Englishman. He was born in Dublin, 28th March, 1643, and educated in the free school of St Patrick's. There he was early distinguished for the quickness with which he learned; and so rapid was his progress, that he was enabled to enter the university of Dublin in 1656, being then in his 13th year. In the university, his advance was no less extraordinary, and he obtained the fellowship in his 19th year. As a fellow, he is said to have won general respect and regard in the university, for the zeal and ability with which he discharged the arduous duties of that high and responsible station, as well as for the ready kindness and affability which made his conduct and demeanor attractive to the undergraduates. In 1669 he was appointed minister of St Andrew's, and on the death of Jones, bishop of Kildare, in 1678, he was with universal approbation chosen his successor in that see. From this he was, in 1681, translated to Meath. He was at the same time made a privy counsellor, and vice-chancellor of the university.

We have already stated in some detail, and cannot now repeat the disastrous efforts of king James II. and his counsellors, to effect a revolution in England in favour of the church of Rome: as was to be expected, Ireland, in which their party was already formidable, and where the intrigues and arbitrary interpositions of government were less under the control of the protestant sense of the kingdom, was selected as the stage of action. For a time every engine of arbitrary power, and a policy that went to its mark with a violence of zeal irrespective of all considerations of truth, mercy, or equity, were let loose against the protestants of Ireland. We must here add, that in our detail of this execrable conspiracy, we have guarded against the hasty imputation of these deeds to the really respectable portions of our countrymen of the papal church. In such times, there ever was and

must be a ragged regiment of the mere mob of any people, of any country, or creed, who will be at the disposal of all who are with impunity allowed to raise the popular outcry of public disorder, rapine, and murder. Such a fact, inherent in human nature, conveys no reproach when fairly understood, save that which must fall on those who avail themselves of such an instrumentality for evil ends. We are here only concerned with the fact that, when the lord-deputy, Tyrconnel, put in motion every engine of power for the subversion of the church in Ireland, Dopping, with other privy counsellors, was dismissed, for the purpose of forming a council of the Romish persuasion.

The effect of such a course was soon felt through the kingdom, but more especially in Dublin, where tyranny and violence kept their headquarters, and all opposition was suppressed by terror. There it was unsafe for protestants to be in any way noticed, and their clergy, when found in the discharge of their spiritual functions, were treated with the most harsh contumelies and interruptions by the brutal soldiery who had received their orders for such conduct. The archbishop of Dublin, having become the subject of special persecution, was compelled to fly; and still, anxious for the faithful discharge of his duties, he appointed Dr King as his commissary. But some doubt arising as to the legality of the instrument by which he was appointed, King prevailed on the chapters of Christ church and Patrick's, to elect the bishop of Meath to the administration of the spiritualities. Dopping was thus brought forward into a post of dangerous responsibility; and never was such a post more worthily filled, or in a season of more trying adversity. Ably and courageously aided by Dr King, he exerted himself openly in the assertion of the rights and interests of the church; to protect its property; to enforce and preserve its ministerial offices and duties; and fill its churches with worthy and efficient pastors. In the parliament of 1689, he distinguished himself in his place by the courage and eloquence with which he denounced the outrages of king James' government: he also made several protests and petitions in favour of the persecuted protestants, their church, and clergy. In a word, his boldness and prompt zeal were at the time only tolerated in that destructive assembly, because, standing nearly alone, he could not offer any check to their proceedings, while his freedom seemed to give an appearance of fairness and liberality to their debates.

His noble courage and ability were indeed of no avail, though they probably obtained for him the involuntary respect of his opponents, as they won the regard and veneration of all just and honourable minds of every persuasion. King James, happily ejected from the kingdom, against the liberty and religion of which he had conspired with his enemies, came to exercise his duplicity and despotic temper in Ireland; and here, in no long time, freed as he was from the constraints of the English public, exposed the secrets of his policy, by acts of the most flagrant injustice and spoliation. Into these we shall not now enter: it may be enough to mention here that the repeal of the act of settlement followed by the most flagitious act that ever left immortal dishonour on

the memory of a legislative assembly, had the effect of opening the eyes of every respectable person in the kingdom who from whatever cause had adhered to him.

An act of the same parliament transferred the incumbencies of the protestant churches, with their emoluments and sacred edifices, to the priests of the papal communion. Through the country they obtained possession by violence, in which they were aided by the soldiery of James. In Dublin the churches were seized on different pretexts; and with the aid of the French soldiery, a system of extortion exercised against the protestant inhabitants.

At length, by the blessing of that overruling providence, which pleased to reserve this country—we trust for better times—the march of outrage and sacrilege was stayed by the battle of the Boyne. On this memorable occasion, Dopping, with Digby bishop of Limerick, and the clergy then remaining in Dublin, waited on the conqueror with an address, which was composed and delivered by Dopping, who had been their advocate and champion in their recent trials and sufferings, and had never once faltered through the whole of that perilous and disastrous time. To the church history of this period we must revert in the following memoir.

Dopping, restored to his dignities, enjoyed many years of peace and prosperity, and died in the year 1697 in Dublin. He was buried in his family vault in St Andrew's church.

William King, Archbishop of Dublin.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1729.

WILLIAM KING, who, whether we regard him as a prelate, a scholar, or a man of genius, is entitled to a place in the foremost rank of eminent Irishmen, was born in 1650 in Antrim. His father was a Scotch settler, who came over in the time of the civil wars to avoid taking the solemn league and covenant. William was sent to school at Dungannon, and in 1666, when he had nearly completed his 17th year, he entered as a sizer in the university of Dublin. There he obtained a scholarship, and graduated in 1670, and took master's degree in 1675, when he was ordained deacon by Dr Mossom, bishop of Derry. He had, at the provost's earnest desire, offered himself candidate at the fellowship examination, but not having read with this view, he did not succeed. But the effort was creditable, as he answered on such insufficient preparation, so as to manifest the possession of great ability and knowledge. He was thus recommended to Parker, archbishop of Tuam, who ordained him priest, and took him as chaplain into his family. During his residence with the archbishop he availed himself of the advantages thus afforded for the cultivation of his understanding, and the acquisition or improvement of such attainments as might be useful to his future views of duty or advancement; and in this prudent and laudable industry he was much encouraged by his patron, who had the sagacity to perceive that he was gifted with an intellect of no inferior order. The archbishop was not neglectful of

his other interests, and in the course of a few years promoted him to several benefices; so many that indeed they might seem to amount to a most reprehensible accumulation of pluralities, if we did not refer to the then poverty of church livings, and the state of learning in Ireland, which were such, that the promotion of piety and learning were objects of the most immediate importance. At the time of which we write, and indeed long after, the church livings were for the most part wholly inadequate to their purpose: and to this rather than to any more invidious cause, is to be attributed the abuse of pluralities. The far greater abuse of impropriations, and the poverty of the country made the parishes of so small and uncertain a value, that it was necessary to add five or six together to make an income of fifty-pounds a-year. While to so many, perhaps, there was seldom more than one church in effective repair.*

In 1678 Parker was translated to Dublin. He collated King to the chancellorship of Patrick's, with the parish of Werburghs. Here King had the opportunity for which he must doubtless have been desirous, of labouring in his vocation as a christian minister. His great promptness and activity in the general interest of the chapter, and still more in the defence of religion, were during the same interval signalized by different efforts, and by controversial writings, not of sufficiently permanent interest to be here distinctly noticed. In 1688 he was further promoted by the chapter of St Patrick's, who elected him to the deanery.

Those troubled times to which we have so frequently been compelled to advert now came on, and for a moment seemed to shake the church and growing fortunes of this country to the foundation. In that dreadful crisis, King was among those who stood his ground, to brave and endure the dangers and sufferings of his church and fellow-citizens. When the repeal of the act of settlement was proposed, he justly concluded that such a dissolution of the actual constitution of the country amounted to a forfeiture of allegiance, and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade his fellow-countrymen to embrace the deliverance providentially offered by the prince of Orange; and it is admitted that he was memorably successful, so that under providence, he may be said first to have given a salutary direction to the public mind, bewildered as it was in the stormy collision of interests and passions, then prevalent in this distracted country.

Of these noble exertions a new sense was shown by the hostile party and their king in the following year, when they seized many protestant clergymen, among whom was King, on some absurd pretence, and imprisoned them in the castle. King committed his authority to his subdean, Mr Henry Price, with strong injunctions to keep the church in order to the utmost of his power. While thus imprisoned, he wrote the history of the events, of which he was himself the faithful and intelligent witness, and which, if the utmost allowance be made for the errors of human observation, contains beyond any fair comparison the most authentic and trustworthy narration of those events. We have had the advantage of its guidance in the political

* See Swift's memorial to Mr Harley about the first-fruits, in his works, vol. xii.

history of this interval, and have also diligently compared it with the counter-statements which have been opposed to it. The grounds of our preference we have fully stated. It may here be enough to state, that the utmost deductions to be made from King's accounts are not such as in any way to affect the substantial accuracy of the whole, either in detail or general truth. With respect to his adversaries, it would be painful to go to the full length of exposure; but there is throughout the entire of them, that prominent vein of misrepresentation which belongs to the lowest form of tortuous advocacy—evasion, equivocation—and above all, that ever ready resource of historical falsehood, the *suppressio veri*. The large allowances to be made for that adjustment of facts to certain false assumptions in political theory, which gave such writers plausibility among the ignorant and deluded party for which they have written, would be more difficult to advert to in any summary form; but we will venture to say that we have sufficiently exposed them already in the course of this work.

King's confinement was not of long duration: he was liberated by the exertions of Herbert, who was one of the many protestants who yet lay under an erroneous sense of loyalty to James, and who, for the sake of the respectability which they attached to his cause, were enabled to exercise a considerable influence over him. It was during this interval that archbishop Marsh had been driven from the country, by a series of persecutions already related. On his release, Dean King applied himself, with all his ability and assiduous zeal, to assist the bishop of Meath in the care of the archdiocese thus deprived of its proper head. But he was too distinguished to be long endured by the despotic intolerance of James, or by the rancorous faction which directed his apprehensions and jealousies; once more he was seized and incarcerated: but the battle of the Boyne which delivered the country again set free the brave assertor of her rights, and historian of her wrongs and sufferings. In a few days after, king William entered the capital and returned thanks in Patrick's cathedral, where King, as dean, preached before him: considering the occasion of such a discourse the topics were obvious; the dean had to dwell on the dangers to which the church and the country had been exposed, and to trace their great and providential deliverance.

His merits were among the highest, if not indeed the very highest, which demanded recognition from the justice of William; and the interest of the church, then to be repaired from its ruins, still more imperatively demanded the promotion of one whose virtues and abilities so distinctly marked him for a post of dignity and public trust. The see of Derry had been designed by the king, as a reward for the services of the Rev. George Walker; but the death of this heroic man at the Boyne left the vacancy free for a far more appropriate nomination; and Dean King was chosen. By permission of the primate; whose age and infirmities rendered him incapable of the office, King was consecrated by the archbishop of Dublin. He straightway repaired to his diocese, and found its condition no less wretched than was to be anticipated from the recent disorder which so universally impaired and confused all departments of civil order. In the diocese of Derry, civil war had exhausted its whole train of calamities; waste

and ruin overspread the country, and involved villages and pastures; the churches had been the subject of especial hostility, and were almost universally laid in ruin; flight alone had saved the clergy from massacre; and the state of the country which denied them the means of subsistence held out no spiritual motive for their return. All was desertion and dilapidation, confusion and waste. This unhappy state of things, from which a feebler spirit would have recoiled in despair, called forth the active beneficence and the efficient energy of the new bishop. Contributing largely from his private means, which he always seems to have used unsparingly for public uses, and obtaining by great exertion the disposal of the large arrears then due on the see estates, he immediately exerted himself to replace or repair the church which the army of James had destroyed; and in addition, he built several new churches.* The clergy he soon collected, and compelled either to settle in their parishes, or to allot a sufficient maintenance for good and sufficient curates: not content with this, he supported many at his own cost, until their incumbencies became adequate to their maintenance. He was not less careful in looking to the competency of his clergy than to the duties of their station: this was necessarily a matter of some delay; and as in former cases which we had to notice in this series, much opposition was to be encountered; for, as we have had to explain in our memoirs of Usher and Bedell, the constitution of the clerical body had been from necessity rather irregular. In his MS. correspondence he says, "I believe no bishop was ever more railed at for the first two years, than I was at Londonderry, by both clergy and laity; but by good offices, steadiness in my duty, and just management, I got the better of them, and they joined with me heartily in promoting these very things for which they opposed and condemned me at first."†

A large infusion of dissenting protestants, from Scotland, poured in at this time, and greatly increased the difficulties we have mentioned. To these, he opposed only kindness, the example of a christian spirit, and the superior gifts of reason, with which he was so highly endowed. From Harris we learn that his success was considerable. To promote the end for which he thus laboured, he composed a treatise, of which we extract the following description:—"A treatise, in which the argument in vindication of the church's forms of divine worship are exemplified from holy scripture, set forth in a perspicuous method, and enforced by conclusive reasoning, which is calm and affectionate in manner, free from all bitterness of spirit, and all harshness of language; and of which, while some opponents have commended the air of seriousness and gravity, becoming the weight of the subject, as well as the dignity of the writer's character, no one has been found to confute its positions, or to invalidate its truth."‡

A reply to this essay drew from the bishop an answer which is valuable for the precise statistic account which it gives of the several states of the church of Ireland, and dissenting congregations at that time. It was entitled "An admonition to the dissenting inhabitants

* Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, ii.

† From the MS. letters of King; Mant.

‡ Mant.

of the diocese of Derry, concerning a book lately published by Mr J. Boyce."

Among other acts equally creditable to his activity and judgment, there is one which should not be omitted. Numerous families having deserted the barony of Inishowen and followed the army of king James into the south, a colony of Scottish Highlanders came over and occupied their room. These new settlers, not understanding the English language, petitioned the bishop for a minister to officiate for them in their own tongue: the bishop immediately provided two qualified clergymen, and authorized them to perform divine service in Irish, which was fully intelligible to the petitioners. One of these was a curate, paid by the bishop himself. They had at once a congregation of five hundred persons: the example spread, and it having been ascertained that numerous Highlanders had at different times gone over to the church of Rome, averring in answer to those who inquired their reasons, that, not understanding the English tongue, they considered it better to take such a step than to have no religion; means were adopted in the county of Antrim to remedy such a disadvantage, by the appointment of ministers fitly qualified. As authority for the particulars here but adverted to loosely, there may be cited a "History of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the established religion," by the Rev. John Richardson, in 1712: the author says, "by these means many Highlanders and popish natives are added to our church: whereas, in other places, where such care is not taken of them, the natives do not only continue in popery, but many of the Highlanders are drawn off to separate meetings, or to the Romish superstition and idolatry."

The remaining particulars of any prominence in this interval of King's life demand, and mostly indeed admit, no lengthened detail. He was active in promoting the success of a contribution raised by queen Anne's permission, for the relief of the Scottish Episcopal clergy. He was one of the six bishops commissioned to determine upon the fitness of Dr Sheridan to be appointed to a vacant bishopric—an appointment, which, having been influenced by private favour, without adequate consideration, was opposed by an accusation at the bar of the House of Lords, and finally rejected by the decision of the bishops.

While bishop of Derry, King was also appointed in a commission of three bishops, to judge on the case of the bishop of Down and Connor. This prelate passed his entire time in England, and manifestly looked no further to the see than his own income demanded. One of these bishops, Wiseman of Dromore, fell sick, and the decision lay with Dopping and King, who, on the 13th of March, 1691, suspended him, and on the 21st, deprived him "for simony, in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, and for other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction." The same commission, according to their authority, proceeded to inquire into the disorders in the same diocese, which must have been the necessary consequence of so grievous a want of episcopal superintendence; and after much and vigilant inspection, they deprived the archdeacon of five out of nine parishes, and suspended him from his functions and benefices, during the king's pleasure. They in like manner deprived or suspended several others,

on different grounds. These proceedings were acquiesced in by the accused parties, with the exception of the archdeacon, who appealed, petitioned, and published his case in a pamphlet of much talent and legal research; but all to no effect, as he was repeatedly condemned after fourteen different hearings in different courts.*

Among the several important bills and motions in the Irish parliament, affecting in different ways the constitution of the Irish church, at the close of this century, King exerted all the zeal and ability for which he remains distinguished. On these topics, we cannot enter here into the same detail that we have occasionally thought expedient in the merely political division of these memoirs. Fortunately the history of the Irish church is not, like our political history, yet to be written: Dr Mant's history, to the highly authentic character of which we are indebted for much comparative facility in the selection of our present materials, we feel, at the same time, to absolve us from the notice of much which would materially add to our very considerable difficulties, in endeavouring to produce a popular work on subjects so full of inflammatory material. It is indeed easy to state a fact, merely as such: but we have felt and feel such statements to be so often encumbered with fallacy and false impressions, that it is hard at times to make the simplest statement without a comment at far more length than its importance would otherwise merit. The change of times has, by a slow and long revolution, effected many great changes in those principles of expediency which are the essential elements of our social constitution; and consequently, in our notices of the past we have been compelled to guard against the comprehensive errors and prejudices arising from the misapplication of the elements of the present; and the difficulty has been increased by the partisan character of the numerous historians, and historical commentators, who have actually availed themselves (oftenest ignorantly we grant,) of this ambiguity of social events, to produce popular impressions.

For these reasons we shall avoid twenty pages of mere discussion, by not entering here upon the strife of parties respecting toleration, the general principle of which is plain enough: but which may, and mostly has been, so interwoven with other objects and principles, as to demand much and nice consideration from any writer who pretends to form comprehensive judgments. At a further stage we shall have occasion to view these matters with that fulness which accurate discrimination requires.

Among other bills brought into the Irish parliament in 1695, one was for the union and division of parishes: it was rejected, for reasons probably of a nature discreditable to the parliament, as such a measure must have found considerable impediments in the vast preponderance of lay patronage and impropriations. Such objections were likely to have been noticed by King; and it is mentioned by Dr Mant, from archbishop Marsh's Diary, "the bishops of Derry, [King] and Waterford, protested against throwing out of the house a bill for union and division of parishes; and in their protestations, having reflected something on the house, (as was apprehended,) they were both ordered to withdraw;

* Mant's Hist.

and after some time, the bishop of Derry was brought in, and asked pardon of the house, and was ordered to take his place." King showed his good sense by declining a contest on a mere punctilio: as he was ready to brave and provoke the house, so far as his duty demanded, he was as ready to give way to wrath, when that duty ceased, and resistance would be but an ineffectual pertinacity. The bishop of Waterford, with a zeal not less praiseworthy, yet less governed, held out, and was sent prisoner to the castle, until he should beg pardon, and desire his enlargement by petition, which he did after an interval of three days' confinement.

A series of letters commencing at this period of his life, and throwing much valuable light upon church history, has been recently acquired by the university of Dublin: the learning and characteristic liberality of this eminent institution may ultimately lead to the publication of such interesting materials for history. Dr Mant, who has largely availed himself of them, mentions them as containing "transcripts of almost all his letters of that period, [from 1696, to 1729,] made in a contemporaneous handwriting for his own use," &c. Much of his correspondence is indeed scattered among the memoirs and letters of other eminent persons of the same period. Many very important letters on church affairs in the reign of queen Anne, have been published in Swift's correspondence. Among those at this earlier period, there are many which offer the clearest views of passing events, and of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs. One of September, 1696, strongly marks the neglect of the Irish church, which was so disgraceful to the government. "There is one thing I am much concerned at, because I have heard many take notice of it since I came to town, and it is the little care that is taken of the church in this kingdom at court, which between you and me, in policy ought not to be neglected, since it is surely and apparently the strongest interest in Ireland. We have several times petitioned for the forfeited impropriations, which are really worth little; and yet can by no means procure a letter for them, though such was never demurred on by any king before, and 'tis not one single farthing out of the king's pocket: and therefore very ill reflections are made on his majesty by some that wish him not well. I wish I could manage this matter, that I might stop their mouths."

The following letter, written the next month, to bishop Burnet, is upon the same subject:—

"MY LORD

"Having the opportunity of this bearer, Judge Coot, who is a very hearty friend to the church, I give your lordship the trouble of an affair that is of some concern to us, and in which we need your lordship's assistance and advice. Amongst many forfeited estates in the late rebellion, several impropriate tithes came under that qualification; and we, immediately after the victory of the Boyne, applied to his majesty for them that he would be pleased to restore them to the church, for the maintenance of a protestant clergy, which is very much wanting where those impropriations are. We have been promised fair all along; but instead of giving them to the church, there are several parcels already granted to laymen, and we do apprehend the rest will

be disposed of in the same way. We have made several attempts to prevent this, and the late lord Capel undertook our petition, but his death prevented our knowing the success. It appeared that all that was left of those forfeited impropriations were not worth £200 per annum; that many private persons had gotten grants to many times their value; that all the former kings, his majesty's predecessors, had granted letters in favour of the clergy for such impropriations as came to the crown; that the clergy of Ireland are universally in his majesty's interest, and more devoted to his person of any clergy in the three kingdoms, as indeed their obligations are greater to him, being by him restored to all they have. 'Tis hoped, if these things were laid before his majesty, he would not refuse so small a request, which is not one farthing out of his pocket, or of any courtier. If therefore your lordship could put to your helping hand to further our petition, it would be a very great obligation on the clergy here, and a real service to his majesty. My lord, I have reason to beg your pardon for this trouble; but it being in the affair of the church, I doubt not but your lordship will favourably interpret the importunity of, my lord, your lordship's most obliged humble servant,"

"W. D."

"Gilbert, lord bishop of Sarum."

The bishop, perceiving with grief and alarm, that many of the church preferments were given to persons totally unworthy of them, and that they were likely to be raised to still higher dignities, wrote to the lord bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, as follows:—

"MY LORD,

"The great concern your lordship has all along manifested in behalf of this church has encouraged the addresses of all that wish her well, and gives me the confidence to recommend to your lordship's knowledge the bearer hereof, Judge Coot, a very hearty friend to the interest of the church and churchmen here, and most zealous for the English protestant interest, which is the true interest of the kingdom.

"My lord, I understand that several clergymen, that have livings in this kingdom, ly'e at court, and have promises from some there to use their interest with his majesty to procure them the next bishopricks that fall in Ireland. My lord, whatever the merits of these good men may be, their method is very injurious both to the church and government here, and I find it was so esteemed by her late majesty. If such should be encouraged we should have many follow their example, and every one that expected a bishoprick would be obliged to leave his benefice here to curates, as those great men do; and when the attendance of clergymen (that have pretensions to preferments,) at Dublin is become a great grievance to the church, your lordship will easily apprehend what the attendance at London must be. In short, good men would not do it; and as it often happens, ill men would engross the best places by their assiduity. Besides the government here would lose the dependence of the clergy, which is of great moment to the kingdom; and truly every one that is preferred independently of the

chief governor is looked on by him as an enemy, of which I could give examples: and therefore I do hope his majesty will not easily be prevailed on to alter his usual methods, or put affronts on those that he thinks worthy of government here, by preferring persons, without the usual recommendations, which would in a great measure incapacitate his ministers here to serve him, and would not be so safe for his majesty. My lord, I assure your lordship, that nothing but my zeal for the church, and his majesty's service, could prevail with me to give your lordship this trouble; and if I gain no more by it, I am sure of this, that it gives me an opportunity to profess to your lordship, which I am very ambitious to do, that I am your lordship's

"Most obliged humble servant,

"W. D."

"Will. lord bishop of Lichfield and Coventry."

The following letter will be an interesting addition to these; but it is one of those documents which contains much to convey impressions respecting a truth which we cannot enter upon fully, without more space than we have at command: we mean the peculiar course of conduct, so often pursued by English viceroys, from those misconceptions upon Ireland, to which the English public has ever been so liable. Remote impressions are mostly conveyed by the loudest noises, and it was thus that in England the clamour of Irish factions has been so often received as public feeling. It is difficult perhaps not to attribute importance to extravagant outcries, when they appear unopposed: it seems difficult for shallow politicians to be aware how slow the public really is to combine and to utter its real feelings; and it is thus that persons, ignorant as Englishmen must be of the details of Irish classes, come over and pay ridiculous homage to a noisy and imposing phantom, which they mistake for the people of Ireland.

"MY LORD,

"I received the favour of your lordship's letter of Nov. 16th, last week; and I am much obliged to your lordship for the notice you took of my last by Judge Coot, and the consideration you give the intimation therein. My lord, we have lost a very good friend to our church in the late lord chancellor, and it concerns us much, both in respect of the church and kingdom, to have another good man in his place; for if a violent hot man, especially if engaged in the late faction, should succeed him, it would endanger the whole kingdom. I will take leave to discover a matter to your lordship, to which perhaps you are no stranger; and 'tis, that the dissenters' interest in this kingdom is in itself very weak and low, as sufficiently appeared in the last session of our parliament, in which all their interest, joined with the lord deputy's, the speaker of the House of Commons, and all his adherents, could not carry anything that we had not a mind to, and indeed there were hardly ten dissenters in the house. But to deal freely with your lordship, it has been the business of most of our governors since the revolution, to make an interest for dissenters. My lord Capell did it above board, and professed that he had the king's commands to do it, which intimation did them more service than all the other ways

he could have invented: for everybody here has a mighty deference for his majesty's pleasure. To give your lordship an instance of my lord's byas that way, there needs no more but to look over the lists of sheriffs made last year by him, and it will appear that if he could find a dissenter in the whole county, though the meanest contemptible fellow in it, he was sure to be named sheriff, though the great men of the county looked upon it as an affront, and remonstrated from their quarter sessions about it. Now, my lord, if we have such governors still put on us, 'twill be impossible, whatever reason or scripture be against schismatics, to hinder their multiplying; for most people value interest above their religion; and if dissenters be picked out for places of honour, trust, and profit, whilst their equals are passed by, many will daily qualify themselves as they see their neighbours do. I know not how things are in England with the church; but I can assure your lordship this is the case here, and it is a great disservice to his majesty in many respects.

"I am much obliged to your lordship for your favourable censure of those pieces which I ordered Mr Tollett to present your lordship. My lord, I cannot pretend to be the author of any of the arguments in them—the whole was an effect of my reading. Mr Thorn-dike gave me the notions, and all that I can pretend to is, the taking them out of his obscure stile and method, and putting them into a more modern dress. I have angered the party very much here, but yet have forced them to reform many things, and to speak much more moderately of us and our worthies than formerly. When I came to this diocese, I found the dissenters mighty insolent; and one of our communion could no sooner get into their company, but they immediately fell upon him, sometimes scoffing, and sometimes arguing with him, and our own people had little to say for themselves, but that they had an establishment by law, and that it did not contradict Scripture; but since my book came out they are mute: no persuasions will prevail with them to dispute or talk of religion, and the members of our church insult over them on this account. As to their constitution, I had taken it to task ere this, but I am at a loss what it is, or where to find it: so far as I can perceive they have nothing fixed or certain, but everything is arbitrary according to their fancies. However, I take their humble advice to the parliament in —45 concerning church government on their late heads of argument, to look the most authentick; and I have it in my thoughts, if God grant me health, to describe our constitution and prove it from Scripture, and to compare it with theirs, which, as your lordship rightly observes, is nothing but a heap of human inventions, not only without, but directly contrary to Scripture. I want some help to the perfecting of this work, which I cannot come by in this place; and besides, the subject is very new and ticklish, especially in respect of the foreign church, and must be handled with a new and wary hand, which considerations, together with an imperfect state of health, which I fell into last winter in Dublin, and am not fully recovered, have hindered me from making any great progress in what I intended; and besides, I have some hope from your lordship's letter, that it will be undertaken by a better hand."

We may here briefly notice that some decisive and apparently harsh additions were at this time made to the disabilities affecting the members of the papal church in Ireland. They were, however, not conceived in a severe or even unkind spirit; but simply for the purpose of giving effect to statutes already existing, or obviating certain very evident dangers affecting the church of England. Such, for example, as the prohibition of those unprincipled and inconsiderate intermarriages between the members of such opposite communions, as considering the actual state of the law, must have been destructive to the temporal interests of their children, and, looking to far more permanent considerations, were wholly irreconcilable with their spiritual interests. Such marriages are, in most cases, the root and origin of an infidel family, and are sometimes the means of breeding in the minds of children a contempt for all religion, unless in the case where an early change occurs in the creed of either parent: and such a change was likely to be one which must then have deprived them of fortune. The state of law which operated so as to demand such a protection (for such it must be regarded), we have no hesitation in condemning as impolitic, but for no other reason. It was designed to protect the government and the better portion of the people, and through them the kingdom of Ireland, and again through this the entire of the British dominions, from the subversive influence of a foreign interference, *then* of great efficiency and energy. Modern wisdom might have suggested a wiser course (at least we are not here to discuss the point); but there was no delusion in the apprehensions which suggested the course thus pursued, and neither cruelty nor wrong in adopting them. The writers on the opposite side of this question are of two classes—Irishmen writing as partisans, and Englishmen as historical or political theorists. Of these, the former misstate the facts, and the latter reason on their misstatements. It has been the dexterous course of the Irish historians of that party to come forward in the character of plaintiff, and to preoccupy the grounds of complaint, wrong, indignation, and fear; thus enlisting on their side the most alert and influential sympathies of the crowd, and of those who belong to the crowd. If we were to look for an illustration, it would be the strong assailant turning accuser, and cajoling the officers of justice by outeries of distress. These outeries have, it is true, been raised in later generations, when they have gained added speciousness from the obscuring power of time. At the period in question, the same party were far less imposing; and such complaints would have had no weight—the actual state of things was too prominently apparent: there was an avowed and palpable conspiracy kept up and fomented by the agency of foreign powers: the instrument employed was systematic misrepresentation, adapted to work with unquenchable energy on the popular mind. These laws, severe in the letter, but most mercifully administered, were simply protective of those who had a just claim to be protected, and neither unjust nor oppressive. The design of the popular agitators was unconstitutional; their pretext unfounded and dangerous: their success would have been fatal to Ireland, and dangerous to England. We shall hereafter repeat, extend, and maintain this statement. We rejoice in the relief of our countrymen from galling laws; but

we are too much their friend to allow them to be deceived into keeping the habitual tone of grievance, when it has become absurd, and pernicious too.*

In 1697, a bill was introduced into parliament for the preservation of the king's person against the Jacobites, whereby a power of summary proceeding was to be intrusted to the discretion of any two justices. This bill was thrown out; but the part taken against it by King and other bishops gave great offence to government. Some valuable letters written by King on the occasion are extant, and show both the independence of his spirit, and the soundness of his judgment.†

Among the several letters of King's which were written about this time, we extract one, as the means best suited to our limits of giving a distinct view of the condition of the church at the period. It is written to the bishop of Waterford.

“ DUBLIN, 28th Sept., 1697.

“ My dear and very good lord,

“ I have read over yours of the 18th instant with great grief and trouble of mind. I am sensible every word you say is most true, and that it is not possible our church should subsist long in this languishing and crazy condition; but few regard or mind it, and those that are apprized of it are either afraid or wearied out with the ill treatment with which they meet.

“ As to those steps of reformation you mention, they are necessary; but they must be obtained by union, perseverance, and industry; whereas, I must profess, I have not one to whom the proposal of them would be grateful. O my lord! we have fallen in evil times, in which it is a step to preferment to the person that will give assurance that, as soon as he is in it, he will disgrace or betray it. This is the fatal method that has been taken since the restoration to destroy us, and is still prosecuted, though by different hands. In short, my lord, we are not like to obtain one good law for the church.

“ This sessions some of our own body, and a whole crowd of the inferior clergy, opposed the bill for building houses; and it was with much ado we carried it in the House of Lords. I laboured it near three hours; and had it not been that I got some of the lay lords, it had been left there. But it miscarried in the House of Commons, as I told you formerly. We shall have no bill for unions; or if we have any, it will be worth nothing. We pressed a bill of blasphemy; but it was said there was none in England, which carried it off. We have had no sessions at the Archbishop of Dublin's house, as formerly, nor any committee for religion, at least very seldom. My own business has pressed me so hard, having the society of London and lord chancellor to deal with. I have been much diverted, and your absence has been of no good consequence. We did not meddle with Tolon (query,

* It is the artifice of popular leaders to represent every evil as a grievance; but many (at least) are the necessary results of circumstance. All the sufferings of the Irish peasantry are the direct result of their agitated condition. A few years' quiet would fill the land with comfort and civilization. The course of progress is stopped and driven back by private fear and commercial distrust.

† Mant, II. 78—82.

Toland?), because we could do nothing with him; but the bill of blasphemy was designed against him and his followers. The House of Commons made short work with him, but with the ill precedent which you observe; but it cannot be helped: they that have power must use it, and will do it."

The following, to the same effect, was written within a few days after:—

"My very good lord,

"I am more sensible of the ill aspect that the generality of men cast upon the church and churchmen. The faith of religion is very weak amongst all, and the sense of it almost lost; and the matter is laid deeper than most men are aware of. 'Tis come to a formal conspiracy; and agents and emissaries are employed to cry down the credit of religion in general, and instil profane maxims and principles into youth. My lord, it is not credible what pains are taken this way, and how diligent some persons of great quality are to propagate irreligion. 'Tis hard for us to know what we are to do in these circumstances. If we appear openly and resolutely for our faith, we are twitted with the story of the Ephesian craftsmen: if we are silent and retire, then good men, if they get their bishoprics and benefices, and their ease, they are as indifferent as to religion as their neighbours: if we vote with the court in parliament, we are flatterers; if against it, ungrateful: in short, we are used as our Master was; and I can find no other comfort besides that consideration. I thank God I am willing to be at any pains, and to venture anything for Christ's sake, and do find a comfort and satisfaction in doing so; but I profess to your lordship, that I am often at a loss to determine what is so; and having naturally a diffidence in myself, I need the encouragement and assistance of others to give me assurance; and, I speak it with sorrow, I have not one friend near me that I can with reliance and necessary freedom consult in these matters. I discourse severally; but 'tis with reserve, and without going to the bottom. You have given a good reason for it.

"I own every one of those things you mention: they are in my thoughts, and I believe the laity might be brought to comply with us in most of them; but the clergy are resolute against them, and to struggle with them is to make that averseness publick. I own a convocation necessary, and I had hot disputes about it in England; but all assemblies, that have been long chained up, prove unruly when first let loose; and I am afraid this would prove, in our present juncture, a reason of abrogating them altogether, which I am afraid will happen however; and if you have seen Dr Wake's book against them, for so I reckon that 'tis intended, you will be of the opinion that little less is designed.

"As to my brethren, your lordship knows they are jealous of me, and by no means approve my maxims. They have generally other thoughts and views than I have. This is a thing I cannot help, and dare not blame; not that I fear to offend them, but because I shall lose the little interest I have amongst them by unseasonably pressing

them. If I be mistaken in this method, 'tis my weakness; for I do not decline any opportunity, where I do not apprehend more ill consequence than the good designed, if obtained, would amount to.

"I had particular cautions given me in England, as I told your lordship formerly, not to innovate in anything, and if possible to prevent anything of religion to come upon the carpet; 'for,' said they, 'there are evil designs on foot against you; and if you give them opportunity by moving anything, whatever shape you intend for it, they will finish it into a monster:' and I am well assured that nothing really for our good will at present pass the two councils and two houses; for our enemies have interest to obstruct or distort it, in one or other of these places, as experience shows us. But though I think we are not to expect any good to the cause of religion in our present circumstances, yet I believe it is possible to prevent some evils; and I cannot be reconciled to your absence in such a difficult time. Pray therefore think on it, and do as God shall direct you.

"One would think that the world were somewhat concerned about religion; for, of three bills that past last, one was to prohibit from marrying with papists, and another to banish regulars, and the third, for damning the articles of Lymerick, was on pretence of weakening the popish interest: but, after all, there is not the least consideration of religion at the bottom; and we must learn from this not to judge according to appearance.

"My lord, I have wearied myself sufficiently by this long letter, and can hardly excuse the ill jointing of it altogether. Your lordship will believe that my heart is very full, and my mind little at ease, whilst the ark is in so hazardous a condition. I can add to my best endeavour my prayers and tears to support. I promise myself the concurrence of yours, and in particular for, my lord,

"Your most affectionate humble servant

"and brother,

"W. D.

"To the Bishop of Waterford."

Notwithstanding the depression of the church in Ireland, and the evident indifference on the part of government, which appeared to render hopeless any decided effort for its repair; yet in the following year a bill was passed, which, in the course of time, has operated to amend some of its greatest deficiencies. By this enactment, ecclesiastical persons were empowered to build, improve, or purchase houses and lands for their residence, with a right reserved to receive two-thirds of the sum so expended from their next successors, who in turn were entitled to one-third of the same entire sum, by a similar claim.

But there is altogether apparent, not only a neglect of the concerns of the church, but a strong disposition to usurp its rights, and encroach upon its authority. A letter from King to the bishop of Worcester, strongly complains of the disuse of the convocation, and the usurpation of its fiscal powers by the parliament. And indeed there could not easily be devised a greater usurpation, or more opposed to the principles of the British constitution; for the principle of our law is this, that the people are taxed by their own representatives; and, unques-

tionably, that the clergy should be taxed, *as clergy*,* by any power but their own, amounts to the exclusion of a class from the most important privilege of the constitution. In the session of 1699, the clergy were assessed in the House of Commons for the first time; at which the bishops were allowed to protest. Another grievance was complained of by King, who expresses his strong fear that ecclesiastical preferment would be, for the future, entirely filled from England.

Two extracts which Bishop Mant gives, from the correspondence of King, speak more than volumes upon his personal character, on the actual state of the Irish church, and in some measure upon the condition and habits of society in his time. We shall give them as they occur. The first is addressed to the archbishop of Dublin.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I came home Friday last from a parochial visitation through part of this diocese. I visited twenty-one churches, and confirmed in nine. It held me employed twenty-three days. I carried the consistory with me; and prescribed penance to near an hundred people, for one thing or another; and ended several causes. I have yet another circuit, containing about thirteen churches, and had one before. I find this way of great use, and would recommend it to all my brethren. I had great crowds of dissenters everywhere, and entertained them with a discourse, generally showing the no-necessity of a separation on their own principles.

“ I presume to give your Grace this account, to excuse my not answering your Grace's of the 28th of June last, it not being possible for me to get time to write; and truly, since the first of June, I have been every day more or less on horseback, excepting two or three days.”

The next is to the bishop of Clogher, and on the same subject.

“ I have had a most fatiguing summer of it, having gone a parochial visitation through two-thirds of my churches, and shall begin the last third next week. I intend, God willing, to be at Omagh, August the 5th; and from thence I go to Ardmagh, to visit for my lord primate.
* * * * I have taken more than ordinary pains this circuit—made all my own tenants attend me; and many came with them, so that the churches were generally full. I made some very long discourses to them, insomuch that I had better have preached every day. The subject was, the sin of making sects, and the no-necessity of it. I examined all their pretences, and showed them, if all true, they would not, according to Scripture, justify a separation. They heard with great attention. I find what I said had very good effect on many. Some time or other, God willing, I will put my thoughts into writing, and take your opinion. I found they were new to most that heard me. I confirmed in nine places, and found the churches in good order. I

* We cannot, however, but remark, that even with regard to the ordinary taxation of clergymen as members of the social state, there is some anomaly. They are not *represented* in the House of Commons to the same extent as any other persons. There are some important distinctions.

carried the consistory with me, and assigned penance to near an hundred criminals, and ended several causes. You know my gout seized me this time last year, and I was very apprehensive of it; but, thank God, I am yet well."

Queen Anne succeeded to the crown in March, 1702, on the death of king William. The change caused much anxious hope and fear in the breasts of the two great parties, who were divided by opposite views on many important interests, and on questions affecting the stability of the revolution. These agitations, however, belong to English history, and are worked too much below the surface to be considered as directly influential on the state of Irish affairs. In England, a deep game of intrigue renders the short ensuing reign memorable, as an exemplification of all the falsehood, baseness, and treachery which has been proverbially, but perhaps with some exaggeration, imputed to courts and courtiers. But we shall presently have to delineate this illustration on an ampler scale. King expressed, in one of his letters, his regrets for the death of his great benefactor, from whose wisdom so much was to be expected for Ireland.

In the following year, the death of primate Boyle occasioned a succession of removes and promotions; and King was promoted from Derry to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. Connected with this translation, we find no particulars of memorable interest. The following letter, written a year after, to the bishop of Norwich, ascertains the fact of his unwillingness to change, with the reasons:—

"It is above a year since I was translated to this see. I was desirous to decline, if the commands of my superiors and importunity of my friends had not prevailed with me against my own opinion, to sacrifice both my ease and profit to their sentiments. My lord, it was not without reason I was unwilling to remove to this station; for I had known the diocese thirty years, had governed it for some time, and knew that it was in worse circumstances (both in respect to discipline and attendance of the cures,) than most others in the kingdom; the numerous appropriations and impropriations in it making the due service of cures and right order almost impracticable: however, I hoped that by the assistance of those whose interest and duty it was to help me, I should be able to do something towards a reformation, though I could not expect all that was to be desired. And I am heartily sorry to tell your lordship, that I find the greatest opposition from those that should in reason be most forward to promote my intentions."

Of the several acts of the Irish parliament in queen Anne's reign, we have already given some account, for which the reader is referred to our political series; and as we must largely revert to the subject of the Irish church in some of the immediately succeeding lives, we may the more easily pretermit them here.

King found the metropolitan see in a condition which afforded full exercise to his talent, liberality, and zeal. The protestant population had largely increased since the accession of William III., but there

was a deficiency of churches to accommodate its increasing numbers. He repaired fourteen, rebuilt seven, and built nineteen, in places till then destitute of any place for divine service. To effect this beneficial end, he availed himself of the forfeited impropriations, according to the provisions of an Act, 11 William III., aided by the contributions of the wealthy protestants of the diocese, to which he added largely from his own funds. These new churches he supplied with clergymen, by dividing the contiguous pluralities as any of them became vacant, and assigning glebes of twenty acres out of the see lands. In cases where there was no see land in the parish, he obtained it by purchase. By these and other means, he brought the parochial system of his diocese into an efficient condition. It is also to be mentioned, to the praise of his disinterested liberality, that having in the course of these arrangements trenched considerably upon the income of the see, he took just care to indemnify his successors, by the purchase of lands, with which he endowed the sec.

Bishop Mant cites a letter from King to Ashe, bishop of Clogher, which displays in a very strong point of view the soundness of his judgment, as well as the earnestness of his concern for the welfare of the church. In this, he urges strongly on that prelate the error and pernicious effects of the course which he was about to adopt for the preferment of his brother; and points out, in terms no less clear and distinct than conclusive, the disadvantages attending pluralities; and explains the just and correct course to be adopted for the preferment of good clergymen—first placing them in such livings as first offered, and then promoting them to better as they fell vacant—a method to be praised, as evidently preserving the nearest possible proportion between merit and reward, efficiency and station.

The inefficiency of the convocation in the year 1705 was a subject of much anxious disquietude and strong complaint to the archbishop. The lower house of convocation appear to have proceeded with diligence, and proposed several useful laws, which were however rejected or not entertained by the upper house, to the great vexation of archbishop King, who, in several letters, complains in strong and often pathetic terms of the indifference, the want of energy, or the subserviency betrayed by many of his brethren.

Among the irregularities which still continued to prevail, in consequence of inadequate provision for the respectable support of the Irish church, was the difficulty of obtaining persons of perfect competency to fill the ministerial office. Such a want has always the necessary effect of bringing forward an inferior class of candidates for ordination; and thus various irregularities must creep in. The indolence and inattention of many prelates permitted such an evil at this period to rise to a dangerous extent; and among those who sought admission on easy terms into holy orders, these prelates became distinguished by the term of *ordainers*. Against this abuse the archbishop took an active part; and, from a letter which was occasioned by some incident in the course of his proceedings, he mentions the course pursued by himself toward candidates for orders. "The method I take, when I ordain any, is this:—First, he applies himself to me in private, and I

examine him. I never ordain any that I have not known personally for some time. If he give me satisfaction as to his life, title, and learning, then I summon four or five of the clergy, according to the canons, to assist me in the examination, which lasts publicly four days. Each takes such part as is agreed. The candidates exhibit all their testimonials, titles, &c., and the registrar enters a brief of it. If any come from another diocese, or be to be preferred in it, I do not admit him but at the request of the bishop; for I think it reasonable that every bishop should have the examination of those that are to serve in his diocese. By this method I have had some trouble, but have avoided all importunity and surprise about conferring orders, though I have been a bishop eighteen years."

The cause to which this disadvantage of the Irish church has been mainly attributed here, is well illustrated also by another statement which the archbishop makes. Of the fifty ministers in the country portion of his diocese, the five highest incomes amounted to no more than £100 a-year. About a dozen were less than £40: some had nothing certain, and others from £10 to £16. To have raised the clergy of Ireland from this hapless condition was indeed the most important of the archbishop's many great services to Ireland; and it may therefore not be too much to offer some further illustrations of this state of things, and of the sacrifices and exertions which they elicited from his zeal and liberality. "In Wicklow and Arklow," he mentions, in a letter to Mr Wentworth, "the one has ten, and the other eleven parishes, to make a competency; and 'tis generally so through this diocese. Each of those ministers has two churches to serve, and at a considerable distance." To the same gentleman he makes proposals for the purchase of his impropriations, mentions the heavy expenses to which he had already been induced, observing that he was yet unwilling to lose the opportunity for the purchase of the impropriations which Mr Wentworth was desirous to sell. The information given here is much extended in another letter to the bishop of Ferns, at whose diocese the archbishop had been, on his triennial visitation. In this letter, the pernicious anomaly of impropriation is strongly illustrated, as it appears from the archbishop's statement. Of one hundred and thirty-one parishes in Ferns, seventy-one were impropriated in lay hands; twenty-eight were appropriated to the bishop, dignitaries, and prebendaries of cathedrals, &c.; and thirty-two only in the possession of the working clergy,—these latter being the worst.

Among other proofs of the archbishop's industrious zeal in remedying the wants of the Irish church, was a form for the consecration of churches, there having been no authority for the form then in use in Ireland. It seems to have been considered a matter of much nicety, on which the English convocation had not been able to agree. The archbishop used his own form, of which he observes, that some of the numerous churches he had consecrated were "in a crowd of dissenters," to whom the form he used gave satisfaction. This he soon after published, under the title of "A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; showing what is meant by Dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office,"—this form "having been previously agreed

to at a synod and visitation of the diocese of Dublin, held in the cathedral church of St Patrick's" in the same year.*

In the year 1709, and the following year, great exertions were made for the instruction of the Irish peasantry, through the medium of their native tongue. The bishops, in their convocation, introduced the subject, referring its consideration to the lower assembly, where it was warmly entertained. A memoir also, from the nobility and gentry, was presented to the duke of Ormonde. Several of the bishops and clergy exerted themselves to the same end; but chiefly the primate, with archbishop King, bestirred themselves with efficacy and zeal. Under the archbishop's patronage, a professor was appointed to teach the Irish language in the university. He also engaged Mr Richardson, who had already been most effectually employed in the same good service, to "solicit the printing of Irish Bibles, the liturgy, and an exposition of the church catechism, for the people." On this interesting topic, the reader may find fuller information in our memoir of the Rev. John Richardson, of whose memoir it will form the material.

In the same interval of time, the archbishop took a leading part among the Irish bishops in the important solicitation for the remission of the first-fruits and twentieth-parts, taxes affecting the church livings, and payable to the crown. This affair had been previously brought forward seven years before, but let drop for want of proper solicitation. It was now committed to Swift, and by him carried to a successful issue. From his memorial to Mr Harley, we learn that the twentieth-parts were "twelve pence in the pound, paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the reformation. They amount to £500 per annum." The petition was, that these should be remitted to the clergy. From the same document, we learn that "the first-fruits, paid by all incumbents to her majesty on their promotion, amounted to £450 per annum." Of these it was proposed to make "a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches."

But Swift, not content with pressing merely these two points, which went to the full extent of his commission, drew up a second memorial, in which he also included the crown rents. These were payable by those parishes of which the queen was impropiator: they consisted of a half-yearly rent payable by the incumbent, and amounted to a third-part of the value of the tithes.

The two former imposts were remitted by the queen: the crown rents were not actually pressed for: Harley, to whom Swift communicated both memorials, advised the postponement of this part of his suit for the time, as likely to endanger his success. The patent was completed, February, 1711,—exonerating the Irish clergy from the twentieth-parts, and vesting the first-fruits in the archbishop of Armagh and others, for the purposes already mentioned.

As we are under the necessity of contracting this memoir, we shall not enter upon the account of the archbishop's earnest and judicious

exertions for an authorized and fit adaptation of the occasional forms of public prayer.*

For the same reason, we do not consider it expedient to notice the archbishop's well-directed patronage of some public men, of whom we must take some separate notice. He was the kind and efficient patron of Parnell and of Ambrose Philips. His correspondence with dean Swift is to be found in the collection of Swift's works; and though we have not largely availed ourselves of them in this memoir, as they principally relate to affairs on which it is our desire to be summary,† yet they have largely entered into our study of the writer, and will afford us some useful assistance farther on. Swift was at this time in the climax of his importance in the field of political party, and of his favour with Harley and St John; and the archbishop displays much anxiety for his interests, by frequent and urgent exhortations to use the favourable season for his own advantage. Swift was also in the full exertion of his extraordinary powers, in that way which may perhaps be considered their proper application; and it is sometimes amusing to read the sage counsels of the grave and powerful divine and metaphysician to the keen satirist and the adroit partisan, to produce some great work worthy of his learning and genius. This approaches sometimes nearly to the effect of an irony, when he appeals to the same correspondent on the malice of certain persons. "You see how malicious some are towards you, in printing a parcel of trifles, falsely, as your works. This makes it necessary that you should shame the varlets, by writing something that may enlighten the world; which I am sure your genius will reach, if you set yourself to it."

Upon the death of the primate, November, 1713, there was an expectation among the friends of the archbishop that he would be the person selected to fill that high station; and there can be no doubt that such a selection must have been the result of a fair and just regard to the character of the individual, or to the real interests of the church. Such indeed never was, or is likely to be, the primary ground of choice, though we believe it has been recognised as a subordinate rule to promote learning, talent, and even piety, when the main object of party interests might so permit.

If wisdom, piety, and a life of the most exemplary zeal and efficiency in the discharge of the episcopal duties, were primarily regarded, no one had a higher claim than archbishop King to the primacy. But, unfortunately for the occasion, he was looked on as belonging to "the other party," by a government which professed one set of principles, and privately acted on another. With their overt declaration, their pretended principles of action, their settled enactments, and avowed policy and design in favour of the protestant succession, the archbishop conscientiously agreed; but he was not to the full extent aware of the prevaricating system of dark and underworking manœuvres by which the basest set of men and women that ever wormed their way into royal

* Full information on this subject will be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. ii. 251—259.

† They are at this period wholly on the first-fruits.

favour were counteracting in private, what they publicly professed to support. The archbishop cannot be supposed ignorant of the real spirit of that administration. He was indeed in the habits of intimacy with Swift, then the friend and counsellor both of the double-tongued Harley, and the unprincipled and profligate St John. "Your Grace," writes Swift, "is looked upon here as altogether in the other party, which I do not allow when it is said to me. I conceive you follow the dictates of your reason and conscience; and whoever does that, will, in public management, often differ from one side as well as the other." There is, however, no explicit mention of the primacy on the part of the archbishop or his correspondent, from which any expectation might be inferred; and we therefore presume that there was upon the subject so clear and full an understanding of the real obstacles, that the archbishop did not give any thought to so vain a delusion. We believe indeed that he was far from entertaining even a wish on the occasion; for he disliked change, and was perhaps, from his growing infirmities, apprehensive of the new and laborious exertions attendant upon it. He was free from ambition, and his whole conduct through life thoroughly confirms his constant profession of having no wish but the advancement and reform of the Irish church. In one of his letters at the same period, this sentiment is strongly, and we are convinced, sincerely expressed. "As to the vacant preferments in the church, I have nothing to pray for but that God would direct her majesty to persons that may be equal to such great trusts, &c. . . . One thing I would heartily wish, and 'tis, that her majesty would not be too forward to gratify the importunity of such as leave their cures and charges to solicit preferments at court; that being, in my opinion, a practice mischievous to the church and kingdom, and what will create her majesty infinite and endless trouble." This paragraph exhibits, in aspect too plain for comment, the sad condition of this time of profound political corruption, when the government, wholly sunk in the strife of ministerial intrigue, held all its functions as neutral for all other ends but the vital struggle between the Whigs and Jacobites, and the house of Hanover, which all pretended to support, and between the Pretender, for whom the court party secretly laboured to prepare the way. In such a position of things, in which duplicity became a recognised principle of favour, all baseness found a hotbed, and the assertion of the holier and purer principles of action had in them something too sour and stern not to be regarded with dislike and fear. There was a general relaxation of the ordinary constraints which hold men to their duties, and there was an ambiguity in the conditions of government patronage which made any declaration of sentiments indiscreet and ineffective. If the candidate for preferment proclaimed himself a Jacobite, he was of course exposed to the law, and in opposition to the professed policy of the government; if a Whig, he became obnoxious to its real designs. In this dilemma, the alternative left for those to whom preferment was the only consideration worth a care, was to betake themselves to the stage of contest, and display their gifts of time-serving and hypocrisy, for the approbation of the last of the Stuarts, and her cogging and shuffling accomplices in state craft.

In this state of things, (the minimum of that little honesty which

belongs to courts,) a man such as King had nothing to hope: as was said of another great man in after times, "he stood alone," too sagacious to be ignorant of the path to preferment, too true to pursue it: not expecting or desiring any favour of which he knew the dishonourable price: but steadily resisting and denouncing in the only safe or effectual way the evil practices of others. This is what appears to us to be the plain explanation, both of his silence as to his own claims, and his significant reproofs of the conduct of his mitre-hunting and steeple-chasing brethren.

He preached the primate's funeral sermon on Psalm cxii. v. 6. In a letter which he wrote on the occasion, he expresses the sense he entertained of the expediency of doing honour to the memory of one, whose example might be made effectual to incite others, in a time when acts of public beneficence were rare. He also incidentally mentions, as having occurred in the interval since his appointment, the munificent bequests of Dr Stephens and Sir Patrick Dun, which we shall have in our next division to notice more at large.

The primacy was filled by the appointment of Dr Lindsay, the son of a Scotch minister, and at the time bishop of Raphoe.

But the state of affairs which we have summarily explained here, as we shall be under the necessity of viewing them more distinctly in another memoir, had happily its termination. The ministerial intrigues of that disgraceful cabinet were suddenly paralyzed by the death of the queen, on the 1st of August 1714. The accession of the house of Hanover was soon felt in the administration of Irish affairs, but our immediate concern is with the history of the archbishop. He had retired for the summer months to a house near Dublin, belonging to the earl Fitzwilliam, and here he was surprised on the 15th of September by an express from the duke of Shrewsbury, acquainting him with his appointment as one of the lords justices. Joined with him in this commission were the earl of Kildare and the archbishop of Tuam. On the merits and result of this appointment, we should here quote some sentences from Mr Harris, but we shall in preference offer them with the comments of Dr Mant, whose paragraph we extract as it stands. "Archbishop King was uniformly conspicuous for his zealous attachment to the House of Hanover, and to the succession of the crown in that protestant family; as necessary, under divine Providence, to the security and welfare of the constitution in church and state:" and Mr Harris confidently attributes it "in a great measure to his seasonable counsel, and the weighty authority which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed probity, had procured him, that the city of Dublin was preserved steady and united in an unshaken affection to the succession of the royal family of Hanover." Information of the archbishop's untainted loyalty and extraordinary merit being communicated to the king, caused him to be invested with the highest trust in the kingdom, which he discharged with such ability and integrity, and at the same time with so much prudence, moderation, and kindness, as to occasion the re-instatement or continuance in employment of many civil and military officers, who had been, or were in danger of being removed on a suspicion of disloyalty. "This," observes his contemporary biographer, "is attested by many now

living, who gratefully own the truth of this fact. And it is notorious," he continues, "that by his and the other lords justices' prudent directions, and steady conduct, during their presiding in the public administration, the whole nation was in an even and calm temper, not the least tending to riots or insurrections, and at a season when our standing army was transported to suppress the rebellion in Great Britain."

The archbishop had difficulties to encounter, such as might well abate any satisfaction to be derived from this mark of favour from the new administration. The spirit of party had run so high; so many had in several ways committed themselves; the suspicions of the Whigs were so much on the alert, and their zeal so lively, that it was a matter of strong fear to the archbishop that some attempt would be made to make him instrumental to extreme and harsh proceedings, which he had ever deprecated and would still refuse to sanction. He was also sensible of the infirmities of ill health, and old age, which latterly had been growing upon him. He was yet glad to avail himself of an occasion which he hoped would increase his means of benefiting the great cause of religion. There were several vacancies in the church, and there had been hitherto a most scandalous disregard of every consideration which ought to have weight, in Irish preferments. The Irish church had been treated as a convenient receptacle for such claimants as could not be safely provided for in England—and was thus filled with the refuse and incapacity of the English clergy. It was also complained of by the archbishop, that the new lord-lieutenants, who were changed nearly every three years, brought over as chaplains whoever they wished to provide for. These evils, with others already noticed, offered a vast weight of discouragement to the archbishop. He was also strong in his representations of the unhappy consequences of the entire ignorance which prevailed in England as to the actual condition of the Irish church. The patronage of government was lavished with the most reckless disregard to circumstances,—the sixth of a diocese, amounting to perhaps twenty parishes, which required the service of, at least, twenty clergymen, was put together to make up the sum of two hundred a-year for some claimant, who, as a matter of course, would consider himself exempt from any residence or sacrifice of means to provide substitutes. These facts are, indeed, well worthy of attention, as affording materials for an explanation of the seeming permanency of the papal communion in Ireland. They could easily be authenticated and extended. They are here offered to the reader's attention, on the authority of the letters of archbishop King, which any one who desires to see, may find in Dr Mant's history. The lengthened space which they would occupy has made us sparing of such insertions. The life of archbishop King, indeed, demands a volume to itself: such a volume would not only contain the most important portion of our church history, but might be made the vehicle for the discussion, with regard to Ireland, of several of the most important questions in ecclesiastical polity.

The weight of the archbishop's influence, continued exertion, and uncompromising remonstrance and urgency, went far to abate this evil state of our church affairs. The sees were filled to his satisfaction, and he was enabled by securing the promotion of some of his

own friends to consult most effectually for the interests of religion. There prevailed for a time, some degree of irritation among the clergy here in common with those in England—Jacobite feelings could not fail to infect them largely, and the reputed Lutheranism of king George was an alarm to some, and a pretext to others. This absurd apprehension passed away too soon to be dwelt on here. The archbishop, by authority tempered by moderation, kindness, and the influential counsel of good sense, restrained and quieted the minds of many in his own diocese; and we learn from his letters to several bishops, that his efforts were as assiduously directed to set them right, and to urge those who might be remiss in their duty.

In 1716, we find the archbishop in England for the recovery of his health. At this time there was a renewal of his interrupted correspondence with Swift, who seems to have broken the ice on this occasion, by a letter containing some mention of diocesan affairs, but chiefly expressive of his sense of the detrimental effect of any estrangement between the dean of St Patrick's, and the archbishop of Dublin. The dean was not of a mettle to be complimentary to those from whom he expected nothing,—by temperament he was stern and sincere, though under circumstances his inordinate ambition counterbalanced or rather tempered and refined these coarse virtues; to the archbishop, he shows, however, a degree of veneration and respect, which could not be otherwise than sincere, from the justness of his praise and its entire disinterestedness.

The archbishop's bold and uncompromising character exposed him to much enmity from opponents, and some prejudice among those who were disappointed at not finding any partisanship in his adherence. To him, the truly able and good alone could be friends; for such alone could find in him a thorough alliance and co-operation. He was at this period the more loudly complained of in Ireland, because he was absent: and there is a letter extant which he wrote expressly in his own defence, which goes so fully into the detail of his conduct and motives of action; and conveys so strong an impression of his character, that we shall insert it here: though long beyond our established limits of quotation, it will enable us materially to abridge the subsequent portion of this memoir.

“Sir,—I received yours of the 19th of Feb., yesterday, and two before; but have had a long fit of gout in my right hand, which has disabled me to write, and it is with pain I handle my pen. I thank you for the account you give me; as to what concerns my lord primate, I have nothing to say; but as to my being an opinionative man, and wedded to my own way, it is no news to me.

“It was the constant clamour of Sir Constantine Phipps, and all that party, and no wonder, when I am almost single in opposition to their designs. And I believe I shall take the same way, if I should perceive anything carrying on to the prejudice of his majesty's prerogative, of the interest of religion, or the public. But I have had the fortune in everything where I was reckoned to be positive, to be justified by the event; and, when the mischiefs of the contrary management have appeared, then I have universally been acknowledged to

have been in the right: and I am sorry that I am able to give so many instances where it so happened. I never yet, that I remember, stood out against the current of common opinion, but I have, at long running, either gained my point or seen the repentance of those that blamed me.

"I hope the diocese of Derry, whilst I was in it, and the diocese of Dublin, since I came to it, have not been the worse for my steadiness: for so I call that virtue which others call positiveness, opinionative, and being wedded to my own way. The truth is, my ways are the ways prescribed by the common and by the ecclesiastical laws, and so ought not to be called my ways; but generally, the ways of those that censure me are truly their own ways, being contrary to laws, canons, and justice. It is easy for a few whisperers in London, whose designs and practices I have opposed, to tell ill stories, and prejudice people against any one: but I believe if it were put to the vote of the people of Ireland to judge of my conduct, I should have as many of all sorts approving it, protestants, dissenters, and papists, as any of my easy complying neighbours would have for justifying theirs. Though I am little concerned about that, my business not being to please men but God: and he is so good, that when a man's ways please him, he often makes his enemies at peace with him, and beyond all expectation his reputation is cleared. You say, the person who discoursed you acknowledged that I had been and was useful and serviceable to the church: assure yourself that if ever I was so in anything, it was by doing those very things that got me the censure of being opinionative and singular.

"I remember an understanding and sincere friend once ingenuously told me, that I was too rough and positive in my treating my clergy, and proposed to me the example of the late bishop of Meath, Doctor Dopping, a person who was in truth much better skilled in the laws and constitutions of the church than I was, had the good thereof as much at heart as any man could have, was of a meek and gentle spirit, and managed all things with mildness and gentle persuasion. I asked my friend whether he was well acquainted with the dioceses of Meath and Derry, and desired him to tell me whether of them he thought in best condition, as to the churches built and repaired, as to the progress of conformity, service of the cures, and flourishing of the clergy as to their temporals. He freely owned that Derry was in a much better condition as to all these, and that it was due to the care I had taken. To which I replied, that he knew the churches had been more destroyed in Derry, and the state of the clergy and conformity more disturbed and wasted than in any place of Ireland: and yet in five or six years that I had been there bishop, it was put in a better posture by the methods I took, than Meath was in fifteen by the bishops: and he might judge by that which of the two were best. I asked also if he had lately discoursed any of the Derry clergy: he said he had, and said he found them much altered as to their opinion of my proceedings: and they thought at first, when I began, that it was impossible to bring the discipline of the church, and conformity to the pass in which they were then; that they found themselves agreeably deceived, both as to their spiritual and temporal advantages: and thus ended all the loud

clamours raised at first against my positiveness, singularity, and tyranny: and I believe you may remember something of this.

"As to the other part that concerns charity, I have been sixteen years archbishop of Dublin, and can show visibly, besides what is private, that above £70,000 has been laid out and given to works of charity, such as building churches, poor houses, schools, and hospitals, and other pious uses in the diocese, which I think a great deal in so poor a country. I hope neither my example nor persuasions have given any discouragement to the good disposition of the donors.

"As to charity schools, I have perhaps more in this city than are in most of the kingdom; besides, what my opinion was of them seven years ago, you will see by the enclosed, which is a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr Nicholson at that time.

"I have only now to add to it, that I observed with great grief, that the management of many of these schools was got into the hands of persons disaffected to the revolution and government: and what the effect of that may be in time, it is easy to judge. I am sure I shall never encourage them, and will take the best care I can to put them into right hands in my own diocese.

"Another thing I apprehended, that the clergy, on account of these schools, may think themselves freed from the most excellent method proposed for teaching the principles of Christianity in the rubricks annexed to the Catechism and office of confirmation in our common Prayer Book, which if enforced and duly executed, would effectually propagate all the necessary knowledge for christians to all manner of persons; whereas the teaching six or seven hundred poor children, the number of those settled in Dublin, no ways answers the end of our rubricks which reaches all. I therefore endeavour to put the clergy on doing their duty, and this is one of my particular ways to which I am wedded, and which doth not please at all. I have good hope of these schools, whilst under a strict eye, and in well affected hands, and whilst they depend on the yearly contributions of well-disposed christians; for those will, I suppose, take care that their money be not misapplied: and schoolmasters and mistresses will take care to give a good account, for fear they should get no more. But if once they come to have legal and settled endowments, I doubt they will be managed as other charities that are on that foot.

"Of what moment I reckon the training up of youth in a right way, you may see from my printed charity sermon, preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, on Proverbs xxii. 6.

"I shall add no more, but my most hearty prayers for you: and that I am,

"Sir, yours, &c.

"W. D."

"John Spranger, Esq., at Henry Hoar's, Esq.

"in Fleet Street, London."

To the just and conclusive vindication contained in this most able and interesting letter, there is nothing to be added, but that—from all we have been enabled to discover in the history of his time, or in the accounts of his life—it contains nothing more than the most rigid and

allowed truth. It was not indeed for his faults that King at any time became unpopular or obnoxious to any party: his is in truth a very peculiar case of one who courted none, but took up his uncompromising stand on principle: a great and rare distinction in a public man. Though a staunch supporter of the protestant succession, for which he did more in Ireland than any other individual, his support stopped short at the bounds of constitutional expediency and the interests of the church: and the party which, ascribing to him only those low motives by which parties are actuated, counted upon him as an adherent, were irritated to find that when they would have sacrificed the church and trampled on the feelings of Ireland, they had a firm and able opponent in archbishop King.

The British government—in fact influenced by the struggle against Jacobitism, from which it had recently emerged—partly imposed on by the interested, and wholly ignorant of Ireland, soon lost sight of all consideration but the one: the strengthening of the English interest in this kingdom: an object, it is true, essential to the improvement of Ireland, but then pursued without regard to the only principles on which it should proceed. We cannot enter here into details, for most of which there will occur more appropriate space; but in addition to those acts of misgovernment, already so frequently noticed in this memoir, and on which the extracts we have given are so explicit, the criminal negligence of the English government was shown by the remissness of those appointed as lord-lieutenants, who absented themselves altogether, taking no further part in Irish affairs than an occasional visit to enforce some unconstitutional or oppressive and arbitrary measure, to over-awe parliament, and provide by church preferments for a train of needy dependents for the most part unqualified. At the same time, and in concert with the same system of neglect and contempt, the English parliament began to assert a jurisdiction of appeal, and a legislative superiority in Ireland: the first, in the suit between Sherlock and Annesly; and the second, in an act in which the British parliament was declared to have full power and authority “to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the *kingdom* of Ireland.” A curious blunder to occur in such a composition: such an act, if it could have any validity, was indeed equivalent to a “union.” On this occasion, as also on the question of the appellate jurisdiction, the archbishop was one of three or four peers, who openly expressed his dissent, and gave a strenuous opposition in his place in the house, as well as by the utmost exertion of his influence. On the last mentioned occasion he entered a spirited protest on the journals, in which he asserted the independence of Ireland.

Such irrespective courses of policy could not indeed fail to alienate the affections of those, whose support had been on any constitutional principle. Men who maintained the English interests for the good of Ireland, and the maintenance of the church, were little likely to sacrifice these interests for the support of government. And thus it came, that the archbishop was not without reason looked on about this time as one of the most influential leaders of the opposition in Ireland.

There occurred at the same time a considerable emigration of protes-

tants from Ireland: it was occasioned by a general rise in the rent of their farms, which was carried by the landlords so far, as to make it impossible for their tenantry to subsist: as on former occasions, when their farms were set up for the highest offer, the papists, who were less provident in their bargains, could live on less, and were also less precise as to the payment of their rents, easily outbid the previous occupants, who, being thus dispossessed, left the country in crowds. Advantage of this fact was taken by the dissenters, to represent it as mainly a consequence of the disabilities under which they lay; and, in compliance with their importunities, a toleration bill was proposed, and hurried through the Irish parliament. Against this archbishop King took an active part, and his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, contain the most full explanation of these facts and of the consequent proceedings in the Irish parliament. From his accounts* it will appear that the dissenters were in reality indifferent as to the toleration bill, which they had at former times refused, but that there was at that time some hope entertained among them to introduce the "solemn league and covenant" into Ireland: a hope for which, indeed, there was strong grounds, in the neglected condition of the established church, the consequence of insufficient endowments, an ill-appointed clergy, and a patronage most unduly appropriated and scandalously applied by the government. The Irish commons had no great leaning to the dissenters, but were alarmed by apprehensions of a bill projected by the government, to prevent which they brought in a bill of their own, hastily got up, and strenuously opposed in its course by King, and the other archbishops. It, nevertheless, passed, and was rendered still more objectionable in the privy council, where it was altered with a degree of inadvertence, which, in the archbishop's opinion, annulled the act of uniformity. With these general statements we must here be content, as we have already exceeded our limits: and endeavour to confine the remainder of this memoir to the more immediate history of the archbishop.

The English government had taken a warm interest in the measures to which we have adverted, and George I. had in various public ways expressed himself in their favour: it may therefore be well conceived, that the archbishop was not high in favour. The treatment he received on every occasion which brought him into contact with his opponents or with the members of the Irish government, seems to have been harsh. A man like King was not to be depressed by a corrupt and misguided faction; but the infirmities of age were growing fast upon him, and with his ardent zeal he must have frequently felt the mortification of being incapacitated from those arduous affairs in which there were so few to take his place.

Considering the temper of venality, selfishness, and subserviency, which (at all times, the tendencies of public life) were in a peculiar manner the features of that time, we should be inclined to infer, that a man so direct and uncompromising in the pursuit of right, and the observance of duty, and so frank in his remonstrances and suggestions, must have been to some extent unpopular, among the crowd of official

* These letters may be found in Mant's Hist.

or political persons. Among this large and honourable class, there are conventional notions, by which men may pursue their private interests to any convenient extent, without sacrificing the consciousness of honour and virtue, further than human pride will easily permit. To this accommodating virtue a plain speaker is insufferable, and the more so, because his urgency seldom admits of any reply. Among the letters already cited here, there are instances enough of this temper; and it would be easy, were it worth while, to pursue a point of character, to bring together a striking collection of specimens of this severe simplicity of remonstrances or reproof, urged with a strength of reason, or a knowledge of facts, such as to create a formidable sense of the writer's keen and stern rectitude of spirit. An amusing specimen may be offered from one of his letters to secretary Southwell:—"Consider you have received out of Ireland, at least sixty thousand pounds since the revolution, which is more than the tenth part of all the current coin of Ireland; and sure there ought to be some footstep of charitable work done to a kingdom, out of which you have drained so vast sums." In another letter, in answer to one in which the same gentleman complains of gouty ankles, the archbishop tells him that he wants money to build three or four churches, and suggests, that if Mr Southwell would contribute a large sum for the purpose, the discharge of the superfluous weight might relieve his infirm ankles: "I am now," he writes, "going on in my forty-third gouty year, and if I had not taken care to keep myself light that way, I had certainly been a cripple long ago: you see then your remedy, pray try it; a little assignment of a year's salary, though it may not cure your ankles, will certainly ease a toe." This is rather rude railing, and would now be inadmissible perhaps in friendly correspondence; but we think it indicates in a striking manner the peculiar temper of this great prelate.

It is about this period that he is alluded to by Swift, in his "proposal for the universal use of Irish manufacture," in a manner which shows the Archbishop's zeal for the promotion of this object. "I have, indeed, seen the present Archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the rose, be it spoken, his Grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us."

We have already noticed the decision in the suit between the Archbishop, and the Dean, and Chapter, of Christ's Church. With this body he seems to have had no less than four suits, which, had every one of them been prosecuted through every court of competent jurisdiction in both kingdoms, by writs of error and appeals; and in all were decided against the Chapter. The Archbishop had throughout pressed his rights with all the earnest zeal of his character, not from the mere disposition to maintain his own personal authority; a reason, however, fully sufficient; but from his great anxiety to correct the flagitious irregularities which disgraced that Chapter, which was remiss in its proper offices, and regardless of the decent and orderly regulation and care of their cathedral. "They live in opposition to all mankind," writes King, "except their two lawyers, Mr Rutley, and Mr Burke; squander away their economy; have turned their chapter house into a toy-shop, their vaults into wine cellars; and allowed a

room in the body of their church, formerly for a grand jury room, and now for a robe room for the judges; and are greatly chagrined at my getting two or three churches built, and consecrated in the parishes belonging to their body, which were formerly neglected, as several others still are. Their cathedral is in a pitiful condition; and, in short, the dean and chapter, and all their members, seem to have little regard to the good of the church, or to the service of God. This consideration has made me zealous to settle my jurisdiction over them, and the same makes them unwilling to come under it."

From all we have stated, it may easily be anticipated that the death of primate Lindsay, which occurred in 1724, held out no real prospect of further promotion to the archbishop. He was evidently unsuited to the one sole purpose observed by the government in the appointments of the church:—the prelate who could venture to oppose any one of their measures, or to offer the slightest indication of an independent regard to his own duty,—the maintenance of the church, or the welfare of Ireland, was not the fit material for an archbishop of Armagh; and though his friends were zealous for his appointment, he entertained neither a hope nor desire to change. He knew what was expected; he also considered the enormous labour which he should have to encounter in reforming the northern see, and the strife unsuited to the fast increasing infirmities of his age. On these points, we may refer the student of ecclesiastical history to his correspondence with Dr Marmaduke Coghill, Dean Swift, and others.

On this occasion, the usual agitation of ecclesiastical expectations and speculations was terminated by the appointment of Dr Boulter, of whom we shall give some account in a separate memoir. In a notice on Swift's correspondence it is affirmed, that on Lindsay's death the archbishop "immediately laid claim to the primacy;" and that the reason alleged for a refusal was his advanced age. The annotator goes on to state that the archbishop found no other way of testifying his resentment, except by a rude reception of the new primate, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining parlour, without rising from his chair; and to whom he made an apology in his usual strain of wit, and with his usual sneering countenance; "My lord, I am sure your Grace will forgive me, because you know I am too old to rise." The language of this extract is evidently that of an enemy,—the description of his usual sneering countenance conveys a sentiment of bitterness. The grave, earnest, and kind, though strenuous, character of the archbishop is too amply testified by extant documents, and recorded facts, to leave any doubt as to the entire unsuitableness of such a description; but, considering the baseness of the times, it is not unlikely that such an expression of countenance may have been that most likely to be elicited by the author of such a note. This person has, we now know, certainly dealt in flippant assertions without any justifiable ground, as to the pretended claim of the primacy. As to the wit, it is very likely to be correctly stated, though falsely interpreted by one who could only comprehend some little purpose of a mean mind. The archbishop was, it is likely, unable to rise from his chair: the *mot* was but the frank wit which belonged to his character

and could never be mistaken unless by some petty malice, that outstrips its purpose, for a mark of resentment.

The archbishop's rapid decline into the physical infirmities of age, was such as to exclude him in a great measure from the more public concerns of Ireland. In the affairs of his diocese, he still took the same anxious and judicious interest; as his clear and sagacious intellect retained its vigour and soundness to the last. He was yet disabled for the discharge of those offices which required the smallest bodily exertion; and both in his visitations, and confirmations, received ready and kind assistance from his brother bishops. The gout by which he had been periodically visited for many years now began to return at such diminished intervals, and with such severe effects, that his death began to be an anxious subject of speculation, with the Irish government; and we find the primate taking constant precautions to secure a successor who might strengthen his hands in the virtual government of Irish affairs which was committed to him.

Still, we find the archbishop in the midst of sufferings and infirmities, and himself looking for the termination of his labours and anxieties; displaying on every occasion, the same alertness to resist what was wrong or prejudicial to the church, and kingdom, and to remedy, or reform what was defective or ill-ordered. He was strenuous in his remonstrances on the continued abuses of government patronage; and with the ordinary fortune of those who carry their notion of right beyond their time, he still experienced not much thanks, and a great deal of hostility.

He exerted himself with his ancient zeal, but diminished success, to obtain an increase of churches in Dublin; and the last letter, written with his own hand, was addressed to lady Carteret, on this subject. Through the whole correspondence of these later years of his life, there continues to run the same strength of understanding, firmness of principle, and characteristic freedom from narrow and self-reflecting indications. And from the considerable portions of his letters which we have seen in Swift's correspondence, as well as in the work of Bishop Mant, who has obtained them from MS. books in the possession of the university, and elsewhere, we should venture to say, that were they printed, as we trust they may be, there would be very few, if any such collections, so valuable as an illustration of the history of his time, or of the wisdom, integrity, and singleness of the man. From several of these before us, we can now but transcribe a few sentences which we select for their peculiar bearing on his own view of his approaching death. A letter to Mr Southwell is terminated with this affecting retrospect. "This day requires my remembering it; for, thirty-nine years ago, I was imprisoned in the castle by king James; I pray God make me thankful to him, who preserved me then, and hath ever since protected and supported me, and hath given me a long and happy life." In a letter of the next month, to the Bishop of Killala, he says, "I don't complain of the approach of the night of death—for that, I thank God, I am not solicitous about; but, it is uneasy to me to observe, that though the duties of a bishop are incumbent upon me, yet I am not able to discharge them in person."

In another letter to the Bishop of Cloyne, written on the same day, he writes; "I can by no means be of opinion that I have done my work, or that I should sit down and rest from my labours. St Paul has set me a better example, who, when he had laboured a thousand times more than I, and to much better purpose; yet did not reckon upon what was past, but prest forward to the obtaining the prize for which he laboured. There is no stopping in this course till God call us from it by death. I would have you to propose no other example, but St Paul himself, and compare the progress you make to his. I am ashamed every time that I think of the course he ran, when I compare it with my own. I was consecrated on the day we celebrate his conversion, and proposed him to myself for a pattern. But God knows, how short the copy comes of the original." And, in this slight effusion of confidence, we have little hesitation in saying that, it is our belief, that the archbishop's character, and the conduct of his life, should find the key to its just understanding.

An incident, in itself unimportant, brings him to notice in the last months of his life,—an itinerant seller of prints. Of this person, the archbishop gives the following account. "There is one Williamson pretends to print mezzotinto pictures; he came to me and desired that I would admit him to make one for me. I desired to see some of his work; he told me he had only done two, one of Macheath, the varlet in the *Beggar's opera*; and the other for Polly Peachum. He showed me both of them, and I neither liked the pictures nor the originals; and conceived that if he had my picture he would show it with these. I did not think it convenient that my picture should appear in such company, and therefore, positively forbade him to attempt any such thing. Notwithstanding which, he has stolen a copy, and made a picture which he says is for me and shows it about. It is more like an ill-shaped lion's face than mine, and is a most frightful figure." In conclusion he requests of Mr Annesly, to have a copy taken in "*taille* done on mezzotinto, from one of his portraits, either from that in the possession of Sir Hans Sloane, or the Lord Carteret, or Mr A. himself, and an engraving made, from which 400 prints might be struck, and sent to himself. He gives the following directions for the inscription, "Gulielmus King, S. T. D., consecratus Episcopus Derensis, 25th Jan. 1690; translatus ad Archiepiscopatum Dubliniensem per literas patentes, Annæ reginæ undecimo, March, 1709." If you think fit you may put in my age, "Natus prima Maii, 1650." In a postscript, he mentions that the painter's name is Ralph Holland. On which, bishop Mant, from whose pages we have taken the foregoing extract, observes:—"The engraving, I suppose to be that which is mentioned in Bromley's catalogue of British portraits, as engraved by Faber in mezzotinto; if so, the blank left for the name of the painter may be supplied from the foregoing postscript." The bishop adds that the age mentioned by Bromley, as between seventy-nine and eighty-three, may also be fixed by the inscription;—as the archbishop having died in May, 1729, the difference between the two dates is seventy-nine years and seven days.

To the character of the archbishop, there are many testimonies; the

most eminent among which may be reckoned those of Swift and Harris. We shall here select that of Harris as being, by far, the most comprehensive and appropriate. As to Swift, we may confine ourselves to a remark of Mr Nichol's quoted by bishop Mant, as far more significant than anything the dean has written on the subject. "With no other correspondent are the extravagances of Swift's humour, and the virulence of his prejudices, half so much restrained as in his letters to archbishop King. He certainly feared or respected this prelate more than any other person with whom he corresponded." Swift feared no man—of this there are proofs enough—but the salient levity of his character stood rebuked before the real dignity and power of a mind which his discernment could not fail to perceive. Harris writes as follows:—"He appears in the tendency of his actions and endeavours, to have had the advancement of religion, virtue, and learning, entirely at heart; and may deservedly be enrolled amongst the greatest, and most universally accomplished, and learned prelates of the age. His capacity and spirit to govern the church were visible in his avowed enmity to pluralities and non-residence. In his strict and regular visitations, both annual, triennial, and parochial; in his constant duty of confirmation and preaching; and in the many excellent admonitions and charges he gave his clergy upon these occasions; in his pastoral care and diligence in admitting none into the sacred ministry, but persons well qualified for their learning and good morals, who were graduates regularly educated in the universities of England or Dublin; and who were, before their ordinations, publicly examined in the necessary points of divinity by him, his archdeacon and some of his chapter,—“he may be counted worthy of double honour, who thus not only ruled well, but laboured in the word and doctrine.” His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his station and character, and the whole course of his conversation innocent, cheerful, and improving; for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue and grace that could adorn a public or private life.”

The archbishop was buried in the church-yard of Donnybrook. He left, by his will, £400, for the purchase of glebes in his diocese. He left £500, in addition to the same sum formerly given to the university for the foundation of a lecture in divinity. He also left £150 to the poor of the city; and he bequeathed the library which he had purchased from Dr Hopkins, for the use of the gentlemen and clergy of Derry.

We have, lastly, to take some notice of the archbishop's writings. His historical work, we have already noticed sufficiently, and a memoir yet before us will demand some further remarks.

In 1702, he published his principal work, "An inquiry concerning the Origin of Evil;" and, in 1709, he preached a discourse on Predestination, which has since taken a higher place in public estimation than the more elaborate treatise. Of the latter of these we mean to take little notice here, on account of its having been so deeply entangled in popular controversies. But it is to be observed that if both were to be compared, the method used in the discourse indicates, with unusual force of evidence, the progress of an intellect like King's, in shaking off the illusions and embarrassments of a most per-

icious train of fallacies which, up to his day, had grown round and fettered all the movements of the human understanding. On this we shall be as full as our space admits: but, first, we must endeavour to give some brief account of the "Origin of Evil." As the course we mean to take requires that we should notice the errors, rather than the excellencies of this treatise, we ought to premise that these errors were the errors of the time, and as little subtract from King's reputation as those of the Ptolemaic system may be said to do from the astronomers of the third century. His merits are peculiarly his own; and we may venture to affirm that, through the whole inquiry, there is perceivable the underworking of a sagacity superior to the entanglements in which it lay involved. A sense of correcter views is ever struggling out; so that, indeed, his sense is frequently right, when the very language which he is compelled to use is adapted to present the seeming of error.

He commences with a most unprofitable inquiry, after the manner of the day, to ascertain the origin of our knowledge. In looking for the first cause, he considers it necessary to disprove the *self-existence* of anything else; and having easily enough come to this result, as to matter and motion, he proceeds to apply a similar argument to space. And his argument offers a fair example of the impotence of reason in dealing with such subjects. Falling into a common error with Clarke, he arrives at the opposite conclusion,—each of those two most acute and nice inquirers reasoning about space as if it were a substance invested with certain properties. King, however, avoids the tissue of subtle contradictions, into which Clarke is led by his purpose, which is to establish his notion of self-existence. The proof that space is non-existent is free from the same entanglement—though illusory still—for, speaking of it as a *substance*, it is easy to prove that it is none; and then, without looking further, it will seem to have been in every sense disproved.

Having disproved the original existence of all other things, and proved that some first cause must be assumed, he comes to the existence of God. In the proof of this, he proceeds with evident caution, though not without several unwarranted assumptions to modify the affirmation of a first cause with the attributes of unity, infinity, freedom, consciousness, and intelligence, until he arrives at the required conclusion. He then proceeds in the same chapter to show that the Deity acts for an end, and next he proceeds to the bolder task of defining this end to be the exercise of his power, and the communication of his goodness. The next proposition, that he made the world as well as it could be made by the highest power, wisdom and goodness, leads to the more immediate subject of the inquiry.

Having defined "evil" so as to include all imperfections, disorders, troubles, sufferings, and crimes, he proceeds to inquire how these should originate among the works of God as described in the last mentioned proposition. On the several arguments which he employs, and the varied and numerous topics which he introduces, we cannot directly enter; as a dry abstract of so long-drawn an inquiry could neither be useful nor interesting. We shall, at this point therefore, proceed to a summary review of the general character of the argu-

ment, and the methods employed by its author; for these methods are now of far more importance than any question so vague as the origin of evil.

And here we must commence with the expression of our deep and earnest conviction, that this entire class of speculations is not less pernicious than it is absurd. However harmless they may be in particular instances, they have still the unhappy effect of propagating a fallacious method, which is as ready and as conclusive for the worst, as for the best intended conclusions. We have already taken occasion* to comment on the argument of Clarke (on the Attributes); and the remarks we then made, we hold to be nearly as applicable here. Few improvements would be more desirable than a clear and strict convention, to limit all speculations to rigidly ascertained *data*. On the subject of King's book, we should object, not so much to his argument, as to the supposition that such arguments can actually account for anything. There appear to us to be two applications to which, if cautiously used, his argument might be usefully directed. Of both, the principle would, however, be this; that in a large class of cases, objections may be met by hypothetical reasonings; for instance, if it be affirmed, that any fact is inconsistent with the existence of some other fact, the reply that shows one or more ways in which they can be reconciled, completely destroys the force of the objection, though none of those ways may be the true way.

To illustrate these methods: for the first, we may *generalize* King's argument, cautiously abstaining from the pretension, that we can reach to any inference on the actual system of God's design, or the unrevealed motives of any portion of his acts. It may be said that, perhaps, the most perfect constitution of the whole universe of things, which could be framed, must inevitably comprise certain *disturbances*; such as (for example,) would arise from the agency of *opposite elements*, all *equally needful*. Thus, two results from the assumption of infinite perfection, may involve some third consequence, so inevitably, that to suppose the contrary would be a contradictory proposition; and this necessary consequence may be in the nature of evil. Now, if this consequence were to be denied, it could (from the nature of the argument,) only be met by showing the incompetence of reason to infer it; and this, by the very same application, at once destroys the ground for either side of the question, the one being in reality as much beyond our comprehension as the other. Thus then, the assumption is sufficient as a reply, though no further. Of the argument thus stated, we think however, no *special* applications could be safely made, further than that any evil that can be named, may in *some unknown way* be consequences of such a general fact.

The second method consists in using the only means within the scope of human reason, for the investigation of unknown things; the application of the laws of being derived from things known: this may be illusory, but *there is absolutely no other*. Like the former, it can be applied to meet objections, but no further. Observing this precaution, the known, or alleged acts or ordinances of God in the moral

* Life of Jeremy Taylor.

or physical order of the world, or in the express system of his revealed religion, may, in *special* instances, be vindicated upon the very same principle which becomes unauthorized when *generally* applied. The difference consists in this: that while we are entirely ignorant of the *whole* system of being, and can have no elementary notions of the universal economy of God's *whole* government; and, therefore, can affirm nothing about it on any ground whatever,—yet, of the portion which we actually know, we have the means of discerning numerous beneficial results from many disorders in the sensible portion of that order. Now there is a mistake in the confusion of these two arguments: a *species* of reasoning from the particular to the universal. The true argument is this: that although we have no *data* for the explanation of those apparent disorders, or of those evils, however defined, which we see and know; yet we are enabled to discern that they *are* the means of certain good which could not well exist without them. This is the entire extent to which human reason can proceed upon *real data*. We cannot *assume* or *deny*, the general proposition, that there might, *in rerum natura*, be a perfect system comprising all good, and excluding all evil. But, should any one assume such a proposition, we are at liberty to withhold our assent from the *assumption* as unascertained. We are further at liberty to prove that the *contrary* assumption, equally beyond our knowledge, is yet far more consistent with all we know, and with all strict reasoning on this analogy. To perceive the scope of the argument, with these modifications, is very easy.

It so happens, however it may be explained, that in the known scope of existence, there is no class of moral results, or even system of intellectual results, that does not to the fullest extent we can discover, mainly operate by an instrumentality, which so involves disorder or evil, that it could not be conceived to exist without them. We shall, for brevity, omit inferior considerations; but, so it is, that the primary springs of all human conduct are the main sources of moral disorder; so that when *fully* considered they will be found inseparable. The passions and desires which may be clearly detected, in working out the entire structure of social order, have every one of them at one point of development a good name and a useful end; a very little further on, the scale become vices, follies, or meannesses. To regulate the intensities of these, there are again two classes of agencies; one, the counteraction which one desire or infirmity opposes to the excess of another, in such a manner, that either being unchecked by the other must produce a certain amount of disorder. The other class consists of the very highest elements of human nature; such as come under the general name of *virtues*. Now, of these there are two things to be observed: first, that their entire field of exercise consists in the endurance and resistance of those evils which are mainly the workings of moral disorder. If there were, for example, no temptation to indulge a forbidden desire, the virtue by which it is to be resisted would lie unemployed—it might exist an abstract and inert creation; but contrary to the known rule that nothing is made in vain, it would be precisely as an eye without light, a useless and superfluous organ. Now these virtues, so far as mere philosophy can see, appear to con-

stitute the highest end of all the arrangements of social order; and it seems, therefore, so far evident, that their actual use, and their *habitual* development, depend on the existence of *certain causes of disorder*; for this is the extent of the argument.

Thus, in a twofold manner, the causes of disorder are inseparably involved in the apparent constitution of things. And, therefore, if we are at all at liberty to go higher up the universal series than our actual knowledge or means of knowledge can reach, we must either take this known condition for our guide, or wander into the vacuity of mere verbal reasoning.

It will not be objected to this method, that it goes but a very little way; in truth it goes too far, and is merely offered as the only way open to our limited reason. From the popular design of these memoirs, we think it necessary, however, to guard the careless reader against an error very liable to be suggested by the foregoing analogy. It is not, as may be at first imagined, incumbent upon us to show that the moral order of things could not be otherwise constituted. As it is *not* the argument that such an implication of disorder is inevitable, but that such is the only condition of things from which we have any actual *data* for the first notions on which an argument can be legitimately built. The physical world is a system of balances and counteractions; the moral world is the same—so is the known portion of the scheme of redemption. And, therefore, according to the known laws of human reason it may be suspected to contain the same general principle. And if we are to make an assumption, it is the only one that is legitimate.

We should, however, regret, to have it understood, that we attach any value to this, or, indeed, any other argument which can be applied to such baseless and unprofitable investigations. We have simply endeavoured to limit, and so far as we could, rectify, an argument, which has been variously stated and followed up by many able writers. It is not, nevertheless, to be hastily assumed, that a man like King would have rashly volunteered to throw out, for the first time, such a topic of interminable objection and controversy. The question has not only been a ceaseless theme in the schools of every age, but it has been the favourite resting-place of atheism; and in the first christian heresies, it became the fruitful source of error. The atheist inferred from the supposed prevalence of evil, that there was no God who rules the world; from the observed strife of good and evil, the Manichean inferred the existence of two great antagonist Gods of good and evil. The still impure philosophy of the middle ages involved these notions in the confusion of their interminable dialectics. The metaphysical writers of recent times received the tangled tissue of ancient controversies, and, by a severer logic, a terser language, and some feeble side gleams from the lamp of Newton, purified them from much of their vagueness and obscurity. But it yet remains to fulfil the end of a higher wisdom, by making manifest the one great truth which will expose the absurdity of all such questions: namely, the real limit beyond which human reason cannot go.

When this result shall happily have been reached, many unprofitable questions which have remained, as much the relics of scholastic

philosophy, as duelling is said to be of feudal chivalry—will drop into silence, simply because their entire absurdity will be manifest. Many words, which, as hitherto used, have no sense; some tenets which were held in opposition to worse, and which, being entangled in sacred truth, cannot yet be touched without offence, will be abandoned or rectified. Divines and philosophers will have wholly ceased to think that, by a baseless ladder of hard words, any truth can be attained, much less that anything can be found out which God has not revealed. When such an era of reason shall arise, divines will be fully aware of that which they so often and so strangely forget, that it is from divine revelation our knowledge of God is derived; and will not seek from the devices of human invention that which he hath not judged fit to make known.

Such devices are those terms of necessity, free will, foreknowledge, and other such words, which in the sleight of sophistry shift between colloquial meanings and the no-meanings of metaphysical theology. And we think it unfortunate, that King—who in another work has manifested so much of that power of clear and sagacious good sense which has enabled him to break from the jargon of schools, and leave the most masterly essay yet written on a difficult and impenetrable mystery, upon which this kind of fallacy has been most lavished—should have lent his sanction to such “oppositions of science, falsely so called.” In looking through his pages, to separate the argument from the vast warpings of vain and empty subtlety, we have frequently had to pause, from the difficulty of bringing home to our mind, how the sagacious understanding displayed in his correspondence could be entangled in these shallow obscurities; and seduced by a hope to discover or prove that which was plain enough, by resources, only available to conceal absurdity, and keep up controversy.

Still more blameable we must consider the inverse course by which things seen are attempted to be investigated from the things unseen. On this point we fear to express an opinion; because the error continues to cling to so many questions, and so many minds of far more wisdom than we can boast, that there is danger of offence in every sentence we should write, to those with the whole of whose practical opinions we would cordially agree.

Besides those tenets of the christian religion which are explicitly declared in the sacred writings, either as rules of conduct, or articles of faith; there are, it is known, occasional intimations which, while they manifestly appear to refer to some portion of the economy of redemption, cannot at the same time, when fully brought together, receive any explanation that will command the unanimous assent, even of those good and pious persons who cordially agree in their reception of the former class of truths. From these arise not only a great variety of sects, but a wide diversity of individual opinions, wherever there is left any freedom for such diversity. And in the wide scope of reasonings adopted, there are few, if any, modes of fallacy left unemployed. We shall here, however, confine ourselves to the one method connected with the design of these remarks. The humble-minded christian either takes the text in its literal sense, without looking further; or he compares scripture with scripture, for confirmation of the opi-

nion he has formed; or, if a little bolder, he interprets the plain revelations into accordance with the opinion he has framed concerning the more obscure; or he takes the opposite course; or, perhaps, concludes that there must be something that he cannot understand or does not know, which, if known and understood, might reconcile all. But the profound and subtle metaphysician has meanwhile found a shorter way: laying aside the comparison of texts, he reflects that there can be no difficulty whatever in the interpretation of any part of the divine economy, if he commences by a simple statement of the nature of God—having done this, the next step is to draw, as a direct and easy consequence, what his intentions must be, what he can do, and what he cannot do; and having thus glided down the golden chain of nature, design, necessary mode of proceeding and necessary consequences, in truth, human reason, employed in any way that has human meanings, is too small a thing to resist the conclusion. With the *conclusions* of this class of reasoners we do not quarrel here; it is the enormous rashness of the method which we are anxious to impress. On the nature of man, the ablest writers have come to no agreement: the casuists have not determined the foundations of what they have been pleased to consider as moral science: the intellectualists cannot agree on the nature of the mind; nor can it be said that in any one instance, any certainty upon such subjects has been attained. Yet God can be measured and fathomed, and the secrets of his councils, which angels vainly desire to look into, can be turned inside out with the metaphysical screw of one or two words. The peculiar power of this reasoning to silence objection, is really worth very attentive reflection: it may be very simply stated. Every attribute which is good, or seems to be a perfection, may be affirmed of God, and as it will appear impious to deny, and impossible to explain (what cannot be understood) away; the affirmant will be sure to be met to great disadvantage on such spurious grounds. In order to reply, his opponent must also have recourse to fallacy of some similar kind; for he must reason upon a hypothesis framed expressly to exclude the only reasonable ground, and is therefore entangled in the necessity of a nugatory method. Thus King, in the origin of evil, is in fact meeting real and imaginary objectors all through, on the ground of such assumptions. Such an assumption, for instance, is that of “infinite perfection,” which metaphysical writers have followed out into a circle of consequences so curious, as to make the being, so endowed, cease to be a voluntary agent in any way. It is sometimes, indeed, distressing, to find a reasoner like King endeavouring to reconcile evil with such an assumption. The just answer to such an objection is, that we cannot deny the “infinite perfection” of God; but we do deny the competence of human reason to entertain any true notion of such an attribute. With respect to any perfection attributed to God, we may admit, that if such a perfection have any meaning or existence, it may, and perhaps must belong, to the Supreme and All-possessing power; but we must deny, until the point can be actually ascertained and defined on experimental knowledge, that such an attribute can be taken for granted; and, still less, its consequences known. The attribute, which is purely *an invention of human reason*, may be altogether

a fancy: it may involve some self-destructive contradiction, and as such would not be admitted into any science within the real compass of our knowledge, so we cannot admit it beyond. It would much increase the clearness and evidence of this reasoning; could we conveniently bring forward and analyze several examples: but, besides the length to which we should thus be led, these unfortunate speculations have been applied, where they were least wanting, to doctrinal expositions of holy writ; and are consequently involved in many questions of popular division.* We cannot, though our present memoir includes the subject, enter on the supralapsarian controversy: but we might refer to Clark's demonstration, to which we have already offered some objections, or we might refer to the arguments of atheism, by which, from certain assumptions of the same kind, as to the perfect wisdom and goodness of God, it is proved that he cannot be the creator of the physical, or ruler of the moral world. Now, it would be well worth the while of any person, whose speculative powers have the rare excellence of being subject to discretion and common sense, to sit down to the deliberate investigation of the actual limit of man's acquaintance with the being of God. Of his vast power, there is abundant evidence in the physical world: his moral creation supplies some (but we should suppose,) partial and inadequate notions of his moral nature; the scriptures confirm a little, and add a little to these conceptions. The moral nature of man is in most respects so perceptibly adapted to his state of being, or so inconsistent with the state attributed to the Deity, (*in the same argument,*) that they must not only be very differently modified as attributes of God: but, in truth, may be so affected by an infinity of other attributes which have no earthly names, as, *upon the whole*, to constitute an entirely different being from the infinite *man* of metaphysics. But, looking to scripture for ideas, it is evident enough, that they are there limited by two very obvious conditions. First, by the real purpose of revelation, which was not to give us a full theoretic knowledge of the whole nature and *secret* counsels of Divine wisdom, goodness, and power; but to make us acquainted with certain facts requisite for our faith and conduct, such as our relation and duties to God, our actual state and destination. If an emperor were to give laws for the management of all the bees in his empire, we might as well imagine some bee of more than common ingenuity, discovering the whole policy and equity of his government, and from this the essential nature of his mind; as to assume, that we can by any efforts of human reason, supply the infinite defects in point of fact and first principle, which must affect our knowledge of God. And secondly, it is as evident, that our language cannot contain more than human knowledge: yet, in order to convey to our understanding those facts of our relations

* As some readers may imagine, that our opinions on a very popular tenet, may be actually inferred from the above discussion, we think it necessary to point out the fallacy of such a notion. We are simply objecting to a *method* of proof: on the inference we do not pronounce. Our rule is this, that *any doctrine* which can be legitimately inferred from scripture must be true, notwithstanding *any objections* of human reason. But we cannot allow that divine truth is to be either explained or supported by such miserable fallacies and inventions.

with an unconceived being and state of things, which are only to be spiritually understood, *human language* must be used as the only means consistent with being understood: hence the language descriptive of God, of his character and affections, is mostly *analogical*, or else in some way adapted to convey *equivalent* notions. We cannot, for example, suppose the Almighty (certainly not, *according to the hypothesis*,) to see with eyes, hear with ears, or move with feet; nor to be the subject of those *involuntary* emotions, called anger, &c. Again, as in its allusions to the facts of physical nature, the language of holy writ is not conformed to those truths discovered by science, but to the appearances of things; so, it is probable, that the same principle of language affects every announcement of truths which belong to a state beyond our scope. Our knowledge of God, from whatever source it may be derived, is therefore too limited, and too indefinite to be made the subject of any reasonings of a *general* nature: our reason must not precede but *follow* from our facts, and only lead to *particular* conclusions. The nature of God, relatively to his declared appointments, is to be only known from his declarations, and cannot be made one of the premises in the investigation of their sense: this would be the fallacy of the *circle*.

We have transgressed our ordinary limits; because in perusing King's book, "On the Origin of Evil," we have recognised a large infusion of the vicious method here noticed, in that form which we think to be the most pernicious, that is, the admission of christian divines. We have often met, and lamented, the difficulty of replying to the flippant and shallow philosophy of atheism, from the effect of such assumptions or admissions, on the part of christian philosophers: the atheist could not be *fairly* met by the demolition of his unwarranted assumptions; because those assumptions had unwarily been made the basis of some doctrinal *demonstration*.

The error of this great and elaborate work, according to our estimation, consists chiefly in the abuse mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. We can easily perceive the effort of a mind of the first order of sagacity and comprehension, struggling against the whelming torrent of fallacies which loaded the philosophy of his age, and which is yet far enough from being cleared away: for it pervades the very composition of thought and language. Clearly discerning the fallacies of the schools, he met them but too often by fallacies, to which he was constrained by the adoption of a common error, that of supposing it necessary to assume first principles in opposition to those of his adversaries, instead of following the simple course of refusing to grant such principles, and commencing within the scope of observation and analogy. This we have sufficiently traced out; but a few instances may be acceptable: as the idea of infinite and absolute perfection was supposed to involve (which, however, it does not,) a necessity of some one unvaried course of things, so as to determine the acts of the first mover, and destroy his liberty: so this absurd combination of senseless words was to be substituted by no simple rejection, but by the contraposition of another assumption equally unmeaning, though free from the impious consequence; thus King labours to establish that there is an agent, "who is pleased with objects simply because he chooses them."

Now here the reason and the result are either identical, or a first principle is suggested, (like the elephant on the back of the tortoise,) which leaves the matter as stated by his adversaries: for in either case, the question must return, as to the principle which has determined the divine choice or pleasure: and to such questions there is no rational end. It is, indeed, *by a confusion of ideas*, which we cannot stop to examine, that it has been assumed that perfection involves the notion of some *one only course*: or one only method of pursuing that course. On this little absurdity indeed hangs the entire chain of sophisms concerning liberty and necessity. This is, however, but one instance: we might in like manner take the other assumed attributes. But, indeed, it would be to write a book.

The length to which we have been led in our anxiety to give a general exposition of this most important class of errors, must here prevent any lengthened notice of another of the same kind respecting the principles of human action. We shall therefore pass this topic altogether, as we have some opinions which it would be rash to state without much explanation on the nature and definition of evil. On these points the community of poets and preachers, and moralists, and even of educated persons, have notions as clear and correct, as all the purposes and powers of human reason require or admit of. If there are any difficulties, they only affect the writings and speculations of that subtilizing class of thinkers, who, in their efforts to reach beyond the compass of the understanding, over-reach too often the province of all meaning, and, leaving known phenomena to look for causes and first principles, lose themselves insensibly in the deceptions of language.

It only remains to notice the archbishop's able discourse upon the subject of Predestination. We have already given our reasons for not entering into any review of its matter. But we ought to observe, that it indicates a clear and masterly view of many of the general errors, and causes of error noticed in the foregoing paragraphs. It has been republished in the works of archbishop Whately, who has introduced it with some comments to which we subscribe, as most just in reference to the general method of the reasoning: we here extract some sentences which may serve to render unnecessary any elaborate comment of our own. "Considering, indeed, not only, that the author was a person of no mean repute in his day, but that this very discourse attracted so much attention as to pass through at least six editions; and considering also that its subject is by no means one of temporary interest, and that it possesses the rare merit of being calculated for almost all descriptions of readers; one is disposed to wonder at its having so far sunk into oblivion, that a large majority probably of theological students, have never even heard of it. Yet it is calculated to afford useful hints even to the most learned divine—to furnish the younger student with principles which will form the best basis on which to build his whole system of theology—and to supply even the unlearned reader with the most valuable instruction, suited to a moderate capacity, on the most important points. But it is ill calculated to gratify those who are puffed up with the pride of human learning and ingenuity, and who delight to display their talents in controversy; for it tends in a most eminent degree to lower a presumptuous, and to soften a polemical, spirit; and

the pride and bitterness of the arrogant controversialist are too deeply fixed in the heart to let him afford a patient and candid hearing to a professed peacemaker. And this probably may account in a great measure, both for the obloquy to which the author was exposed at the time, and for this work being afterwards nearly forgotten."

Rev. John Richardson.

DIED CIRC. A. D. 1740.

IN the record of human affairs, but a small space is occupied by the remembrance of eminent worth or illustrious piety: much importance is, it is true, attached to the contentions and intrigues of sects, and the din of controversy, because it is man's nature to delight in strife and intellectual antagonism: the external history of ecclesiastical concerns, for this reason, too generally displays the characteristic effort of a being alienated from God and from all the truer ends of existence, to accommodate to his own dispositions, that faith which was designed to subdue and counteract them. In the deceits of the world, there is surely none so palpable as this one, by which every ordinance of God, and every revelation of his will, have been by a uniform process, in the course of a little time, worked round into a diametrical opposition to it. Of this the primal institution after the fall, the second renewal of divine light after the flood, the Mosaic dispensation, and that great first-ordained and last consummation on mount Calvary, are all perfect illustrations. And while divines contend, in adverse learning and skill, to trace or to conceal the varied courses of a uniform error, the philosophic historian must see the one necessary operation of a general law: the restless effort of every tendency of corrupt nature—"far gone from original righteousness"—to break free from the reluctant service, and to convert its undesired yoke into the golden chains of mammon. Hence it is, that in a world of transitory things, of deceits, mockeries, and sufferings, is to be seen the marvellous contradiction of a creature endowed with reason, acquainted with his Maker's will, and expectant of an immortal destination, yet all in all immersed in concerns of which he knows the vanity, and utterly forgetful of those of which he understands the awful value: thus it is, that in a world in which any one who might be ignorant of this actual state of things, would be likely to anticipate the solemn prevalence of one universal sense of godly sorrow or spiritual renovation,—in sad reality such a sense is scarcely to be traced by any outward indication of an unequivocal character: superstition hides it for gain, fanaticism clothes it in blood and the gall of bitterness, policy turns it into a resource of state: but in all, divested of its proper character, it is only by intervals, or in its creeds and constitutions that the essential intent of divine truth is testified. The christian world is concentrated in the market or exchange, in a grave absorption in trifles; the streets and roads are loud with interminable bustle, the true illustration of the passing world; while the country church, with its neglected path, remote from human ways, that overlooks the loud and

fleeting scene, may serve as a symbol of the importance attached to the truth of God.

These reflections have been strongly suggested to us after a perusal of the few and brief notices of the Rev. John Richardson, which are to be met with in the various memoirs and histories of his own generation. Notices, it is true, quite proportional to the actual intent of history, though not to the higher value in a truer balance and more enduring record, of the assiduous and praiseworthy labours of his exemplary life.

From the time of bishop Bedell, attempts had from time to time been made by several individuals, among the bishops and clergy, for the spiritual instruction of the Irish in their own tongue. And these efforts were blessed with considerable but entirely local success; for the best efforts of individuals can reach but a little way, when they are in opposition to the prevalent condition of society. They had, indeed, that degree of effect which was fully enough to ascertain, how complete must be the success of an effort upon a general scale, and supported by the influence and authority of government: for the Irish peasantry, yet unoccupied by strong political passions and prejudices, were only withheld by ignorance, and a total want of instruction, from the truth. So far from any manifestation of the earnest and bitter prejudices, which have since possessed them very nearly up to the present date, they manifested the most eager desire to hear, and much readiness to receive, the doctrines of scripture. Of this we can only afford some well-attested instances. About the year 1702, the Rev. Nicholas Browne engaged in the conversion of the people, and was everywhere attended by crowds, which joined in the prayers of the liturgy with so much devotion, that one of their own clergy in his endeavours to prevent them, told them that the Protestant church "had stolen these prayers from the Church of Rome," on which an old man in the crowd audibly remarked, "that if it was so, they had stolen the best, as thieves generally do." Of these, a large proportion came over to the church, and many of them declared that they had been kept in the dark hitherto, but that Mr Browne showed them the light, and said nothing but what was good, and what they understood. Mr Browne's labours were cut short by a premature death. The facts are fully authenticated by testimonies to be found in Mr Richardson's History.* On his deathbed, Mr Browne expressed his assurance, that if the convocation would take up the matter, and prevail on the Parliament to encourage the building of churches, and to provide for the establishment of preachers and schoolmasters in every diocese, the result would be productive of great success in a few years. Mr Browne's death occurred in 1708.

About the same time, this laborious undertaking was engaged in by the Rev. Walter Atkins, treasurer of the cathedral of Cloyne, and vicar of the parish of Middleton. Of his general labours some account may be found in Dr Mant's History:† we shall only select a characterizing instance. He had been supplied by the earl of Inchiquin, with a Book of Common Prayer, from which he used to perform the office

* See also Mant's History, II. 167.

† Ib. p. 167.

of burial, before large crowds of the peasantry, who "participated in the service with great devotion, and joined audibly with their voices in the Lord's Prayer, and in the previous responses: and on an occasion of a burial in the churchyard of the cathedral, one of them was heard to say, "That if they could have that service always, they would no more go to mass." In process of time his ministerial labours became so acceptable to the natives, that they of their own accord sent for him from all parts of his parish to baptize their children, to solemnize matrimony, to church their women, to visit their sick, and to bury their dead. These circumstances of Mr Atkin's ministry, conducted by him after this manner for several years, and continued at the time of his relation with success, were communicated by that clergyman himself to Mr Richardson.

In 1710, circumstances occurred which tend very much to favour such efforts as we have described. By refusing to take the oath of abjuration, most of the Romish clergy had incurred liabilities which amounted to a suspension of their functions. The people soon began to feel the want consequent upon such a condition of their clergy; and in the course of a little time were glad to have recourse to those of the English church. The effects were very considerable, and there arose among the people a very common expression of approbation of the prayers and services, and a great show of interest in the reading of the scriptures. Of this it is mentioned as an instance, that two middle aged men, actually learned to read, that they might themselves read the sacred writings.

From these beginnings the interest spread, subscriptions were made, and numbers of the Irish nobility and gentry joined in a representation to the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, to desire his countenance and good offices; the duke referred it to the Irish bishops, who approved and referred it to the consideration of the convocation and parliament. A petition was also prepared and presented to queen Anne, who received it favourably. It is needless here to detail proceedings, which had no commensurate result: such undertakings as have the higher ends of religion for their aim will always be treated with ostensible respect by those who act in the public eye: it is when the preliminaries of formal respect are done, that they are shuffled aside in the long and tortuous labyrinth of party and official expedients and sideways.

Through this period, Mr Richardson, the historian of these efforts, a strenuous and effective labourer in the same service, was engaged in exertions of the most exemplary self-devotion, and unwearied toil for their success. He was patronized by the archbishop of Dublin, and in order to meet objections to the undertaking, wrote "A short history of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland," of which 3000 copies were printed, by order of the Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge, of which he was a corresponding member: he also made repeated visits to London for the purpose of providing funds and obtaining support for the erection of charity schools; and subscriptions were opened at the Society's house, in Bartlett's buildings, and succeeded so far as to afford 6000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Church Catechism, with other translations of no

less utility for the same purpose. In the efforts which he made for this purpose, he is supposed to have received assistance from Swift, whose good offices were engaged by Archbishop King. He is two or three times alluded to by Swift, in his *Journal*, and his mission rather coldly and doubtfully mentioned. The archbishop, in a letter to Swift, states his opinion, that it was not desired very unanimously, that the native Irish should be converted. And this was, we cannot doubt, the main and only effectual obstacle to such a result. The protestant gentry of Ireland were then, as they have been since, far more zealous to act upon paltry and erroneous views of self-interest, than either for the welfare of the country, or the truths of religion. They saw, truly indeed, that a general conversion of the Irish would both add to the influence of the church, and that it would raise the people themselves to a condition of more real power (which is absolutely dependent on civilization,) by redeeming them from the tyranny of superstitions which bound them to the earth. But they did not see, that their own respectability must depend on that of the country, and that the value of their estates must sooner or later depend on the wealth of the community: they did not look to the consequence, now become so plain, that no country can advance to wealth, civilization, and civil liberty, with the gangrene of perpetual dissension in its bosom: and that the period must arrive when a dangerous inequality must be developed, between the popular power, and the popular civilization; for the one would flow in from the mere connexion with England, while the other would be dependent upon the dissemination and growth of the principles of truth and order. These things were not understood by a large and prevalent section of the Irish nobility and gentry, who were then willing to keep back the people lest their own church should be strengthened by their accession, as they have since shown themselves equally ready to oppress their own religion, by seconding undue and unconstitutional efforts, of which the pretence was to raise the condition of the people. In both cases have they been found warring against God, and in both the eventual record of history will be the mischief they have done, and the retribution they have suffered.

In our own times we are happy to say better prospects have in this respect arisen; not from the wisdom of parliament, or the care, patriotism, and piety, of the higher classes; but from the persevering energy of the church, the clear-headed sagacity of the Irish peasantry, and the blessing from above which never deserts the truth of God. Controversies of seemingly doubtful issue have had strange effects, even as yet imperfectly explained: the disputants for the papal creed adopted the dangerous artifice of comprehensive retractions and denials of the tenets which they found themselves unequal to defend: a retreat was covered by virtual concessions; but a people who had grown up at the feet of O'Connell were too sharp not to seize upon the consequences. A spirit of inquiry began; many falsities were rejected; the scriptures ceased to be the object of a superstitious prejudice; and at this moment, when there seems an authoritative and strong accession to the papal cause, popery is itself unconsciously losing its form, and stealing without recognition into the principles of the opposite side; so that there is no extravagance in surmising, that in the very season of triumph it will cease to exist.

To forward this desirable object should be now the main effort of every enlightened mind, of every protestant church. And happily no further obstruction is to be apprehended from either the ignorance of the peasantry, or the barrier presented by language. Nor are the people reluctant to hear, or slow to acknowledge, truths spoken in goodwill. But we must not be diverted further from our record.

The following letter from primate Boulter contains nearly all we have been able further to obtain of the life of this illustrious christian. It is written to the duke of Dorset.

“ My Lord,

“ The deanery of Duach or Kilmacduach, I know not which they call it, is now vacant by the death of Dr Northcote, worth about £120 or £140 per ann. I should be very much obliged to your Grace if you would be pleased to bestow it on Mr John Richardson, rector of Belturbet: he is a worthy person, and well affected to his majesty, and was many years ago concerned in a design to translate the Bible and Common Prayer into Irish, in order the better to bring about the conversion of the natives; but he met at that time with great opposition, not to say oppression here, instead of either thanks or assistance; and suffered the loss of several hundred pounds expended in printing the Common Prayer Book, and other necessary charges he was at in the undertaking.

“ I should be very glad, I could contribute somewhat to make him a little easy in his circumstances, and procure him by your Grace’s favour some dignity in the church.

“ I am, my Lord, &c.”

“ DUBLIN, 3d Sept., 1730.”

The duke of Dorset consented, and he obtained the deanery; a subsequent attempt to exchange it for the deanery of Kilmore, worth £300, a-year failed. A like effort to gain the appointment to be chaplain of a regiment, likewise failed from Mr Richardson’s inability to raise a sum of money which it was customary to pay the colonel, on such appointments.

It appears from a passage in one of the primate’s letters, that he contributed from his private means to Mr Richardson’s maintenance.

Richardson was advanced in life at the period here alluded to, and the last notice we can find of him is in 1734. He is not likely to have long survived this period.

Charles Leslie.

DIED A. D. 1722.

CHARLES LESLIE was the second son of Dr John Leslie, bishop of Clogher. He received the first rudiments of his education at Eniskillen, and in 1664 entered the university of Dublin as a fellow-commoner. He continued his studies in the college until he obtained his degree of A.M. after the regular period. He was perhaps designed

for holy orders by the bishop; but in 1671, on his father's death, he resolved on the study of the law, which to one of his uncommon powers of reasoning, must have offered strong attractions. But like many who are led from their course by such an impulse, he changed his mind after a few years, and entered upon the study of theology. We may be wrong in explaining his change of purpose by a very common succession of motives, of which we could adduce many living instances. The practice of the bar has a charm for the youthful, at that period when expertness and ingenuity seem to be the most important and elevated capabilities of the intellect, and the youthful mind, deeply engaged in acquiring the methods and principles of reasoning, has not yet obtained an adequate notion of their proper aim and end. The bar alone retains the ancient character of a system of dialectic antagonism, and thus appears to offer a fair field for the prowess of the young logician. There is, however, a wide chasm of probation to be passed, of which the youthful aspirant has seldom formed any notion: but, during his attendances at Inns of court,—while forming a first acquaintance with the true principles, the practice, and the members of his intended profession—he begins to perceive that a long course of duller and drier studies must be passed, and years of less ambitious drudgery must elapse before he can acquire the enviable privilege of chopping chancery logic. In the mean time, if he may chance to have, like Charles Leslie, an intellect bent for the higher applications of reason in the broader and loftier field of philosophic research, and the investigation of truth, his reflecting powers will often be drawn aside by the many profound questions, doubts, and speculations, which are in numberless forms presenting themselves to every thinking person. And there is no one path of professional study so various or so wide in the range of truths it offers, or so fertile in true and satisfactory solutions, as that of the theologian. The real aim and end of human existence—the history and destinies of man—the true grounds of motive and obligation—the mingled web of good and evil in moral and physical nature—the foundation in fact and probability of all these, while they offered a grasp to the comprehensive intellect not to be found in any other pursuit; at the same time appear in a sounder, more simple, and satisfactory form, in the writings of our great English divines, than in the confused and contradictory speculations of mere philosophy. Indeed, there is a result which not unfrequently has occurred, when the bar was less educated than in the present day; and therefore liable to admit the taint of that infidel tone which is the frequent result of shallow ingenuity combined with ignorance: in a circle thus constituted, a scholar like Leslie, would be very likely to be thrown upon an anxious effort to recollect and keep in view the rational grounds of faith. Nor would it unfrequently occur, that he might be compelled to stand upon his defence and wield those powers, which were so happily displayed in his argument against the Deists, and which have made the world his debtor.

After nearly nine years spent in the study of law, he entered into holy orders in 1700, and in a few years more, was appointed chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor. About the same year, an occasion presented itself for the exercise of his controversial powers. The

bishop of Clogher having died, the see was filled by the appointment of a bishop of the Romish church, by James II. This bishop, whose name was Patrick Tyrrel, brought several well-trained disputants along with him, and at his visitation had recourse to the singularly indiscreet step of proclaiming a challenge to the Protestant clergy: these, on their part, were then, as ever, willing to maintain their profession, and Leslie accepted the challenge. Of the result we have no distinct record; but, at a second meeting for the same purpose, he met two very eminent persons selected for the occasion, in the church of Tynan in Armagh, before a very crowded assembly; and his success is more distinctly indicated by the fact, that Mr John Stewart, a gentleman of respectability, was so convinced that he renounced the papal creed.

In the same troubled period, when there was a confusion of public authorities occasioned by the efforts of James II. and his party, to substitute papists for protestants in every post of authority, an incident occurred which manifests the influence which Leslie's reputation had gained by his talent and probity. A sheriff of the papal faith was appointed in Monaghan: the gentry of the country took the alarm, and flocked to Leslie for advice. His advice was given; but they requested his personal attendance on the bench at the approaching sessions, as a justice of peace; and promised faithfully to support him. He had the gout, and was carried with much severe suffering to court. There, a question was put to the sheriff, "whether he was legally qualified:" he answered that "he was of the king's own religion, and that it was his majesty's will that he should be sheriff;" Leslie then told him "that they were not inquiring into his majesty's religion, but whether he had qualified himself according to law, for acting as a proper officer. That the law was the king's will, and nothing else was to be deemed such, &c.:"—on this, the sheriff was committed for intrusion and contempt, by the bench.

This spirited conduct is, indeed, the more creditable to Leslie, because it stands separated from all party feelings, as his known political prepossessions lay entirely in the opposite direction. Though like every person of honest heart, and sound understanding, he condemned the treacherous and unconstitutional proceedings of James; yet, on the other hand, he refused to recognise the extreme case which had arrived. Like a few other honest and able men, his mind submitted to a prejudice which had grown up in the hotbed of absolute power, and under the shade of despotic thrones maintained by papal power. The notion of an indefeasible divine right had not yet been assailed by the writers of the revolution. And while the plain common sense of the practical part of the nation followed the suggestions of an apparent necessity; some who, like Leslie, had been trained within the pale of theories and systems, sternly adhered to the lessons they had learned in their school of constitutional theory. This, in our opinion, is the true account of this seeming absurdity in a man of Leslie's profound understanding. And we cannot help considering it important for the purpose of reconciling the able understanding in controversies and questions, with the seeming inconsistencies and practical errors of this truly able and good man, to remind the reader of the differ-

ence which occasionally offers itself in experience between the precise and deep thinker, and the prudent and practical man of the world. The several qualifications of such persons are both common enough, perhaps in their separate perfection; but it does not very frequently happen that they are found together. A large development of the powers of external perception, and a profound expansion of the faculties which can familiarly move in the depths of abstraction, include some opposing habits, and perhaps conditions of the understanding. There is, thus, a simplicity in the philosopher which sometimes exposes him to be the dupe of shallow knaves; and that such was characteristic of this illustrious divine, there is much evidence in his life, and even some in his writings. Of the first, we shall presently offer specimens enough: of the latter, we may adduce in evidence some facts which we would fain dismiss before we proceed further. We mean his strange contradiction of the statements of archbishop King's well-known history of those troubles of which he was an honest and sagacious witness, and which, from their nature, and the prominent character of the events which they relate, admit of little mistake. Now, it must be observed, that the whole history of the archbishop, and all his letters and other writings, plainly manifest all the indications which can be sought for of sagacity and integrity. During the troubles in question, he was not only an intelligent and watchful actor, but he was also placed in a position the very best for observation. Any one, however able, may be liable to err in his public sentiments, or in his deductions of political consequences; but, it is only a fool who can be persuaded that he is in the very midst of a scene of outrage, oppression, and flagrant crime, where there is all the time little or no ground for it. The writers who would impute such folly cannot have considered the numerous absurdities which it involves; and they who would suspect the whole to be a mere party statement, either have not reflected on the high character of the writer, or must themselves think truth and falsehood matters of entire indifference. Again, to apply similar considerations to Leslie—he was not a witness,—he was a zealous partisan—his temper was pre-eminently controversial—and though a reasoner of unequalled power, he was far from possessing either the knowledge of Irish affairs, the observant sagacity, or the neutral spirit of Archbishop King. Thus modified by circumstances and natural temper, the several courses pursued by these two eminent men are to be compared. King, when he had adopted the principles of the most eminent whigs, the same which time has approved, pursued them without manifesting the slightest tendency to party; and when the revolution was confirmed, applied himself to his own official duties with an active and uncompromising zeal which gave offence to the government, who were disappointed to find no subserviency in one who had given them a constitutional support, and was as ready to offer a constitutional opposition. And such is the person who has been accused of publishing in the face of a million of adverse witnesses, a collection of the most outrageous and monstrous lies. Such a charge demands better authority than has been yet found.

Now, on the other hand, let us look again at Leslie's course of conduct.

Being infirm from disease, and obnoxious on account of his controversial achievements—on the first breaking out of the troubles, he retired with his family to England. There the contest being mainly one of political feeling, he entered, with zeal, into sympathy with the Jacobites; and, having adopted a mistaken principle of *irrespective* loyalty, he entered with all the spirit and ability of his character, into the controversy which was carried on by pamphlets on either side. His first Essay was the answer to King's statement; written, away from the scene, and without any authority whatever, but the strong and daring contradictions of angry and fugitive Jacobites,—the eye-witnesses whom he is said to have questioned. Of these, some were vindictive, some terrified; many careless of assertion, and willing to derive the importance attached to strong statements; and few had seen more than the local incidents connected with their own immediate apprehensions. Among these, the philosophic divine, honest and ready to trust in those with whom he had a common feeling, looked for information, and found such information as may now be found in rival newspapers.

Assuredly, it is not too much to say, that such a pamphlet as was written under such circumstances, and on such authority, would never be cited by any respectable historian, against the statements of King, which have all the authenticity of which history admits. And also, that confirmatory evidence which we have already explained in these pages;* that is to say, that which arises from a view of the *whole* history of the time, as well from the avowed designs as the express admissions of the parties. We must now revert to our history.

Though Leslie considered resistance to illegal proceedings, justifiable, it did not occur to him to follow out such an assumption to its extreme consequences; and, having refused to take the new oaths, he lost all his preferments. In 1689, he went with his family to live in England, where, as we have stated, he devoted his talents to the support of the cause which he conscientiously adopted; and there can be no doubt but, had that cause succeeded, his efforts must have found their reward. He quickly rose to such importance by this means, as to incur the suspicions of government, as well as to rise into high favour with the exiled court. It was soon observed that he made frequent visits to France, where he was received with distinction at St Germain. On the publication of a tract asserting the "Hereditary Right," he found himself an object of suspicion, and retired to Bar-le-duc, to the pretender's court, where he was received with distinction, and the favour which his zeal had earned.

While in the pretender's court, he is said to have exerted himself to convert him to the protestant faith. His influence was also proved by a permission to read the service of the church of England in the family. But the pretender never appeared on these occasions, though it is asserted that he promised to hear all that Leslie had to say upon the errors of the church of Rome,—a promise which he took care to break. Leslie's zeal seems to have been courageous, and perhaps importunate—as it was thought necessary to prohibit controversy among

* Life of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

the members of the household. These particulars we have here thrown together more briefly than their interest would seem to require, as we are anxious to do this illustrious divine the justice of devoting the rest of the little space which can be allotted to his memoir, to the statement of his claims upon our gratitude. On his character as a Jacobite, we need enter no further than to observe that it was strictly a sacrifice to conscience, though (very naturally perhaps,) misrepresented in his own time by party. His conduct was one of those cases which has often occurred, and will often occur, and always be misrepresented: when a person, in the strictest adherence to *his own* political theory, must change sides in merely following out his principles, it is on such occasions forgotten that party is not necessarily consistent, and that—considering that it is seldom the creature of pure theory—its system of action may involve both opposite courses, and inconsistent principles. In Leslie's instance, it is true that this was not precisely the fact; his own theory contained the inconsistencies, but he was himself consistent in adhering to it. Bishop Burnet, who mentions him as a violent whig, who suddenly changed to the Jacobites,* does him great injustice. He resisted unconstitutional efforts to subvert the laws and the protestant church; but maintained the allegiance which he considered as having as binding a claim upon him.

In 1721, he came over to England, from the natural desire to “die at home at last.” His character, well known as a formidable writer on the tory side, quickly exposed him to notice; the whigs were then in office, and lord Sunderland received an intimation of his being in the country. This, it is almost needless to say, was disregarded, and Leslie was allowed to return unmolested to Ireland. He did not long survive, having died in the following year at his own house of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

Besides those political tracts which were so important in their day, Leslie left works of great and permanent interest, which entitle him to a high place in the first rank of theological writers. In the hurry and vicissitudes of a life of unusual agitation and trial, he not only sustained a prominent character in the struggles of his time; but also left two folios replete with sound and able views upon all the leading controversies of the age. He maintained the Christian religion against the Jew—the protestant creed against that of Rome—he proved the divine institution of baptism against the Quakers—vindicated episcopacy against presbyterians—the divinity of our Lord against the Socinian—and the truth of the gospel against the Deists.

As the most generally important, and least connected with any class of opinions to which respect need be preserved, we select the last for the exemplification of the writer's powers. We shall first, however, quote a few general sentences of just and characteristic praise. “The members of the church in general, not only of his own but of succeeding ages, have acknowledged the debt; and the works of Charles Leslie still continue to be held in esteem; not indeed for the allurements of an elaborate style, but for their soundness of argument—their perspicuity of reasoning—their earnestness of sentiment

* *Own Time*, vol. ii. 323.—Ed. Dub. 1734.

—and withal, their substantial support of the Christian verity.” Of Leslie’s argumentative powers in particular, Dr Johnson had formed a high estimate. Having on a certain occasion, as Boswell tells, spoken slightly of the reasoning of the nonjuring divines, and made objections to the several claims advanced in favour of William Law, of Jeremy Collier, of Kenn, of Kettlewell, in answer to the question, “What do you think of Leslie?” he said, “Charles Leslie, I had forgotten; Leslie *was* a reasoner, and a *reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.*”*

Of the argument against the Deist, an interesting history is given by its editor, Mr Jones, who received the particulars from Dr Delany, dean of Down, on the authority of Captain Leslie, the author’s son; this we shall give in Mr Jones’ own words. “It was the fortune of Mr Leslie to be acquainted with the duke of Leeds of that time; who observed to him, that although he was a believer of the Christian religion, he was not satisfied with the common methods of proving it: that the argument was long and complicated, so that some had neither leisure nor patience to follow it, and others were not able to comprehend it: that as it was the nature of all truth to be plain and simple, if Christianity were a truth, there must be some short way of showing it to be so, and he wished Mr Leslie would think of it. Such a hint to such a man, in the space of three days, produced a rough draught of the Short and Easy Method with the Deists, which he presented to the Duke, who looked it over, and then said, ‘I thought I was a Christian before, but I am sure of it now—and as I am sure of it now—and as I am indebted to you for converting me, I shall, henceforth, look upon you as my spiritual father!’ And he acted accordingly; for he never came into his company afterwards without asking his blessing. Such is the story, very nearly as Dr Delany would himself tell it, if he were now alive.”

The proof of christianity offers by far the most perfect exemplification of the laws of probable reasoning through their whole extent: being in fact the only case which is complete in all its parts. And thus it happens that there is no other event in history, which admits of being proved by so many distinct arguments; and there is no method of applying either the rules of evidence, or the laws of moral reasoning which cannot be used with the most conclusive result. The superior intellect of Leslie is manifested in discovering the concurrent force of certain main arguments, which had been always separately understood by christian apologists. This combination offers a proof of such surpassing force, that there is no direct answer but the one which denies certain data, which, being facts beyond the reach of denial, has not, and will not, be attempted by the deist, who has thereby been forced to evade the argument in a manner which has only served to leave a most curious test of its validity. To understand this interesting fact, Leslie’s proposition must be stated. It is briefly this, that certain conditions are fulfilled in the history and present state of christianity, which are entirely irreconcilable with falsehood. Mr Leslie’s method consists in the statement of four conditions “of truth in matters of fact

* Mant’s History, 11—39. See also Boswell, by Croker, viii. 287.

in general, such that when they all meet, such matters of fact cannot be false." He then shows that they all meet in the several histories of the Mosaic and of the christian religions.

The rules are:—"1st. That the matters of fact be such as that men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it. 2d. That it be done publicly in the face of the world. 3d. That not only public monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward actions be performed. 4th. That such monuments, and such actions or observances, be instituted, and do commence from the time that the matter of fact was done." As Mr Leslie's method is a brief method, it would be impossible for us here to give a summary of the admirable statements and illustrations by which he applies these four rules. But as numerous readers may not from our statement see the *whole* force of the argument, on account of the *separate* insufficiency of the rules, it may not be amiss briefly to point out the connexion.

The first guards against the witnesses being deceived by any kind of sleight; the second, against their imposing on the public by a false story; the third secures the most authentic species of evidence to after times; and the fourth prevents the possibility of this evidence being spurious. Now the peculiarity of this combination is, that any three of these rules might be fulfilled consistently with *some* form of imposture, either at the time, or after, while the four amount to a clear and demonstrative exclusion of all the possibilities of falsehood. This is indeed at first sight so apparent to any practised reasoner, that we have always been inclined to feel some doubt on the story of the celebrated deist, Middleton, who is mentioned on very good authority to have for twenty years vainly exercised ingenuity of no inferior order, to find a case of undoubted imposture which would satisfy the four conditions.* He might assuredly have as well endeavoured to find a rectilinear triangle having the sum of its angles not equal to 180° . For if there are conclusive proofs that the witnesses of a fact were not deceived themselves, and could not have deceived others, there could have been no deception. The general proposition is an absolute demonstration, not dependent on the nature of the facts, but on the most strict assumptions that reason could propose as tests of evidence.

To this severe test, Leslie next proceeds in circumstantial detail to apply the evidences of the two great scriptural dispensations. This little volume we most earnestly recommend to the perusal of all our readers of every class. For those, whose faith is inclined to be unsteady, it will do as much as can be hoped for from mere human reason. For those who are confirmed, it will arm them with the most convenient and ready weapons against that infidel spirit which exists, and must exist, while human nature continues in its present state of sinful alienation; for, infidelity, quite unfounded in the legitimate use of reason, is but the development of the carnal temper of the heart—"deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,—who shall know it?"

This one of Leslie's admirable tracts may serve as a specimen of

* "This," writes Mr Jones, "I learned from Dr Berkeley, son to the celebrated bishop of Cloyne." *Preface to Leslie's Short Method*, 1799.

the others: all of which evince the same clear and unencumbered vigour of intellectual power, though, from the nature of their subjects, they have not all the same interest at the present time.

Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's.

BORN A. D. 1667—DIED A. D. 1745.

THE great celebrity of Swift has long given an efficient stimulus to the labours of the biographer. The details which have been collected respecting the early history of his family, are of themselves sufficient to occupy a considerable portion of the full and elaborate volume which has been left us by the greatest writer of modern times, and would be nearly sufficient to fill half of the space which our contracted and still lessening limits can afford even to Swift. We must endeavour therefore to pass briefly through the mass of deeply interesting statements which may be found in a volume generally circulated. In this, indeed, were there no stronger reasons, we are sanctioned by the fact, that Scott has referred those details of family history to an appendix. The memoir composed by Sir Walter, like all his maturer works, is such as to silence any future competition, save that of presumption, which nothing can silence; and having looked through several memoirs, we shall here adopt it as our text and main authority as to facts,—an announcement which may save the necessity of any references which are not made essential by some special reason. But it is also a duty to apprise our readers, that our respected authority is in no instance responsible for any *opinions* or *general views* which we may be led to express in the course of this memoir, unless when specially referred to. Through the whole of these memoirs, we have most guardedly abstained from the unacknowledged adoption of the smallest notion to which any writer could have claim; and in our perusal of the various memoirs of Swift, we have seen ample grounds for such abstinence.

The family of Swift had for some generations been settled in Yorkshire. The family pedigree begins so far back as 1569, in which his ancestor, in the fifth remove, is mentioned to have been “collated to the territory of St Andrew Canterbury.” The grandson of this person, Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, left several sons, of whom one, whose name was Jonathan, married Abigail Erick of Leicester, by whom he left a son and daughter. The son, also named Jonathan, was the well-known person of whose life we are to give an account. In a short memoir which he has left of his family history, Swift mentions some very interesting particulars of his grandfather's life. Having lived in the time of Charles I., he experienced his share of the troublesome adventures of that calamitous interval,—having been repeatedly plundered by the parliamentary soldiers. The house in which he lived remains, or (at least till recently) remained in the possession of his descendants. A note upon Swift's narrative mentions that there is still shown a secret vault under the kitchen, in which the family concealed their provisions from the plunderers. The anecdotes of his escapes, and of his courage and loyalty, are curious and romantic.

On his death, his son Jonathan came to Ireland, where he is related to have obtained some employments and agencies. But the most authentic fact seems to be his nomination in 1665, as steward to the Society of King's Inns, Dublin.

In April, 1667, he died, leaving one daughter, and his wife was soon after (November 30th), delivered of a son, who is the subject of our history. This event occurred in No. 7, Hoey's lane, a small house, on which Scott remarks:—"The antiquity of its appearance seems to indicate the truth of this tradition." His mother's condition was not such as to afford more than the most cheap and coarse subsistence, as she is said to have obtained the expenses of her husband's funeral from the bounty of the Society: this account is indeed materially qualified by some statements in counsellor Dubhigg's history of the King's Inns in Dublin, from which it would seem that the Society was considerably in her debt, and not very prompt to pay. There can still be no doubt of the poverty of her condition. She was however enabled to commit her infant to the care of a nurse, who seems to have contracted a warm attachment to her charge: this was exhibited in an eccentric and decisive step, which would induce a suspicion that Swift was indebted for some principal traits of his disposition to his nurse. The story is not without interest. It runs that this woman, having been a native of Whitehaven, was recalled by some relation, perhaps (if this part of the statement has any foundation,) her husband, and not wishing to part with the child, she carried him off clandestinely, and for a considerable time no trace could be obtained of them. We are inclined to think, that one capable of courses at the same time so decisive and inconsiderate, was little likely to have been induced by any duty to leave a good nursing, and that this strange woman had balanced the discomforts of her situation against a natural instinct, and provided for both by one bold act: the reason given is evidently that which afterthought would adopt to excuse an indiscretion, or perhaps to conceal the poor circumstances of Mrs Swift. When the nurse was traced, the family considered the delicacy of the infant, which it was feared might not well bear the risk of a second passage across the channel, and taking into account the strong attachment of the nurse, it was thought fit to leave him in her care. He continued thus in Whitehaven for three years, during which his health improved, and his mind was not neglected; when he was brought back to Dublin he could spell. At five years of age, he could read any chapter of the Bible.

The circumstances of his mother were, as we have stated, in a state approaching destitution, and she was compelled to look to his family for the means of rearing and educating her two children. Of the brothers of her husband, William Swift showed active kindness and sympathy; and Godwin Swift, whose means are supposed to have been more affluent, contributed chiefly to their maintenance.

Godwin Swift was the elder brother of Swift's father; he had studied the law, and having been called to the bar, was by the duke of Ormonde appointed attorney-general to the palatinate of Tipperary. His success had induced the removal to Ireland of three of his brothers, William, Adam, and Swift's father. Godwin acquired considerable wealth, and might have laid a respectable foundation for the fortunes of his house,

had he not given way to a speculating disposition, and sunk his resources upon projects which ended in nothing but loss. To this Scott attributes Swift's great dislike to projects of every kind; adverting very probably to the part he took in relation to Wood's project. The actual embarrassments of Godwin Swift, are indeed important here, as tending to explain the narrowness of his contributions to the family of his brother's widow. His nephew, who appears not to have been, till a later period of his life, fully aware of the circumstances, is known to have always entertained angry recollections upon the supposed parsimony of his uncle; and though he became afterwards acquainted with the truth, that necessity alone had stinted the kindness of this relative, the impression never lost its hold of his tenacious mind. The native and deep-seated pride, which occupied so large a place in his temper, began at an early period of his youth to feel and be embittered by the painful sense of dependence; and it is indeed hard to conceive a position more galling than that dependence, which, at the same time that it lowers and oppresses a proud temper, is inadequate to the purposes for the sake of which it is borne. It is not difficult to conceive that Mr Godwin Swift may have from time to time compensated for the deficiencies of his liberality by advice which was not approved, or by some assumption of authority not acquiesced in. It is indeed easier to give advice than to bestow that careful and comprehensive reflection upon the difficulties or the interests of friends and relations, which is yet ever found essential by persons of sense to the conduct of their own affairs; and in circumstances of dependence there are few things more offensive, than such counsel as seems to carry with it the stamp of neglect or slight, while it is enforced by a claim of authority. And it is not unlikely that Mr Godwin Swift, who does not seem to have had any superfluity of wisdom in the management of his own concerns, may have shown this ordinary propensity by interfering vexatiously upon the education, breeding, or destination, of his sensitive or irritable nephew. In after years, when Swift was dean of St Patrick's, he is said to have been accosted at a visitation dinner by Dr Whittingham with the question, "Pray, Mr Dean, was it not your uncle Godwin who educated you?" When the question had been reiterated with great rudeness of manner, the dean answered abruptly, "Yes, he gave me the education of a dog."* Yet, after all, to judge from the prominent facts, his uncle acted at least efficiently: at six he was sent to Kilkenny school, and as Mr Godwin Swift was upon terms of friendship with the duke of Ormonde, who had been his patron, and was the patron of this eminent school, it is to be conjectured that it was by this connexion that a provision so important was obtained. At the Kilkenny school, we are told by Scott, his name cut upon the form is yet shown. He remained there until his fourteenth year, and then entered as a pensioner under Mr St George Ashe, in the university of Dublin. His name was entered on the books of the senior lecturer, 24th April, 1682. At the same time his cousin, Thomas Swift, son of an uncle of

* Scott gives the anecdote of which the above is a part, upon the authority of Theophilus Swift.

the same name, also entered; and this coincidence has embarrassed the researches of learned antiquarians, who have found no small difficulties in the archives of the buttry, and other collegiate accmpts and documents, in their endeavours to allocate correctly the several honours of the cousins, and to trace the incidents of their academical career. Of these discussions, the ample scope of Sir Walter's volume, with the help of a full and valuable appendix, offers an ample abundance. We are here reluctantly compelled to make a brief selection.

Of men, so eminent as Swift, there is ever a restless curiosity to obtain the early history; to trace by what steps they attained those powers, which are only to be fully known in the conduct or works of their maturer years, and to see in their first indications the peculiarities of spirit, temper, and taste, which, to the reflecting observer of human nature, are objects of profound and earnest study. Of this class of interesting detail the records are few, but strongly characteristic, and full of important suggestion. It is generally admitted by his biographers, and stated also by himself, that he did not apply himself to the studies prosecuted in the university; yet it is also as satisfactorily known, that at an early age he had made a remarkable proficiency in many of the most useful branches of general literature. His neglect of his studies has been by himself attributed to the depression caused by ill-treatment from his friends, and by poverty. That these, whether real or imaginary, were likely to produce depression of spirits, and to exasperate the haughtiness of a spirit like Swift's, is highly conceivable: they might also in some cases destroy exertion, but assuredly not in the ambitious, fervent and indefatigable breast of Swift. In looking back over the long interval of past years, the memory generally fails to trace with any precision the firm and slender chain of impulses and impressions which have given the conduct its main directions; unless the analysis of the past is made with more exertion than appears to be shown in the few pages of summary and incomplete memoir which he has left of himself. When this was written, he was probably at a loss to discover by what carelessness or distaste he had failed to obtain those distinctions, of which he may have thought himself capable. Now, while the reason he gives is quite inapplicable, there are several which are but too frequently productive of the same effect on the conduct of persons of Swift's general cast of mind. It sometimes occurs, though we should say rarely, that there is a positive incapacity for the conception of any kind of *abstract reasoning*, to be observed in persons of exceedingly keen observation and quick perception;—it is often met among the most highly gifted women. This is not however the case of Swift: but it is known, that for speculative inquiry he had some distaste, perhaps not much capacity. But there is not unfrequently acquired a strong determination of the intellectual powers, towards some large field of practical observation, which exercises the whole mind, and gives a strong predominance to the moral propensities and tastes. This, while it calls into action high capacities, has also the effect of sometimes generating a dislike for those technical studies and applications, which while they exact labour, do not in *the outset* indicate the real character of their remoter practical

applications: thus, the rudiments of logic, as then taught, by no means convey the fact, that they exhibit the very elements of the reasoning process itself:* neither do Euclid and Algebra convey the remotest glance of the magnificent fields of reality which they are instrumental to explore. To taste the standard excellencies of the ancient poets, orators, and historians, is the result of laborious attainment: at school they are little more than "grammar, and nonsense, and larning," as sung by Squire Lumpkin in Goldsmith's comedy; and in the university they are but the "morning lecture," not very attractive to the youth who had just felicitated himself on his escape from the schoolmaster. Now all this was, and ever must remain, common enough. A little of the idleness which wit, frolic, and the associates they draw round them, must, in Swift's case, be taken into account: his overflow of temper, and passion for practical jests, were ruling spirits of the hour, and he was surrounded by too much congenial sport and juvenile wantonness of temper, to want constant impulse. His very ambition would impel him to be the first among his laughing associates. The same ambition, with the haughtiness of his mind, would lead him to resent the academic distinctions for which he was remiss to labour, and which were appropriated to attainments of which he did not see the value. Such are among the most prominent characteristic bents of the same class of minds to which Swift is to be referred. In the distinctions of human character, there is no marked line; and considerable allowances are to be made in the application of moral classifications. Among those who have pursued collegiate attainments with the highest success, it is not unlikely that every character of mind may be found: some are urged by the mere love of intellectual effort; some indifferent to the science, read for honour only; some sit down with nobler views and more highly pitched aspirings. We cannot conceive Milton less than the first logician, astronomer, and classic of his year; but it must be allowed, that it oftenest happens, that a hard and cold intellect will be found adequate to the ordinary standard of attainment, in the mere acquisition of trains of fact and reasoning, without a glimmer of any of those faculties which are to be recognised in the humblest walk of invention. Such persons are frequently observed to display an incapacity to appreciate those powers which seem to be wanting in their intellectual constitution; and thus, by a natural mistake, measuring themselves by the conventional standard of the class-rooms, entertain and display a sense of superiority, which, of itself, is enough to awaken the scornful indignation of an ill-regulated temper, bursting with the consciousness of high and comprehensive powers. Thus, indeed, the university may, in one sense, have been a school for the powers and dispositions which give their genuine form and tone to all Swift's life and writings. To these remarks, derived from a full and favourable experience, we shall add Sir Walter's statement:—"When Swift was entered at the university, the usual studies of the period were required of him; and of these, some were very ill suited to his genius. Logic,

* Archbishop Whateley has set this truth in the clearest light. Whateley's *Logic*, Introduction, and Book i.

then deemed a principal object of learning, was in vain presented to his notice; for his disposition altogether rejected the learned sophistries of Smiglecius, Keckermannus, Burgersdicius, and other ponderous worthies, now hardly known by name; nor could his tutor ever persuade him to read three pages in one of them, though some acquaintance with the commentators of Aristotle was absolutely necessary at passing examination for his degrees. Neither did he pay regular attention to other studies more congenial to his disposition. He read and studied rather for amusement, and to divert melancholy reflections, than with the zeal of acquiring knowledge. But his reading, however desultory, must have been varied and extensive, since he is said to have already drawn a rough sketch of the Tale of a Tub, which he communicated to his companion, Mr Waryng. We must conclude, then, that a mere idler of the 17th century might acquire, in his hours of careless and irregular reading, a degree of knowledge which would startle a severe student of the present age." In point of fact, Swift was not a *mere* idler: negligent of the studies which presented themselves in the shape of duties, and at best could place him on a level with youths whose understandings he scorned, he perused with keen and even ambitious assiduity volumes more adapted to his own peculiar tastes, and more generally appreciated by the vulgar. His keen sagacity early saw its proper sphere, and looked with longing up the broad and crowded highroad of worldly advancement. He knew that little wit could be exercised on the properties of lines and numbers, and that the "solar walk, or milky way," was not the way to preferment or popularity. Though a student in the university, his eye looked abroad with youthful desire upon the pleasures, whims, and humours; the collisions, intrigues, and busy play of the world; and so he eagerly fed his tastes, his hopes, and aspirations, with the elements of his chosen pursuits. Indeed, an acquaintance with the youth of all universities would sufficiently illustrate and confirm all these remarks—that is, to a certain extent, for in our own times, a change has come over the public tastes—great discoveries, and a splendid combination of the scientific genius and tastes of Europe, have enlarged, exalted, and illumed the sphere of science; and ambition itself may be won to seek honour and advantage in studies no longer circumscribed within the narrow range of parroted "deducibles," which were accumulated like conundrums, and led to nothing. It may, indeed, be here not inappropriately observed, with a feeling of national exultation, that in every time, from the beginning to the present moment, our university has been the prolific birth-place of the ablest and most powerful minds in every walk—learning, wit, research, argument, and scientific genius; that in each phase of public change, it has thrown out a race of giants—so great, yet so differing in glory—Usher, Swift, Berkeley, Young, Goldsmith, Burke, O'Brien, Wall, Anster, Maculagh, and the numerous names of the several classes they represent.

Among the habits, at this time acquired by Swift, may be numbered that remarkable closeness in matters of expense which will be observed showing itself through every period of his after-years. The bitterness of his temper was now roused, and kept in continual play by the lowness of his finances. The death of his elder uncle, Godwin, ap-

peared to cast a momentary prospect of total destitution; but another uncle, not richer, but more gracious in temper, and of more attractive manners, stepped into the gap,—this was Dryden William Swift, whose kind, but still scanty contributions were gratefully acknowledged by Swift through life. He was also very much assisted in the same interval by one of his cousins, who was settled as a Lisbon merchant. The incident, related on his own authority, is curious enough. “Sitting one day in his chamber, absolutely penniless, he saw a seaman in the court below, who seemed inquiring for the apartment of one of the students. It occurred to Swift that this man might bring a message from his cousin Willoughby, then settled as a Lisbon merchant, and the thought scarcely had crossed his mind when the door opened, and the stranger approaching him, produced a large leathern purse of silver coin, and poured the contents before him as a present from his cousin. Swift, in his ecstasy, offered the bearer a part of his treasure, which the honest sailor generously declined; and from that moment, Swift, who had so deeply experienced the miseries of indigence, resolved so to manage his scanty income, as never again to be reduced to extremity.”

In conformity with this prudent temper, it might be inferred from the statements of his biographer, that, notwithstanding his real dislike for the course of studies then pursued in the university, and his affected defiance of its authorities, there appears evidence enough upon the college books that he had still “wit in his anger,” and took due care to keep within the letter of the law. But many of these entries on the university books, which have been traced by the learning of Dr Barrett, are such as rather to manifest the truth of the statement, that he was even unusually endowed with a perverse and refractory dislike to authorities; for his liabilities in that respect are far greater than was consistent with a prudent and saving temper. These records are important here, so far as they serve to rectify the mis-statements of some of his contemporaries. It has been believed, on the authority of Mr Richardson, that he had been expelled from the university, and, that having obtained a “discessit,” he got his degree at Oxford. The occasion of this severity is thus mentioned by Mr Richardson, “Dr Swift made as great a progress in his learning at the university of Dublin, in his youth, as any of his contemporaries, but was so very ill-natured and troublesome, that he was made *terre filius*, on purpose to have a pretence to expel him.” This singular absurdity, equally unjust to both parties supposed to be concerned, is clearly refuted by the facts: Swift was not expelled, was not *terre filius*, and obtained his degree from the university. It is only here necessary to refer to the proofs which can be found in Dr Barrett’s Essay, in the most satisfactory form of Extracts from the College Books.

From these authentic documents it has been ascertained, that *after* he had commenced A. B., he was *admonished* for notorious neglect of duties, and for frequenting the town; and that he was almost continually under some punishment. We also learn that he was prominent in a small knot of the most dissolute and turbulent youths in the university, among whom he is thus enumerated in one of these records, “*Constat vero* Dom. Webb, Dom. Sergeant, Dom. Swift, Maynard,

Spencer et Fisher, huic legi contravenisse, tam seditiones sive dissensiones domesticas excitando, quam juniorem decamem, ejusque monita contemnendo, eundemque minacibus verbis, contemptus et contumaciæ plenis lacessendo, unde gravissimis pœnis commentum sunt, &c." For these causes the sentence follows, of a suspension of the culprits from every degree: it then proceeds to pronounce, that as Swift and Sergeant had been more insufferable than the others, they were condemned to ask pardon on their knees of the junior dean. This humiliation, amply merited as it was, left a lasting impression on the proud heart of Swift, who, from that moment regarded the university with all the bitterness of his implacable spirit. This was, nevertheless, the utmost extent of his punishment. The public pardon effaced the breach of discipline, and the certificate of his degree, yet extant, plainly contradicts the erroneous statement of Mr Richardson on this head. The point of most difficulty has been seized on by a correspondent of Scott's, from whom he gives an extract, in which it is stated that Swift obtained his degree a year before the usual time, and infers, that this must have been by *special favour*. The inference might be allowed to have some weight; but the fact is so entirely inconsistent with the institutions and precise discipline of the university, and so irreconcilable with all that is known of Swift's academical character, that it cannot be admitted without the most authentic proof. On looking at the document given by Scott in his appendix, the cause of the mistake appears. Swift's entrance is stated to have been in April, 1682; the college certificate fixes his degree in February, 1685; and the interval would thus be less than three years. But any one who is accustomed to the method of dating, then in use, must be aware that the *first months* of 1686, would have been reckoned into what is now considered as the previous year. This fact reduces the difficulty to one of small weight, as we have only to assume, that Swift was allowed to go on with the class of 1682, the year in which he entered, and this we believe to be an occasional practice conformable with the rules of the university: the sizar, who enters at a more advanced period of the year, is expected to fulfil this condition, and it may be optional with the other classes of students. That this degree had been obtained, *speciali gratia*, is stated on the authority of Swift himself, and accompanied by explanations, which leave no doubt as to the nature of the distinction: the ambiguity of the term has occasioned some laughable anecdotes, perhaps invented by the dean himself: certain it is, that he mentions himself as having obtained his degree in this disreputable manner, more near to special charity than to special favour, and signifying a grace vouchsafed for no merit. The circumstance of this fact, not appearing on the testimonium, has been thought to throw some doubt upon the statement, but in fact such a disqualifying testimony as would make the certificate unavailing for any use but to attain the reputation of the bearer, is not in any case stated.

The story of the *Tripes* is equally discredited, as Dr Barrett proves it to have been actually delivered by a Mr Jones, three years after Swift's graduation; but at the same time concludes, that it was the composition of Swift. His reasons for this supposition are the characteristic vein of humour and severity which run through this composi-

tion; the direction of some of the personalities against those whom Swift disliked, and the intimacy which subsisted between Jones and him. But granting that the inference might be correct, these premises are rather overstated: neither the wit nor the malice is sufficient, or so directed as to bear out its force: the humour is nothing beyond that of the most ordinary pleasantry and ridicule, or than the merest effort to be pointed, and such as the excitement of bog-latin and burlesque would suggest to one not absolutely dull. At the same time, we think that the actual inferiority of the composition cannot absolutely be regarded as having conclusive weight in the opposite scale. Every voluminous writer affords specimens enough of the inequalities of genius; and though it may be risking something to say it, we can find effusions of Swift's not more bright than the *Tripes*; of which it is however to be allowed that its indecorum and scurrility offer more legitimate signs of the ascribed paternity than its wit. It is, indeed, not unlikely, that the person who was selected for the office of buffoon to the pageant must have had some pretension to the necessary qualifications: Swift's companion was not likely to be wanting in either humour or ribaldry; but indeed the intimacy is not satisfactorily ascertained, and the MS. is said to exhibit no marks of Swift's writing.

From the protracted residence of Swift, the same correspondent infers that he must have obtained the scholarship. We see no reason to admit the inference. The university was the most economical residence for a poor young man, who at the time had no other home, and most convenient for both the purposes of study and companionship. His mother had for some time returned to Leicestershire, and the town was then comparatively incommodious, unquiet, and ill-appointed in its streets, houses, and civil order. It is not many years since we were acquainted with many of considerable standing, within the walls of the university, where there is no law to prevent a graduate from residing while his name is on the books. The notion that Swift could *refuse* to submit to the sentence of the board, is inconsistent with the strictness of collegiate discipline; he may have been *let off*, yet we cannot see any ground for the supposition. We have, indeed, given too much space to questions of such trivial importance; but must add, that even this is negatived by the vindictive animosity with which he afterwards assails Dr Owen Lloyd, who was the junior dean, to whom he was compelled to apologize. Such a supposition would, therefore, reflect as little credit on Swift as on the board. After all, it would be easy enough to reconcile the whole of this relation with the affirmation that he had obtained the scholarship, were it not for the decisive consideration that this cannot have been, without some distinct record of the fact.

As it is our wish to set the character of Swift in a true light, and, as we proceed, to divest it of the extreme inconsistencies with which the reader of the various historians of his time must be occasionally perplexed, we have endeavoured to present in a fuller compass than the scale of the memoir would otherwise demand, those incidents which we have thought most illustrative. And we must now ere turning to another distinct train of incidents, endeavour to sum the inferences, and trace their general relation to the after years of his life,

and the formation of his character. Those circumstances which awaken the passions, or exercise the dispositions of the youth, give its tone and internal spring to the temper, and its prepossessions to the mind, in maturer years—when ripened judgment—the discipline of experience—the constraints of social intercourse—and the mature sense of self-interest, and other like causes impose disguise and self-suppression, and give force and effect to those prudential and moral motives which tend to mark and, in some degree, equalize the characters of worldly men. Hence, between the recklessness of the boy, and the acquired independence of the reverend senior, there is a considerable interval in which any attempt to refer the whole of a man's courses, and actions, to any elementary definition of his character is altogether absurd. To assume the lofty patriotism, the unswerving integrity, the elevated virtue and generosity, as the features of the picture, on the evidence of one class of facts, or to draw a portrait of all that is repulsive and degrading on the evidence of another class equally ascertained, is the common method of the party writer, and the effect of not regarding the common laws of human nature, nor tracing the first formation of unusual dispositions of character. Man is not only the creature of habit, but of habit early acquired; and the earliest action of circumstance upon the temper and judgment is more imperative than the desultory schooling of precepts, and the imperfect vigilance of discipline. A course of years, darkened in their progress by all the successive modifications of annoyance, which a proud and quick spirit cannot fail to discover in a situation of entire dependence, had inevitably the effect of rousing, exercising, and fixing into habits the acrimony, the susceptibility of insult, the rancorous hate, and “study of revenge,” which are the accessories which wounded pride never fails to collect about itself. When too long subject to humiliation, the proud youth will arm himself with scorn, and find exaltation in the disparagement of mankind: and in the history of Swift, these elements will often enough be seen like a sulphureous ore, glaring out upon the loftier heights, and mingling with the growth of better soil. We are as little partial as our reader can be, to the intrusion of moral dissertations, but we cannot end these most necessary reflections, without further statement, of a leading principle to which we must often have occasion to refer, as the key of many passages in this memoir. A course of virtuous deeds, while it may be attributed by some to its ostensible motives, is frequently traced by others to some baser origin; hence, the unqualified extremes with which biography is so often disgraced. Now, the fact which meets this error is this, that in the mixed impulses of our nature, there is place for both; the primary impulse is often evil, the secondary good—and *vice versa*. When an angry man finds a course of good essential to his revenge, that course will not fail to exercise good feelings as he proceeds. And in a course of good deeds, it is hard to keep down the suggestions of inferior motives; as charity may be flattered into ostentation, or pulpit eloquence into personal vanity, so may the disappointed partisan be fired into patriotism, and the misanthropic spirit be enlightened with humanity.

In 1688, when the wars were breaking out in Ireland, and immedi-

ately after meeting with a galling humiliation in the university, Swift resolved on a removal to England: he had no prospect of advancement where he was, and both the university and the country which had been to him the scene of every misery and degradation, were hateful in his eyes. England, the birth-place of his family, the seat of honourable recollections, and of those associations which his pride loved best, presented to his thoughts the way to elevation; and the success of those talents of which he had a proud consciousness. Under these consoling impressions, he went to reside with his mother in Leicester-shire. She was related to the lady of Sir William Temple, whose family had been acquainted with that of the Swifts; and Thomas Swift had resided there as chaplain. It was, therefore, soon suggested to Swift by his mother to apply for patronage to Sir William. He took this advice, and was retained in the family as amanuensis, at £20 a-year.

Sir W. Temple, though possessed of a small income, and without ostensible power, was one of the few most deservedly respected persons of his day. He had attained the respect of Europe by the rare combination of honest integrity and candour with efficient ability, in the character of a diplomatist. He was no less conspicuous for the excellence of his writings, both in style and matter, on a variety of useful and interesting topics; and his essays are yet read for their graceful ease and perspicuous style, as well as for the pithy vigour of the maxims and reflections which are scattered through them.* In the course of his political employments, he had formed an intimacy with the prince of Orange, whose good opinion and confidence he had gained, and this was now become a circumstance likely to increase his influence as a patron. Lady Temple was not less to be loved, admired, and respected than her husband; and though kept by her duties, and a wise spirit, within the private sphere of wife and mother, had in a pre-eminent degree those talents for which far inferior persons have been named illustrious, and was looked up to with wonder and admiration by many competent observers who knew her in private life.

It would not be easy to conceive a concurrence of circumstances more favourable to the prospects of a person of Swift's conspicuous talents. But it is worth while for any young person of high endowments, who has to encounter the same upward struggle, to reflect well upon the natural infirmities, which even in the most favourable cases of this nature, may be found most likely to interpose. In Swift's peculiar case they present themselves in the aggravated form of disease. Still flushed with the fever of long resentment, and shaken with the convulsive pangs of a great and recent shock to his pride, he entered upon a new scene with a fiery and irritable sense of wounded self-importance, and a fiercely strung spirit of self-assertion. Every man, who, with the consciousness of inward power, has had to force his way out of obscurity, and to be hourly affronted by the pretensions of exalted inferiority, will at once feel the force of this impression; to convey it to those who have not, would be difficult: yet most persons can comprehend the sense of wounded pride; and pride was, perhaps, the master spirit of

* His Essays have been republished in Sharpe's Collection of the British prose writers in 1821.

Swift's nature. As yet undisciplined by the keen pursuit of self-interest, and unchecked by that opposite species of self-importance, which can be derived from a flattering sense of influence with superiors, he could not so far restrain the salient impulses of his temper as to maintain that quiet and unpresuming deportment which the great have a just right to expect from those who serve them in any inferior capacity. In such unequal alliances there is mostly imposed a self-suppression which would impart an apparent inferiority to the most commanding genius. Such a disadvantage will be lessened in proportion to the real intellectual eminence of the patron: it is not likely that the mature understanding of a man like Temple would hedge itself in adventitious dignity. His superior sagacity must have early discerned the mind of Swift, and Swift must have been conciliated and won by the dignified amenity of his manner, and the attractive wisdom of his conversation. But it can be inferred, with a force approaching to certainty, that among the household, he would find enough of food for the morbid growth of harsher feelings: he must have been taught to feel and to imagine daily slights, and have conducted himself so as to excite dislikes and resentments. These facts have no actual record, but there is something very nearly approaching to it in a letter quoted by Scott. The writer's informant was a nephew of Sir William's, Mr Temple, (brother to lord Palmerston.) Among other things, he mentioned that Sir William "never favoured him (Swift) with his conversation because of his ill qualities, nor allowed him to sit down at table with him." The "outlines of this unfavourable statement are probably true," adds Sir Walter, "if restricted to the earlier part of Swift's residence at Moor park;" he, however, observes, "that the enmity which was known to subsist between him and all the descendants of Sir William, may account for Mr Temple's placing his conduct in a disreputable light." Partly, we admit; but this enmity is itself in some measure illustrative of the point of view in which we have been placing his condition at Moor park. A great and good man like Temple would sooner or later discern and do justice to the character of one whose infirmities are so counterbalanced by great qualities; his pretensions, at first unestablished, would gradually come to be admitted by the wise and discerning. But the vulgar, the dull, and the small-spirited, will not see or allow, save through the eye of the world; and to these the superiority of one whom their little pride desires to look down upon, is an injury for which after success of the most splendid kind cannot atone. There is, however, enough of ascertained incident in the life of Swift to give a colour of reality to the statements of Mr Temple. As Scott remarks, "The polished statesman, and polite scholar, was probably, for a time, unreconciled to the irritable habits, and imperfect learning of his new inmate." But Swift, with all his irritable pride, and undisciplined frankness of spirit, was himself eminently observant and sagacious; he was also prudent: his impulses, too, were all on the side of virtue and generosity; so that, upon the whole, there must have been a balance of kindness and good-will in his favour. This must also have been much increased by the sobriety and steadiness of his conduct. He had cast away the besetting errors of his youth, and was preparing for his part on the stage of life. It is probable, that from the conversa-

tion of Temple, he received a strong impulse to self-improvement, and at this time he entered upon an assiduous course of study, to which he devoted eight hours a-day. This severity of application was injurious to his health. He had also become subject to an attack in the head and stomach, which was first brought on by a surfeit of fruit, and which never ceased to return at intervals, through his whole life. To this he traces much of his subsequent ill-health. In the relation of this fact, Scott cites and argues very conclusively against the opinion of Dr Beddoes, who derives much of Swift's conduct and ailments from the assumption that his constitution was exhausted by habits of profligate indulgence in the earlier part of his career, when he is known to have led an idle and irregular life, and kept dissipated company. We shall not here enter on an argument which we think decided by Sir Walter; and it must be involved in the observations, to which some part of his history must necessarily conduct us. We think it only essential here to remark, that in Swift, the intellectual faculties, together with those virtues and infirmities which are called moral, were so developed and predominant, that his animal nature was (as it were,) diverted and overruled by mental excitements and by impulses which were in constant and excessive operation. For good or evil, in wisdom, or folly, in him mind was always prevalent,—a first principle, to which we shall refer much of his life.

After two years' residence at Moor park, his health gave way to the labour of his studies; and he paid a visit to Ireland in the hope of deriving some benefit from his native air. He was, however, disappointed in this hope, and after a short absence, returned. He had in the previous interval won upon the esteem of his patron, who must have begun to derive the pleasure which always arises from the intercourse of talent and knowledge; and probably missed him in his absence. He was received with marks of regard, and now rapidly grew in the favour and confidence of Sir William.

At this time, the king was frequently a visitor at Moor park, to confer privately with Temple, on the conduct of his affairs. It is mentioned, that Swift was allowed to be present at the confidential interviews which took place; and, as Sir William was frequently confined with the gout, he was deputed to entertain the king. Such a fact unequivocally marks the sense of his merits entertained by Temple; and there is also reason to infer, that the sagacious monarch was pleased with his conversation. He offered him a troop of horse, and taught him how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way. He also seems to have given him, either by precept, or example, a lesson in the way to eat the same vegetable, which Swift retained through life and sometimes inflicted upon his guests whom he compelled to eat the stalks of their asparagus, with the assurance, "Ay, Sir! king William always ate the stalks!"*

More suitable hopes were at the same time held out. A letter to his uncle William, 29th November, 1692, mentions, "I am not to take orders until the king gives me a prebend." The promise must be inferred, we think; and the hope was more fully warranted by circumstances

* This occurred to George Faulkner, the bookseller, who told the story to Dr Leland.

immediately ensuing : a bill for triennial parliaments was at the time in warm agitation, and Swift was commissioned by Sir William, to state to the king his reasons in favour of that measure: he is said to have added new force to the views of his employer. The king was not persuaded. Swift was thus for the first time introduced upon that scene which was so peculiarly the object of all his tastes. This first trial was neither auspicious nor flattering; and like most persons who do not succeed, he moralized sensibly, and said it had helped to cure him of vanity.

In 1692, he went to Oxford, to apply for his master's degree, to which he was admitted 5th July, having been admitted *ad eundem* in Hart's hall upon the 14th of the previous month. He was received with much courtesy in this university. The natural and obvious effect was a bitter comparison to the disadvantage of his own college—upon which Sir Walter has observed, that “the favour of Oxford necessarily implies genius and learning”—a remark of which we cannot question the justice, but which we would rather not meet in connexion with an unfair comparison. This favour was experienced by Sir Walter himself, and the fact is no less honourable to Oxford than to its illustrious object; but it is a duty to truth to affirm that for the comprehensive scope of its learning—the distinguished men which have proceeded from it—the eminence of its professors and fellows, under most enormous disadvantages;—and above all, the consistency and soundness of its religious and political principles, the university of Dublin will not be named second to Oxford. Swift neglected to call to mind under what very different circumstances his pretensions appeared in either of these two seats of learning. It would have been unfair to tell him that he was most favourably appreciated where he was least known, because he had undoubtedly undergone a great and favourable change: but it would be absurd to assume, that riotous and offensive disregard for the laws, authorities, and studies of his college, were to secure favour, and be received as the indications of genius and learning.

He had already entered upon that course of discipline to which literature has been indebted for some of the most masterly models of style. In 1691, he informed his friend Mr Rendal, that he “had written, burned, and written again, upon all manner of subjects, more than perhaps any man in England.” His first ascertained essay in verse, was a translation from the odes of Horace, of which the versification is easy and idiomatic, without being inornate or slovenly, and there are several turns of his own characteristic habits of thought. He also made attempts of a kind which mark that he had not yet fully attained the knowledge of his own genius, which was assuredly little tinctured with poetry: these were Pindaric odes, “the only kind of writing,” observes Scott, “which he seriously attempted, without attaining excellence.” The attempt is said to have been pressed upon him by Sir W. and lady Temple: on showing his odes to Dryden, they elicited the just and pithy sentence, “Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet!” We should, however, here say, that these verses display far more poetical power than any one would anticipate from the perusal of those witty and spirited doggrels, for which he is best known as a poet.

It is far more important to the right comprehension of Swift's character, to dwell for a moment upon the resentment which he never ceased to cherish against Dryden for the foregoing comment. As it marks a peculiarity frequently explanatory of his conduct, we think it worth while extracting some remarks of Mr D'Israeli, which Scott gives in a note:—"The enraged wit, after he had reached the maturity of his own admirable judgment, and must have been well aware of the truth of the friendly prediction, could never forgive it. He has indulged the utmost licentiousness of personal rancour; he places Dryden by the side of the lowest of poets; he even puns miserably on his name to degrade him as the *emptiest* of writers; and for that spirited translation of Virgil, which was admired even by Pope, he employs the most grotesque sarcastic images to mark his diminutive genius—"for this version-maker is so lost in Virgil, that he is like the lady in a lobster; a mouse under a canopy of state; a shrivelled bean within the penthouse of a full-bottomed periwig." He never was generous enough to contradict his opinion, and persisted to the last." We trust it is not necessary to do more than say that we imbody this stricture in our text from no wish to depreciate the character, which many able pens have toiled to draw in the most softened or favourable aspect. But a portraiture is nothing if not true, and this vindictive tenacity of ill-will, which never could forget or forgive the injury of wounded pride, is absolutely essential to be well weighed by any one who would have a thorough feeling of the character indicated in many of the most important passages of Swift's life.

But it ought to be observed, that Swift's genius, which at this time was soon to be made known, was itself, to a great extent, a development of the "*splendida bilis*," the pride, scorn, and bitterness, of his aspiring and most haughty temper; to which his keen sagacity and vast powers of intellectual apprehension were, with all their prominence, but tributaries. It would be a deep injustice not to add to these reflections, that pride has its virtues as well as its infirmities, and these too we shall have to trace with no illiberal hand. A poem, written by him, on the illness of Sir William Temple, displays much of the characteristic of a fiery spirit turning on every side to break from obscurity, and impatient of those obstacles which poverty must for a time at least throw in his way. Addressing his muse, he tells her—

" To thee I owe that fatal bent of mind,
Still to unhappy restless thought inclined
To thee, what oft I vainly strove to hide
The scorn of fools; by fools mistook for pride."

The fools, if such was really their opinion, were assuredly not very far from having made a lucky hit; and such is the common sophistry of pride; a defence which inadvertently admits the charge; for scorn implies the sense of superiority, and the want of charity. The same lines unfold, and we think with truth, a more favourable glance into the interior of the author's mind:—

" Stoop not to interest, flattery, or deceit;
Nor with hired thoughts be thy devotion paid;

Learn to disdain their mercenary aid,
Be that thy sure defence—thy brazen wall—
Know no base action; at no guilt look pale;
And since unhappy distance thus denies
To expose thy soul, clad in this poor disguise,
Since thy few ill-presented graces seem
To breed contempt where thou hast hoped esteem."

These last lines are considered by Scott, to allude to the coldness of Sir W. Temple, and a disagreement which had begun to interrupt their growing cordiality. Nothing is more likely. But we should also notice the just and lofty expression of the high and independent tone of the author's spirit—and of that nobler direction of pride which spurns at baseness. We must also observe, that it is impossible not to feel the impatient sense which pervades the last lines of that lowering constraint of mind, which we have already described as incidental to his situation at Moor park.

He conceived, however, that he had reason to complain; Sir William appeared too dilatory in providing for him, and this he attributed to a selfish desire to retain his assistance. Temple, with at least equal injustice, considered his impatience as a proof of ingratitude. He offered him an office worth £100 a-year, in the Rolls court in Ireland, of which he was master. The reply of Swift is a very striking display of the independence of his character, and the strictness of his adherence to his own rule of rectitude. Such an offer, he observed, might be pleaded against the charge of entering the church from mercenary motives; and he would at once proceed to Ireland, to enter upon holy orders. We give him credit for the higher motive; but the keen innuendo is too much in the satyrist's style to be quite inadvertent. And Temple felt the biting reproof. They separated in anger.

Swift came over; and, on applying for ordination to the bishops, found himself involved in a difficulty, of all others most galling, to a spirit like his. Orders could not be obtained without a recommendation from Sir W. Temple.

He took five months to digest the gall of this humiliating exigency. The case was, nevertheless, urgent, and at length he obtained the hardest of all conquests, and wrote a most humble letter, remarkable for the admission which it clearly implies, of indiscretions of temper, which must have to some extent justified the coldness of Temple. It was found afterwards endorsed, "Swift's penitential letter," in the writing of lady Temple, an injustice, if there had not existed grounds for penitence in his previous conduct. Scott remarks, however, upon it, "It is a painful circumstance to reflect how much the haughty mind of Swift must have been bent, ere he could humble himself to solicit an attestation of good conduct, from a patron so selfish and cold-hearted, as in this instance, Sir W. Temple unfortunately approved himself." We must confess we do not quite agree with this charge. Knowing well the general worthlessness of that most illusory of all expectations which looks to the friendship of a patron,—upon whom there can be none but the very lowest claim of mere dependence;—yet when this little claim is enfeebled by any deficiency in that species of homage, which is in general all the dependent has to

give, it must be regarded as slight indeed. Sir Walter could not divest himself of the strong sympathy which he is known to have felt with genius, and had before him the mature reputation of Swift; but to Sir W. Temple, he was but a very clever young man, of great indiscretion, whom he employed for his own service, and had pledged himself to promote. After a period of service, not more than adequate to its remuneration, and after meeting with much offence and vexation, which a common amanuensis would not have been allowed to offer a second time; Swift's offensive impatience was met with an offer of £100 a-year—all that his patron is likely to have had in his gift. This error is a common one, and therefore worthy of the notice we have given it: those who rely on the patronage of the great are numerous; they are seldom persons who know anything of the world, and very apt not only to form unreasonable, but absurd expectations.

If Sir W. Temple had retained any feelings of offence, he was appeased by this letter; and, in a few days after its date, Swift received an answer so satisfactory, that all his obstacles were removed. He obtained deacon's orders in October, 1694, and those of priesthood in the following January. It is also inferred, that he must have also received from Sir William some recommendation to lord Capel, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland; for, immediately after, he was presented with the parish of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor. Of his residence in this place, there is nothing known of sufficient importance to detain our narrative. The insipidity of such a retreat for an ambitious temper, long nurtured on prospects and expectations, and accustomed to the intercourse of literature, can be fully appreciated. Sir W. Temple had, it is thought, in the mean time, felt the want of the literary associate who could appreciate his conversation and writings. It is, indeed, not unlikely, that he had in view the arrangement for posthumous publication which he after effected in his will. He wrote to invite Swift's return, in terms which held out a more favourable position in the family than he had formerly held. Swift was happy to seize upon the invitation, and again returned to Moor park.

It may here be mentioned, that his residence at Kilroot was made the ground of a scandalous story, in the highest degree improbable in itself, and subsequently ascertained to have had an origin in the insanity of the narrator: and to have received a doubtful corroboration from the coincidence of the initials of some names. It is unnecessary to repeat it. We also hold ourselves absolved from a romantic story, which, though far more characteristic of Swift, is too unauthentic to be taken without many doubts, and at best, much alteration. Its purport is, that Swift generously divested himself of his living in favour of a poor clergyman with a large family. Mr Mason has disproved those particulars which give all its character to the narration. But, it is by no means improbable, that Swift, finding the very evident expediency of giving up this very small preferment, after he had tried his ground and felt it secure at Moor park, actually made a generous exertion to obtain it for one whose merit and poverty, and perhaps some personal civility, may have been a recommendation. Every one knows from what small incidents a story can be blown out into an imposing compass. Certain it is, that Swift did not resign Kilroot until he had

been some time at Moor park, which he must have quitted to retain it.

At Moor park he was no longer a retainer, but a confidential friend, —a change which operated favourably on his entire relation with the family. He was no longer under the hourly necessity of vindicating pretensions incompatible with his position; and the native frankness of his manner came with a less inappropriate character from the guest and humble friend, than from the hired amanuensis. Owing to this *seemingly* slight distinction, his entire position at Moor park was altered, and he continued on terms of the utmost kindness with Temple, till the death of the latter deprived him of the most truly worthy of his great protectors.

It was during this interval that he formed an acquaintance of which the history is strangely interwoven through his life. Among the inmates at Moor Park, there was a Mrs Johnson with her two daughters, of whom one, Esther, seems to have been the general favourite of the family, on account of her beauty and promising disposition. They all felt strong interest in her education; and Swift himself, induced by a species of attraction to which he was in a peculiar manner liable, soon became the instructor of her mind; and, we should feel inclined to say, won her childish affections by those engaging attentions of which no man was more the master. Such romances occur but as episodes in the life of a spirit so restless, excitable and engrossed as Swift's, and rather serve to amuse and feed the natural cravings of vanity and fondness, than to fix and fill the heart. More alive to sentiment than to passion, and like all the proud and susceptible, dependent on that tenderness and wholeness of devotion which women only can give, he could, without calculating consequences, win an affection which, while it solaced his restlessness, and gratified his pride and tenderness, might involve the peace of its unhappy object. This is one of the crimes commonly attributed to the most unfeeling selfishness. We should be very sorry to say a word in its favour; but truth compels us to say, it frequently indicates a want of thought; though it *may*, and too often does arise from the most detestable want of every principle of humanity and honour. But, in Swift's case, this growing attachment was untainted by any design, and had assumed no form; it was no more than the innocent, but perilous tenderness which is rendered doubly insidious by the high and pure feeling which it develops and exercises in its growth. It was, as we have said, an episode, and it appears that at the very time Swift was actually engaged in a treaty more serious in its objects. The history of this may throw some light on after events.

Miss Waryng was the sister to a person who had been Swift's chum (or chamber-fellow), in college. He had formed an attachment to her, with less reserve than would have been consistent with the coldness and circumspection, as well as the prudence and peculiar tastes, of a later period of his life. He had not as yet contracted unfavourable impressions with regard to matrimony, nor a temper ill suited with its reciprocity and mutual indulgence. At the age in which the mind is always most accessible to female influence, he was desirous to please, to make strong impressions, and to appropriate

But he had not yet attained the caution and forecast necessary for the attainment of these gratifying objects without becoming himself subject to the influences with which he thus played: nor had he yet drawn those false distinctions which can satisfy the conscience of one who trifles with affections. Under such very common circumstances, either the impulse of affection, or the entanglement of a sense of honour, or reluctance to disappoint expectation, or the over-sight of an indiscreet moment, must have inevitably arisen to impel a declaration. Whether actuated by one or all of these motives, it is certain that he proposed marriage. Miss Waryng seems to have returned his affection, but to have demurred on the grounds of ill health and prudence. It appears that her medical adviser had represented marriage as likely to prove dangerous to her life; and she also objected to the smallness of the income they should have,—her own fortune being stated by Swift himself to be about £100 a-year, while his was, perhaps, about the same. Two of his letters to this lady are published in his *Epistolary Correspondence*; and some written at the same time to other persons contain allusions more or less applicable to the same subject. They strongly confirm the view which we have taken; and when considered together, they seem to offer a strong case of an inexperienced youth, hurried from a friendship of a very usual nature, by the urgency of friends, and perhaps by the dexterity of female diplomacy, into a proposal which he could not well avoid. When once engaged, his mind was naturally won over to the tie which he had thus contracted, and his pride, as well as his restlessness, made him desire to hasten a course in which he was embarked. His urgency was, however, such as rather to make manifest a temper of this kind, than the earnestness of his affections: and more directed by a wish to conquer an obstacle and win a consent, than to gain a wife. He was, nevertheless, in earnest, and had no design of retracting from an engagement, of which the accomplishment still seemed as a matter of course.

Long before this incident, he had written a letter to the Rev. Mr Kendal,* in which he affords a strong clue to the inferences here arrived at; and we must therefore extract some sentences from it, selected for their very significant expression of the writer's complexion in this respect. He speaks in this letter of his "cold temper, and unconfined humour:" of marrying, he says, "The very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the university, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which I am sure will not be in some years. And even then itself, I am so hard to please, that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world." Having given some description of the exceeding restlessness of his spirits, which, as lord Berkeley had remarked to him, "was like a confined spirit, that would do mischief if I did not give it employment; he adds,—it is this humour which makes me so busy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and since it commonly ends in talk, whether it be love or common conversation, it is all alike. This is so common that I could remember twenty women in my life, to whom I have behaved myself just the same way, without any other design

* Vicar of Thornton, in Leicestershire.

than that of entertaining myself when I am very idle; or when something goes amiss in my affairs." After several further remarks of this nature, he turns to assure his friend, that he is not very liable to be seduced into the kind of engagement then suspected by his mother; and adds,—“and truly if you knew how metaphysical I am that way, you would little fear that I would, &c.” We only quote so far as is required by our purpose to elucidate the combination of physical coldness with ambition, sentiment, and excessive animal spirits. For in this may be seen the clue to all that otherwise appears least explicable in the conduct of his amours. An excessive readiness to follow, and to raise the excitement of a sentiment, led him on until he had reached the natural terminus of such dispositions: objections and demurs arising from different tendencies then came into play. To these, we shall hereafter advert.

It is now to be considered, that till Miss Waryng had been led on so far as to give a full sanction to his addresses, Swift had acted the part of a strenuous suitor, while his natural love of conquest over the affections led him on to solicit; but, when the point for which his inclinations tended was actually obtained, and his possession of the inclinations appeared to him complete, he then, perhaps, to his own surprise (for it is experience that shows man to himself), found that he had been striving for a toy which he did not care to possess. The interest of pursuit was over, and his “free humour” recoiled at the sight of a tie. But Miss Waryng was by this time placed in a different position, so commonly and thoroughly recognised in society as to require no comment: it had become her interest to preserve the tie of an engagement which is generally an obstacle to any other; and to Swift it was necessary to break this tie by address, not force.

The means were not inexpertly chosen. Having till then combated her fear and prudence, he now addressed himself to affront her pride: assuming a tone which seemed to place her in the position of one soliciting his reluctant consent, he asks her, “Are you in a condition to manage domestic affairs, with an income of less (perhaps) than three hundred pounds a-year? Have you such an inclination to my person and humour, as to comply with my desires, and way of living, and endeavour to make us both as happy as you can? Will you be ready to engage in those methods I shall direct for the improvement of your mind, so as to make us entertaining company for each other, without being miserable when we are neither visiting nor visited? Can you bend your love, and esteem, and indifference, to others, the same way as I do mine? Shall I have so much power in your heart, or you so much government of your passions, as to grow in good humour upon my approach, though provoked by a ——? Have you so much good-nature as to endeavour by soft words to smooth any rugged humour occasioned by the cross accidents of life? Shall the place, wherever your husband is thrown, be more welcome than courts or cities without him? In short, these are some of the necessary methods to please men, who, like me, are deep-read in the world; and to a person thus made, I should be proud in giving all due returns towards making her happy. These are the questions I have always resolved to propose to her with whom I meant to pass

my life; and whenever you can heartily answer them in the affirmative, I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large."

Swift had now approached within the limit of a new attraction of the full force of which he had not yet become quite conscious: he only felt that a want of his nature was supplied by a new and fairer attraction. His desire to gratify his affections, and appropriate those of the young and lovely, could not resist the fresh and artless graces of the youthful pupil who repaid his care by respect and devotion. The question here occurs to the reader,—did he at this time, while meditating the breach of an engagement,—by means the most offensive to female pride, delicacy, and tenderness—at the same time plan the progress of such another unprincipled romance? Was he even now dressing the unconscious victim for the perfidious altar? We say clearly, Not:—he was like all young persons who follow a wrong direction, in the delusion that he would go right in the end. Matrimony, to some more attractive as the termination of a long and glittering path of excitements, than as a present good, danced afar before his imagination as the conclusion of life's romance,—a thing only thought of as a sanction for a thousand little vagaries which would, without such an end, be either criminal or absurd. It was but a chapter of the book of human fallacies, which includes all the aims of human life. We have dwelt strongly on this subject, because it is the key to the least intelligible and most interesting portion of Swift's history; and it will be important as we proceed, that the reader should bear in mind a clear sense of these considerations, as the grounds of interpretation which we shall apply to the solution of his intercourse with the two unhappy persons who were the victims of his regard.

During the immediately succeeding events of Swift's life, as involving little of characteristic importance, we may pass summarily. During the four years which he lived at Moor Park, being the interval between his return and Sir W. Temple's death, he continued his studies with the most intense assiduity. He also exercised his pen in the discussion of every question of public importance which occurred, and it was his habit for several previous years, to write, burn, and rewrite; thus disciplining his style into that ease, purity, and perspicuous simplicity of construction, which has obtained for him the most permanent part of his literary reputation. He was also careful of his health, and adopted the practice of daily exercise, by running half a mile up and down a hill every two hours. Among the labours of this period, he is mentioned to have studied the works of "Cyprian," and of "Irenæus."

It is also mentioned, that he was accustomed to pay an annual visit to his mother in Leicestershire, travelling on foot, unless when the severity of the weather compelled him to seek shelter in a waggon. On these excursions, he slept at some "penny-lodging"—we presume the waggoner's inn—where he paid sixpence for clean sheets. "This practice," Johnson observes, "lord Orrery imputes to his innate love of grossness and vulgarity. Some may ascribe it to his desire of surveying human life through all its varieties; and others, perhaps, with equal probability, to a passion which seems deeply fixed in his heart,

the love of a shilling." The second of the motives here assigned is that which was most proper to Johnson himself; the first and last have some apparent foundation in the habits of Swift. But all seem to overlook the facts of his situation and circumstances, which were at the time such as to render any other course inconvenient, perhaps impossible. Swift possessed no income, and must then have found it hard enough to keep himself in the necessary articles of wearing apparel.

In 1699, this period of peaceful and studious preparation was terminated by the death of Sir W. Temple. Swift had hitherto lived in expectation of a prebend of Canterbury, or Westminster, of which Sir W. had obtained a promise from the king. He was now left in possession of Sir William's literary remains, together with a hundred pounds, by a codicil to his patron's will, added eleven months before his death. The literary portion of this bequest must have seemed to one whose hopes were mainly founded on his talents as a writer, to offer a favourable occasion for coming before the public under the most favourable auspices. It also furnished him with the best opportunity for reminding king William of a promise. Swift combined both objects by publishing the remains thus committed to his care, with a dedication to the king. A petition, claiming the promise, was at the same time forwarded through the earl of Romney, who has been accused by Swift of having suppressed it. Whatever may have been the cause, it does not appear to have met with any notice. Swift continued to linger about the court for a long time, improving, we have no doubt, the edge of his satirical acrimony, and storing the fund of deep insight, of party address, of political passions, and of concentrated bitterness and scorn which so deeply tinctures all his writings and known conduct. During this probation, his abilities became well-known: and his powers of conversation as well as the keen sagacity of his observation on public measures, not only attracted great notice but largely extended his acquaintance and gained him many friends.

A person with such advantages could hardly miss of finding some desirous to serve him, or to use his talents. Lord Berkeley, on being appointed to the government of Ireland, offered to make him his private secretary and chaplain: he accepted these offers, and came over with this nobleman. Lord Berkeley's lady, and his two daughters, the ladies Mary and Elizabeth Berkeley, were accomplished, elegant, and amiable; and his residence at the castle was made agreeable to Swift. It was soon, however, interrupted. Another person who held some official station about lord Berkeley, and possessed that high sort of influence ever attained in courts by the useful instruments of dirty work, conceived the post of private secretary to be far more suited to himself; he was probably so far right, and we are inclined to suspect that the intimation originated something higher than it has been traced. Swift was no convenient confidant for a certain class of state secrets: though neither very nice nor delicate in his principles or moral taste—he was honest and rigidly upright, to the best of his judgment. He was induced to accede to the loss of his secretaryship, by the promise of the first rich living that should fall vacant. The

deanery of Derry soon offered, and he claimed the promise; but was informed by the gentleman who had stepped into his place, that it was necessary that he should pay a thousand pounds first to himself: Swift's reply is said to have been, "God confound you both for a pair of scoundrels;" after which, he at once quitted his apartments in the castle. It is mentioned by lord Orrery, however, that he would have been appointed to this preferment, but for the opposition of King, then bishop of Derry. The opposition of Dr King is very likely, but does not destroy the probability of the above story.

The satirical powers of Swift were by this time known and feared; and we should think that the above-mentioned simoniacal demand must also have been felt to be a dangerous weapon in such hands. The lord lieutenant took the speediest opportunity to make his peace, and disarmed a powerful and long-breathed enmity by the rectory of Agher, with the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the diocese of Meath. The combined emolument of these, with the prebend of Dunlavin, which was soon after added, amounted to something very small, not together amounting to £200 a year. An account of his expenses, during the year 1701, is given by Scott in a note, and it appears that this income was nicely managed;—his expenses, not including household economy, amounting to £100; of which £12 or £15 were expended in "charity and gifts." He seems to have lost £5 at cards.

The quarrel with lord Berkeley did not intercept the kindly intercourse between Swift and the ladies of the family. He retained his chaplaincy, and much of his time was passed in their society. Lady Elizabeth, better known as lady Betty Germaine, continued one of his most friendly correspondents through life. Their private circle was often animated by his wit: Scott mentions that it was here he first gave way "to the playfulness of his disposition in numerous poetical *jeux d'esprit*, which no poet ever composed with the same felicity and spirit." Among these playful effusions, he mentions "the inimitable petition of Mrs Frances Harris;" of which, he afterwards observes in his annotation upon the piece:—"In this petition, Swift has bound his powerful genius to the thought, sentiments, and expressions, of a chamber-maid;"—a feat which, it ought here to be added, was very characteristic of all his humorous compositions. He was a keen observer of every shade of manners, as well as course of conduct: in these two fields of experience, most of his intellectual range will, upon critical examination, be found. An amusing story is told of one of these sallies: he was employed by lady Berkeley more frequently than was agreeable to his taste to read aloud for her from the *Meditations* of the Hon. Mr Boyle. In imitation of the style of these, he composed a meditation upon a broom-stick, which, when next called upon, he read out with a grave countenance and solemn tone, as a portion of the book.

During this time, his sister married a person of the name of Fenton, a currier in Dublin. Swift was enraged at the match, and, it is said, offered her £500, the whole of his existing property, to break off the match. The offer was not taken, and he ever afterwards showed a coldness towards his sister: though it is much to his praise that he con-

tributed out of his small income to her support,—a needful act of generosity; for her husband became a bankrupt immediately after his marriage.

In the year 1700, after having discontinued his residence in the castle, he repaired to his living at Laracor, on foot. Several anecdotes of this journey are told. These are not sufficiently authentic for this brief sketch: we shall confine our narrative to one which is extremely characteristic. On his arrival, he went to the curate's house, where he bluntly announced himself "as his master;" and was received with all the deference which such a claim seemed to imply. The curate's wife was ordered to lay aside his only clean shirt and stockings, and he raised much alarm in the breasts of the simple pair, by those airs of stern and commanding superiority which he was so fond of assuming in sport, and so addicted to in reality. On this point, Scott has some happy remarks, which we must extract:—"This was the ruling trait of Swift's character to others; his praise assumed the appearance and language of complaint; his benefits were often prefaced by a prologue of a threatening nature; his most grave themes were blended with ironical pleasantry; and, in those of a higher nature, deep and bitter satire is often couched under the most trifling levity."

At Laracor his life was regulated by the most exact method of economy, and his conduct as a clergyman exemplary. He read prayers twice a-week—though on the weekday his church was thinly attended. The story so well known, of his addressing the service to his clerk on one of these occasions—is, on grounds which we think conclusive—rejected as a fable of lord Orrery's invention. It has been discovered in some jest-book of older standing. It may be remarked, as a very common source of such stories, that they are often rightly referred to the *person*, but changed as to the circumstances, for the sake of improving the narration. It is also affirmed, on creditable authority, that his church was unusually frequented by the surrounding gentry.

He is mentioned to have expressed strong indignation at the dilapidated condition of his church and vicarage, and to have expended considerable sums in the repair and improvement of both. He added, at his own cost, nineteen acres to the glebe at Laracor—till then consisting of but one acre—and laid out the whole in the taste of the age, which the reader is aware was very different from the modern style of landscape gardening. He planted a garden—converted a little stream into a canal, and adorned it with a bank of willows. He purchased the tithes of Effernock, which, by his will, he bequeathed to his successors, so long as "the established church" should last, and "to the poor, in case it should be exchanged for any other form of the christian religion, always excepting from the benefit those of Jews, Atheists, and Infidels."

Swift, though not very earnest in his wishes to enter into the ties and obligations, and the various real and imaginary restraints of matrimony, was yet in the highest degree inclined to the indulgence of those tender sentiments and that refined intercourse, which can only exist between the sexes. As we have fully explained, the remote intent of a nearer tie was sufficient to sanction and give a purer and more cor-

dial tone to the attentions and endearments of such an intercourse. Of such a dangerous understanding, his former pupil, Miss Esther Johnson, was destined to become the victim, and it was at this time that their very peculiar connexion commenced. Miss Johnson's affections had early become engaged to her admirer, and his (such as they were,) were not less won by her beauty, talent, and goodness; and, we have no doubt of the fact, that both contemplated marriage at some future period, as the ultimatum of their hopes and wishes: for this we shall presently offer our reasons. Sir W. Temple had bequeathed to Miss Johnson a leasehold interest which he held in the county of Wicklow; and it readily occurred to her lover and herself, that the care of her little property required that she should live in Ireland. Swift planned the execution of this resolve, so as to meet his own wishes, and in a fatal hour for this unfortunate lady, whom we shall henceforth call Stella—the name by which she is so well known—she came with her friend and companion, Mrs Dingly, to reside in the county of Meath. The following plan of life was adopted, to guard against the scandal which such an arrangement might otherwise excite,—Stella took up her residence at Trim, where she lived when Swift was at Laracor; but always removed to that vicarage when he was absent. It is evident, also, that Swift's anxious care, on this delicate point, had another motive of no slight weight: fearful always of being hurried into a marriage to which he had a yet unconscious dislike, he was aware that any serious and detrimental calumny would peremptorily necessitate the only step which could effectively meet it. He was therefore actuated by a watchful anxiety to maintain the safety of a tie which he desired to keep up for a long time at least. Poor Stella could not conceive any cause of delay but the one ostensible and expressed reason—often, though perhaps indirectly, insinuated by her admirer—his ambition would deter him from marriage, until his fortune should be equal to support the burthen in a style suitable to his taste. This point was sedulously impressed. But to Stella, this prospect did not appear remote: the same talent and influence which had so far advanced him, could not fail to carry him further, and hope looked confidently forward to the result so earnestly desired. Scott observes, that such an understanding between them was “highly probable:” considering the ordinary intent of this expression, it fails to convey the moral certainty of the fact. A careful perusal of the letters, which he not long after wrote to her from London, places it beyond doubt: as they abound with intimations which admit of no other construction, without assuming the most perfidious and inexcusable design of cheating his victim by the basest equivocations—and this will be assumed by no one who considers the character of Swift. Of this curious and interesting correspondence, we must take some notice presently, when it will become a portion of our materials: we shall, therefore, only further add here, that the terms of endearment, in which Stella is addressed, such as, “dearest,” “love MD. ten thousand times beyond his life,” &c., have but one signification to a young woman, and but one intent when used to such by a man of common sense. While in speaking of his expectations and fortunes, he now and then intimates, that his anxiety on this head is all for her sake. It should indeed be

observed, that the peculiar style of a pet language, in which everything is said in a half playful manner, seems to have been adopted to prevent the language of endearment from generally assuming too serious a direction; but the whole is too evidently accommodated to one, and only one, state of feeling between the parties concerned, to admit of any doubt.

Not looking to the imprudent character, and unhappy result of this connexion, it was calculated to throw a transient glow of happiness over the life of Swift. Having succeeded in colouring his conduct with the plea of good intentions, he was enabled to enjoy the society which was essential to his temper, and to possess all that he much cared for of matrimony, divested of its peculiar cares, encumbrances, and ties. But such a felicity was evidently liable to interruptions of a very trying and imbittering character: such, as with any one more impassioned, and less absorbed than Swift, must have soon compelled the adoption of a securer tie. Stella, at this time young, beautiful, and engaging, was the object of general admiration; and when it was understood that she was disengaged, she accordingly met with a respectable suitor in the person of the Reverend Dr William Tisdal, a neighbouring clergyman, who was living in habits of intimacy with Swift. The circumstance was in a high degree embarrassing. On her part, Stella must have felt the impossibility of appearing to assume intentions yet undeclared, although she had no doubt that a little time would bring forth such a declaration. And, indeed, there can be little reasonable doubt, that she must have looked on this incident as offering a happy occasion to bring her lover to this act of justice. Swift had strong affections; but his pride and ambition were far stronger; he also saw too keenly into the affections and motives of others. Instead of being carried from his course, he had recourse to manœuvre: affecting to consider the address of Mr Tisdal on the general views of prudence, he took the part rather of a common friend and guardian, than that of one personally interested as a rival. Of this position he dexterously availed himself, to throw every impediment in the way. To Stella he contrived to appear to speak fairly of his rival in the language of approbation; but while his praise amounted to nothing, it was accompanied and coloured by satire and the intelligible but indirect intimations of dislike and disapproval. Stella felt disappointed; but with the ordinary infatuation of female devotedness, she soon repaired the broken tissues of a baffled expectation, found reasons for her lover's conduct, and trusted still. Swift was reproached by Tisdal for his insincerity; and that there were ample grounds for this accusation, is to be proved from the published correspondence of Swift.* It will be unnecessary to go further into a subject which we can only here notice for its general bearing on the history of Swift's intercourse with Stella. Mr Tisdal made his formal proposals and was refused; after which there must have been a general understanding, that Swift and Stella were contracted to each other.

Swift's mind, in the midst of these arrangements, so laden with future ill, was far less subject to the influence of social and domestic

* Scott's Edition, vol. xv.

ties, than to the earnest ambition which is so strongly excited by the consciousness of great and untried powers,—his extensive reading—his keen insight into life, and its concerns—his expert power of combination—his commanding and ready elocution—his mastery of satire, with all its keen and glittering weapons—and the power of winning his way by address, appearance, and nerve. This rare and powerful array of distinguished endowments could not be willingly devoted to the retirement of Laracor. He had a keen sense, that it was not his vocation, to “play with the tangles of Neæra’s hair;” and burned to tread the arena for which his whole nature was constituted. A mind, with so many strong springs of action, was likely to have formed determinate views of questions, and to be little tied by the conventions of party: he would be apt to judge from reason, or the prepossessions of his own mind, rather than be ruled by the prejudices of opinion. He might be in error, but he was too proud to be the follower of crowds. Accordingly, we find that he had his own political views composed out of those entertained by both of the great parties then prominent in public affairs. He was a tory in religion, and a whig in politics. These well-known political distinctions had their origin in this reign; but in the circling course of social opinions, it has so happened, that the parties who respectively bore these names are now understood to have changed places. The proposition must be received with some very important modifications, which it would be irrelevant to explain in this place, but which shall be very minutely investigated in our introduction to the last division of these memoirs. In one main respect, the common assertion may be taken as a general understanding of the grounds then severally occupied by those two great parties. The whigs maintained the principles of the revolution, and the succession of the house of Hanover: they were then the great constitutional and protestant party. The tories were, in these respects, understood to have a leaning to the principles of the papal party, the divine right of kings, and the claims of the Pretender. In the same manner, and by virtue of the same principles, differently applied, on different grounds, and not quite with the same justness of inference, the whigs carried their liberal ideas of civil government into ecclesiastical polity; and in their zeal for freedom, they incurred the reproach of latitudinarianism. The tories, on the opposite hand, carried the same tenacity of ancient institutions which characterized their politics, to the support of ecclesiastical rights and government. Thus the whigs were what was called *low church*, and the tories were in like manner distinguished by the designation of *high church*. Both parties remain to this day; and, notwithstanding the assertion of most historians and politicians who have spoken of them, have, through all, severally retained their identity in principle. The changes have been in the times and circumstances; and we shall hereafter show how the same principles, consistently and invariably pursued, may, in the course of a few generations, carry any party over to most opposite ground. One word must here conclude these observations. The tendency of human opinions (always built upon the practical state of things, and held by convention, rather than founded on reason) is ever to pass on to extremes. Thus, the principle of change and reform will always be found working

in the road of change; and in the same manner, the party which once maintained abuses may again be found maintaining sound institutions. The tories, who would have preserved an arbitrary government and slavish institutions, are in the course of time still found resisting, though with wiser views, the dangerous accelerations of social change; and the whigs, who broke down the iron ramparts of ancient tyranny, and widened the road for the progress of civil liberty, are perhaps now carried on to remove the outworks of our limited monarchy, by the mere progress of the same system of opinions. There is one error which, so far as we know, has not been fully exposed—the assumption that, in a science so profound and complicated as the laws of social tendency, the crowd of party politicians can possibly look at institutions through any medium but certain prepossessions arising out of their local interests and associations, and the habits of mind they engender. When the remote consequences of events and changes, and the far-off tendencies of the social state, are to be pronounced on, the most far-sighted intellects can reach but a little way. It is much, by a wide scope of comprehension, and an accurate observation of passing events, for the wisest man to pronounce what is actually occurring under his eyes. We have no concern here in such considerations, further than our immediate purpose of guarding against an error in the acceptance of words. We know not how far the career of social change may be propelled by that Power, whose plans alone will always terminate the efforts of human wisdom or folly; which, in their political projects and counsels, are but wielding a system of machinery too complicated in its combinations, and too subject to unseen interferences, to be governed to any certain premeditated end.

Leaving for the present these general considerations, it will be easy to understand the grounds upon which a churchman of independent temper and clear understanding might adopt the just views, and reject the errors of either party, and agree with one in supporting sound principles of civil government, and with the other in preserving the constitution and immunities of the church of England. This independent election of political opinions, inconsistent with the thorough-going spirit of party, was probably felt as an embarrassment for a time by Swift in taking his direction. But in this respect he was to be governed by circumstances. Whatever might have been the principles of Swift, he had a sense of communion with either side. He was in reality far more a politician than a churchman—more bent on fame and preferment, than devoted to either church or state; and whichever party could best promote his objects, or was readiest to conciliate his ruling pride, he could join without self-reproach, and quit with a fair excuse. Accident first impelled him towards the whigs.

In the latter end of king William's reign, the contests between the two houses of parliament rose to a pitch of violence and animosity, which was in no small degree adapted to endanger the authority of both. The lower house—from its more popular constitution, ever in those ancient times more liable to inflammable impulses—having exerted a factious authority to harass and impede the counsels of the king, extended its hostility to those noblemen who had been his confidential servants and advisers. In 1701, impeachments were preferred against

Somers, Halifax, and other lords, who had been concerned in a treaty for the partition of Spain. The lords, opposed to these proceedings, endeavoured to restrain them within the bounds of law and of parliamentary privilege. With the results we are not concerned: it is enough to say that the contest rose to a height sufficient to carry alarm to sober minds. Swift saw these violent proceedings through the light of Grecian history: he recollected those civil convulsions in the nations of antiquity, in which the dissensions of the upper classes exposed them to disorganizing assaults from the democracy, elevated by their discords to an unnatural position in the state; and thus let in those fierce irruptions of licentious anarchy of which the end is despotism, in every instance, when not modified by peculiar circumstances, which had not in those early times arisen. This application of the precedents from antiquity, which has been very effectively resorted to in our own times, was the peculiar taste of a time when political science had not taken an independent form, and the works of the ancients formed a considerable portion of literature. He published a pamphlet upon the contests and dissensions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome.

This dissertation, in material and method harmonizing with the intellectual bent of the age, and set off by a style peculiar to its author, simple and nervous beyond any other then or perhaps since known, could not fail to attract a general attention. It was at once ascribed to Somers, and, when denied by him, to Burnet. The bishop was forced to disown it publicly, to escape the resentment of the commons. Swift happened to be in company with the bishop of Kilmore when this report became the subject of conversation; and, on denying its truth, was assured by the bishop that he was "a young man." On repetition of his denial, the bishop called him "a positive young man." The temptation was too strong to be resisted by Swift's temper, and he acknowledged the production to be his own. In the following year, when the accession of queen Anne effected a great change in the relative position of parties, bringing in those great whig lords who had courted her during the late reign, and fixing for a time their party by the commanding favouritism of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, there was now no motive for concealment of the authorship of a pamphlet which could have been attributed to Somers and Burnet. The reputation thus acquired gave at once a stamp of distinction to his character, and introduced him to lord Halifax, to Somers, and the earl of Sunderland, with whom he had already some slight acquaintance. At this time, we are informed by Swift himself, that he had several conversations with lord Somers, in an after-recollection of which, he says—"I told him, that having been long conversant with the Greek and Latin authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they call a whig in politics, and that besides, I thought it impossible on any other principle to defend or submit to the revolution; but as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I could not conceive how any one who wore the habit of a clergyman could be otherwise."

During this interval, he also formed acquaintances and friendships with the most eminent literary persons of the time. A passage in

Sheridan's life of Swift contains some curious particulars of his first appearance among the wits, and is also descriptive of the species of intercourse and habits usual among literary men in his day, for which reason we shall extract the whole. "Though the greatness of Swift's talents was known to many in private life, and his company and conversation much sought after and admired, yet was his name hitherto little known in the republic of letters. The only pieces which he had then published were, 'The Battle of the Books,' and 'The Contests and Divisions in Athens and Rome,' and both without a name. Nor was he personally known to any of the wits of the age, excepting Mr Congreve, and one or two more, with whom he had contracted a friendship at Sir William Temple's. The knot of wits used at this time to assemble at Button's coffee-house; and I had a singular account of Swift's first appearance there from Ambrose Phillips, who was one of Addison's little senate. He said that they had for several successive days observed a strange clergyman come into the coffee-house, who seemed utterly unacquainted with any of those who frequented it; and whose custom it was to lay his hat down on a table, and walk backward and forward at a good pace for half an hour or an hour, without speaking to any mortal, or seeming in the least to attend to anything that was going forward there. He then used to take up his hat, pay his money at the bar, and walk away without opening his lips. After having observed this singular behaviour for some time, they concluded him to be out of his senses; and the name that he went by among them was that of 'the mad parson.' This made them more than usually attentive to his motions; and one evening, as Mr Addison and the rest were observing him, they saw him cast his eyes several times on a gentleman in boots, who seemed to be just come out of the country, and at last advanced toward him, as intending to address him. They were all eager to hear what this dumb mad parson had to say, and immediately quitted their seats to get near him. Swift went up to the country gentleman, and in a very abrupt manner, without any previous salute, asked him, 'Pray, Sir, do you remember any good weather in the world?' The country gentleman, after staring a little at the singularity of his manner, and the oddity of the question, answered, 'Yes, Sir, I thank God, I remember a great deal of good weather in my time.' 'That is more,' said Swift, 'than I can say. I never remember any weather that was not too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry; but, however God Almighty contrives it, at the end of the year 'tis all very well.' Upon saying this, he took up his hat, and, without uttering a syllable more, or taking the least notice of any one, walked out of the coffee-house, leaving all those who had been spectators of this odd scene staring after him, and still more confirmed in the opinion of his being mad." To this most valuable, because most characteristic anecdote, we might add others taken from the same source, but that we have been already too much tempted to exceed the scale of our space.

The Tale of a Tub, which was published in 1704, gave the last stamp to the character which he, in this interval, began to acquire among the wits of his time. This very peculiar production is supposed to have been first sketched out at an early period in the university of Dublin. Its style is formed upon that of Rabelais, and, in the judg-

ment of Scott, displays all his humour, without his extravagance. The design is to trace the several histories of the churches of Rome, the church of England, and of the Presbyterian, under the allegorical fiction of three brothers, Peter, Jack, and Martin, who are severally made to represent by their conduct and actions the main incidents affecting those divisions of the Christian church. It was published for the service of the high church party, and is said to have been very efficient in promoting its interests. It had, however, an unfortunate effect upon the writer's fortunes, as this service was not so much felt by those whose approbation was most to be desired, as the injury inflicted upon religion by the characteristic levity with which sacred things are treated. This gave justifiable offence to the pious of every sect, and eventually was the obstacle to Swift's promotion. At the bar of *human opinion* there is, however, something to be said for the author. It was a day of form and profession, rather than of genuine piety. The sacred writings were held in decent reverence, and considered as title-deeds in the depositary of the church; but a spurious tissue of human ethics had insensibly crept into their proper place. Society had not yet recovered from the shock of those extremes of fanaticism and licentiousness which had been mutually opposed to each other in the last previous generations. It was a consequence, that the language of scripture had become as offensive to the taste, as blasphemy and ribaldry to the sense of decorum; while the higher and more peculiar tenets of the gospel were not yet divested of the tinge with which cant and folly had encompassed them. In such a state of the times, it is easy to feel how an overflowing wit, a mind not very reverent by nature, and a temper addicted to levity, would have been betrayed into the facile and tempting indiscretion of burlesque, for which the most grave and solemn truths afford the readiest scope. Answers were written by eminent divines and scholars, who all agreed in marking with severity the inconsistency of such a profane satire with the profession of the author. And this opposition and censure were justified by the fact, that Voltaire and his execrable school, which made wit, blasphemy, and buffoonery, answer those infidel purposes to which reason has ever been found an unsafe ally, hailed the *Tale of a Tub* with acclamations. Happily, indeed, the point of ridicule could be less mischievously effective in England, where, amidst all the corruptions of the time, the truths of God had been placed on sure foundations; and it may still be said for Swift, that France and its crumbling and sand-built church was not in his contemplation. One thing is fit to be added—the work was not publicly owned by the author. Though fully recognised as his production among the literary and ecclesiastical circles, he preserved a prudent but ineffectual reserve upon the subject through his whole life.

The high church party, in the course of time, admitted that this production had done them service. But long before this, Swift had been received as a friend among the whigs, who were far less liable to the species of offence which we have explained. He was become the intimate and social companion of Addison, Steele, &c., among the literary; and was not less distinguished by the notice and favour of such men as Somers, Halifax, and Pembroke.

Between Swift and Addison there soon was nurtured a friendship worthy of two such men; and we ought here to say, what we have too much neglected, in our anxiety to trace some of his less understood peculiarities, that few men have been more worthy of praise for those engaging qualities which can attract tenderness or gain esteem in private life than Swift. A dignified person and countenance—a most clear, unfailing, appropriate, and nervous flow of language—a thorough command of his faculties and acquirements—an overflow of gay, sparkling transitions from the most unequalled vein of humour to the most refined and classic wit;—with this, there was a fervour in the expression of his sentiments and affections, to which the occasional bluntness and pungency of his manner and style of expression gave the tone of sincerity. These particulars may be collected from anecdotes, from his correspondence, and from the very deep and permanent impression which he appears evidently to have made on all who came within the scope of his familiar acquaintance. At this period, Addison appears to have filled the first place in his regard. When they were together, they wished, it is said, to escape the interruption of any other acquaintances.

Notwithstanding the warmth with which he was cultivated, still it is very likely that some dissatisfaction was perceptible among his political friends, at the peculiar combination of opinions which he freely expressed. Such avowals of the creeds of opposite parties were understood, as they still are, to constitute political inconsistency; and he was soon taught to feel that some change must take place in himself or his friends, before his path to consequence and preferment could lie smooth to his feet. With this view, he began by efforts to unite the parties, or more probably to recommend to the whigs the church principles of their opponents. The fruits of this effort were not brought to maturity, as he appears not to have succeeded in satisfying his own fastidious judgment, and burned in the mornings what he composed at night. One pamphlet alone was suffered to appear—"The Sentiments of a Church of England Man, with respect to Religion and Government." It was published in 1708, and contains, says Scott, "a statement concerning the national religious establishment, fair, temperate, and manly, unless where it may be thought too strongly to favour the penal laws against nonconformity. The final conclusion is, that 'in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever has a true value for both would be sure to avoid the extremes of whig for the sake of the former, and the extremes of tory on account of the latter.'"

The effect of such a temperate and independent course will be readily conceived by any one who has the least notion of the prejudices of party understanding—prejudices, it is to be admitted, which, though unfounded in principle, are seldom altogether wrong when applied to individuals; for clever men use truth itself for the purpose of obtaining ends in which truth or right are at best but secondary. We have, in our acquaintance with the world, met very few indeed who could not quickly construct a bridge of wise, worthy, and high-sounding motives for any change their interests might happen to require; and thus it is that the public, which can little comprehend motives much

above the average of human honesty and virtue, will be commonly right in assigning the lowest motives to most public men. Scott observes that the pamphlet above mentioned was but a preliminary step to the desertion of the author's party. Another pamphlet soon followed, which must have been considered as placing such a conjecture beyond doubt, though it must still be admitted to be strictly consistent with his known and declared opinions. This was his celebrated "Letter upon the Sacramental Test," in which all the weapons of reason and ridicule are exhausted to maintain the principles of the high church party. He concealed the authorship for a time, but it was soon traced; and from this commenced a coolness between him and the whigs.

It was about the same time that Swift was first employed by archbishop King to solicit for the tenths and first-fruits. We have already, in this volume, related the main particulars of this commission.* The attempt at this time failed, as this concession, having been made to the English clergy, was thought to have been ineffective in conciliating them to the government; and for the more obvious reason, that being considered as tories, they could expect nothing from a whig administration. This administration was indeed little inclined to favour the church, for it was as latitudinarian in religion as it was liberal in politics. The whigs have retained both of these their specific marks; but the latter has ceased to be a virtue.

Swift was too sagacious not to see that his favour with the whigs was no longer to be relied upon. He left town, and having spent some months in Leicestershire, returned to Ireland. Lord Wharton was at this time the lord-lieutenant. Swift had a letter to him from lord Somers; but instead of availing himself of it, he passed without delay through Dublin, and retired to meditate other efforts at Laracor. He was indeed prevailed on, by the importunity of friends, to deliver his letter; but having done so, withdrew, and seldom after visited town during the government of Wharton. Previous to his return, some slight efforts for his advancement had been made, and failed; and he had been led to indulge a vain expectation that, through the interest of the same friends, something was likely to be obtained from this nobleman. The history of this has been perverted by the malice of an individual, but we cannot afford room to misrepresentations which need no refutation. The truth seems to be, that lord Somers had pressed for his appointment as chaplain to Wharton, and that this application was defeated by the hostility of archbishop Tenison and other bishops, whom Mr Monck Berkeley, with as much courtesy as good taste and gentlemanlike feeling, terms "right reverend blockheads." It is also made apparent that Swift expected, but did not apply for the chaplaincy.

We must now sum very briefly the incidents of this interval which remain. In 1709, he published a "Project for the Advancement of Religion," which made an impression of the utmost importance: in the next year, fifty churches were built in London avowedly on its suggestion. It must, however, be added, that, like all human projects of any extent, it contained much that would be impracticable, and something that would be pernicious. It is the common fault of projectors to

* See Life of Archbishop King.

overlook the imperfections of means, the effects of accident, and the vices and follies of men. A system of censorial commissioners, to inspect and guard the morals of society, might itself not display the purest example—*quis custodiet ipsos custodes* might be a question not easy to resolve: assuredly, the administrations of Harley and Walpole would ill brook the existence of a court of moral inspectors. But we are carried away from our purpose. Under the assumed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, he published "Predictions for the Year 1708," in which the style of that class of quackeries which it was its design to ridicule, is assumed with admirable adroitness. Among other waggish announcements for the year, he prophesied the death of an eccentric person, a Mr John Partridge, who was popularly known in that day, as practitioner in physic and astrology. He fixed the event upon the 29th of March, at the hour of eleven at night. Partridge was enraged, and in his almanack for 1709, did not fail to assure the public that he was still "living, and in health, and all were knaves who reported otherwise." Partridge had the ill-fortune, in the efforts which he made for his own protection, to fall into the hands of persons who readily lent their aid to keep up the joke. A letter, which he addressed to a friend in Dublin, was transmitted to the junto of wits, of whom his tormentor was one, and soon after appeared in the *Tattler*. Isaac Bickerstaff replied, and insisted on his decease in several amusing pieces in the dry irony of Swift's style. At last poor Partridge became so annoyed, that he had recourse to Dr Yalden, who lived near him. Yalden affected to enter seriously into his case, and published a pamphlet, entitled, "Bickerstaff Detected; or the Astrological Impostor Convicted," in which in Partridge's own name he gives a most ludicrous narration of his sufferings from the prediction of Bickerstaff. The inquisition in Portugal took Swift's predictions as seriously as Partridge, and treated the predictions of Bickerstaff, as doubtless they would have treated the author, having sentenced them to be burned. This joke was sustained for two years, and was carried on by the aid of Prior, Rowe, Steele, &c. It is said to have given rise to the *Tattler*, and consequently to that series of British periodical writings which are now among the classics of our language.

Swift's mother died in 1710. Of this event he says, "I have now lost my barrier between me and death. God grant I may live to be as well prepared for it, as I confidently believe her to have been—if the way to heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there."

In the same year, he was once more commissioned to solicit for the remission of first-fruits and tenths, on, we believe, the suggestion, and interest of archbishop King, and arrived in London upon the 7th of September. In a letter to the archbishop, dated on the 9th of the same month, he gives an account of his reception. He was caressed by the principal men of both parties: the tories had perhaps calculated on receiving him into their party, as they were generally aware that his opinions were in some important respects favourable to such a change; it was also not unknown, that he was discontented with the neglect which he had experienced from the whigs. These considerations are hinted

strongly in the letter in which he writes:—"Upon my arrival here, I found myself equally caressed by both parties: by one [the whigs,] as a sort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of;* and by the other, as one discontented with the late men in power, *for not being thorough in their designs*, and therefore ready to approve present things." By lord Godolphin alone, he was coldly received, and felt it with characteristic bitterness of spirit; his mind had been already made up, but we cannot doubt that the affront went to increase the sum of motives, and give additional decision to his conduct. He afterwards took his revenge in a satire, entitled, "Sid Hamet's Rod."

A brief retrospect will be necessary for a clear insight into the position in which he now stood. There had for some years existed a slow reaction of popular feeling against the whigs. The people of England, by nature disposed to the vindication of constitutional freedom, have always shown a sober-minded reverence for sacred institutions, such as to preserve them from being ever carried too far by the latitudinarian temper so often apt to lose sight of the distinctions between divine and human things. Whether, at those times which are the subject of our narrative, this latter disposition was or was not carried to the extreme of a prejudice, we are not called upon to say: but the decline of the whig party can be in some measure traced to a violent reaction of popular feeling against the patrons and supporters of low church principles. There had also for some years been widening and enlarging, a deep and dark mine under their feet, by secret intrigues, carried on between the tory leaders and the court. The duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto been the presiding genius of the whigs by the absolute ascendancy which her wit, spirit, and cleverness preserved over the feeble though tenacious temper of queen Anne, had early committed a fatal error by the introduction into the household of the princess, Mrs Abigail Hill, a poor relation whom she had taken under her protection. Mrs Hill had an understanding of her own, and a spirit many degrees more suited to gain the favour of the princess who feared the haughty duchess, and was won by the art, and well-assumed affection and subserviency of the bed-chamber woman. This the duchess was too proud to suspect, it was thus kept profoundly secret for several years: and the mystery of a clandestine intercourse, which has so much charm for small minds, strengthened and confirmed the influence thus acquired. Abigail Hill was also related to Mr Harley, who soon, by her means, became a party in these secret gossipings. The fear and dislike which the queen entertained against the whigs, and her strong desire to break the bond by which they held her in subjection which she wanted spirit to resist, became the well-selected groundwork of this intrigue. Harley was admitted to private audiences by a back stair entrance to the queen's closet, and soon won the favour of the queen, by the hopes he held out of breaking the power of the whigs, and setting her free from their tyrannical authority. This intercourse was discovered by the duchess some three or four years before the time at which we are now arrived; and from that moment she was perhaps aware that her authority was in danger. The

* He uses the same expression in his journal to Stella.

duchess was too proud to strive successfully against the influence of such low arts; she was so accustomed to command, that she could hardly bring home to her mind that such was the actual state of facts: she still continued to pursue the same course of lofty self-assertion, and it required much time and persuasion to strengthen the feeble Anne enough to make even an effort to shake off the high and stern ascendancy by which she was held in awe. Three years of whispering, persuasions, exhortations, and promises, were scarcely sufficient to loosen these ties. The duchess, at last giving way to her own haughty impulses, openly assailed the queen, who quailed before her, and even denied the secret practices; from which there ensued a succession of slights, offences, and tart collisions, which gradually operated first to loosen affection, and then to wear away respect. Thus, at last, the queen grew hardened against remonstrances, and irritated by reiterated insults into courage: the obstinacy of her temper was summoned to her aid, and her small "stock of amity," which, according to Swift, was not sufficient for more than one, was entirely transferred to a more convenient union. The spell that had bound her was dissolved, and with her hatred to the whigs, who had so long held her in constraint, her hopes of freedom grew. In the mean time the whigs were crippled by jealousies and dissensions, which we do not think it necessary to notice. Under these circumstances, there had been for some years a fierce struggle, in which each party gained occasional or seeming advantages, until an incident, apparently slight in itself, for a moment threw the kingdom into a flame, and gave rise to a strong reaction of high, church zeal, which shook from its already insecure foundations, and precipitated the whig administration to the dust. This incident was the famous sermon of Sacheverel, whose inflated eloquence might have been comparatively ineffective, had not the desperation of the whigs raised him at once to popularity by an impeachment. We cannot enter into details: England soon resounded with the cry of "high church and Sacheverel." Harley was not remiss to avail himself of the juncture: the time had arrived for the dismissal of his enemies; and all that was wanting was, to secure a tory parliament. He therefore advised the dissolution of parliament; and, in the heat of the agitation which had been set in motion, a tory election became a matter of certainty. Harley now carried matters as he thought good, and brought in a cabinet of his own, in which, with his characteristic artifice, he retained several whigs, lest his party should escape from his own control.

It was not long after this event that Swift commenced the most interesting period of his life. Besides his strong affection to the church, he had been discontented with his whig friends. It is needless to analyze the substance of his complaints; we shall only say, that to our eyes they seem not very well founded. He was known to be a doubtful ally, and it cannot be said that he had fairly awaited the ordinary probation of the best earned court patronage; Somers had done all that ought to be expected, and Halifax might well exact some further and more unequivocal support than his letter "on the Sacramental Test" implied. Swift was himself impatient and vindictive, and having taken offence at some, was little disposed to enter into those

minutiae, of which such questions are mostly composed. He saw the condition of a party which had at best been cold friends, and he consulted his duty as a churchman, not more than his obvious interest in stepping over to the ascending scale.

These points being understood, the proceedings of the following few years will demand no lengthened narration. The business of soliciting, upon which he was employed, gave him a ready introduction to Harley, by whom he was received in a manner which plainly shows how much his accession was coveted. The affair of the Irish 20ths, and first-fruits, was soon and easily despatched; but a close and familiar intercourse, such as we believe can find no parallel in history was established between Swift and Mr Harley. By this minister he was introduced to St John, and from that, they appear to have between them left nothing undone to secure his affections to themselves, and his invaluable co-operation in their service. For this end they conciliated and won his haughty independence of spirit, by submitting to the tone of equality often bordering on dictation, which was the result of his pride and conscious importance: in this respect they had indeed no choice; for the talents and temper of Swift could not fail to assume their level; and it may be added, that the brilliancy of his conversation, his high spirit, and the evident indications of a noble and generous temper, could not be without their appropriate influence. Without these considerations, it is indeed one of the many difficulties to be found in Swift's life, to comprehend the species of importance, so rapidly acquired by a person entirely destitute of those claims which are commonly recognised in the higher political circles. The reader has only to imagine any one whom he conceives to be the foremost political partisan of the present day, placed in precisely the same circumstances with a modern prime minister, to bring home to his mind the nature of the obstacles to be surmounted by the most transcendent powers. There were, at the same time, some facilities which do not now exist: the public mind was then mainly accessible by the instrumentality of the pamphleteering tribe—and of this class Swift was the *facile princeps*,—or only to be approached by the very first writers of the whigs. Standing on this ground, the rest may be ascribed to the ascendancy of genius and character; but it should be observed that the same powers, in the present day would not tend to place their possessor in a similar position. The rise and singular progress of Swift's intimacy with Mr Harley is marked in the journal which he regularly transmitted to Mrs Johnson; and in which the slightest incidents of his personal history were recorded from day to day. To this journal the reader, who desires such information, may be referred for much curious display of character, and many details too minute for a sketch like this. We may observe that we have attentively perused it, and that many of the decisions to which we have come upon the character and conduct of the writer, have been mainly founded upon the gleanings of himself, to be found in this, and in his correspondence; not, indeed, from any intentional disclosures, which are seldom of any value in the appreciation of character; but from the due estimate of the general value of those indications always to be detected in the private intercourse of life. We are compelled to confine our narration to the main incidents.

Swift, as we have related, was admitted at once to the most familiar intimacy with Mr Harley and the secretary, Mr St John, with both of whom, he contracted a close and permanent friendship. It is doubted that he was ever admitted to their confidence—this doubt originated with lord Orrery, and was repeated by Johnson. Sir Walter quotes the passage from Orrery, and replies to it at length, and decisively. Lord Orrery, however, was not fully possessed of those details which time has since placed on record, and which satisfactorily prove that there was no reserve so far as related to the actual conduct and business of the government. The several papers written by Swift, and above all, his history of the Peace, manifest a thorough and documentary acquaintance with all the main transactions of this administration; and the letters at a later period of his life, between himself and the principal parties concerned, fully confirm this impression. A man like Swift could not well have been duped by such men as Harley and St John; but, it is evident that lord Orrery was deceived by want of duly distinguishing between their public policy and those private personal views and interests which men do not always thoroughly understand in themselves, and seldom confide to others, till the occasion seems to require such disclosures. As the history of these persons is strongly interwoven with that of Swift, it may be advantageous to form some distinct idea of their characters. Harley appears to have possessed considerable scholarship and literary taste, with a sufficient range of those inferior talents which are available in debate, or in the routine of official business: he was in a higher degree master of the tact and address essential to the consummate intriguer; but in him these qualities were neutralized by an indolent habit, and a wavering and procrastinating spirit: he was a man to play out his game in a falling house. He had many kindly and amiable affections, a moderate temper, with an inclination to right, but a greater zeal for his own personal aggrandizement. He was placed in a doubtful and difficult position, and compelled to act in opposition to his own political views, against a party which he respected and feared, and with a party which he distrusted and disliked. He, therefore, often acted equivocally, and always manifested an indecision which gave great discontent to his party, and to which they finally attributed their decline. He had at his back a most violent party strongly heated with feelings unfavourable to the act of settlement, and, as the mob of party ever will be, anxious to precipitate extreme measures. Of these, he was more fearful than of his declared enemies, and was forced to take refuge in delays, and reserves; and, where he dared not avow motives, to raise secret impediments. The party of which he was nominally the leader, contained a large infusion of Jacobites. In the course of events, the possibility of a restoration of the exiled race became an object of contemplation to many observant politicians, and to Harley among the rest. Hence arose a private and strictly personal interest, which gave rise to a trimming, cautious, and unprincipled correspondence of the most clandestine character: and also to some extent enfeebled, and rendered additionally inconsistent, the deportment of this amiable, but not very strictly principled man. Though we should in fairness add, that the reproach must be qualified

by a consideration of the state of affairs which offered motives not now easy to estimate fully; for, between the house of Hanover, and the Pretender, the event was for some years seemingly very doubtful; and it must have been, with many, a question on which side the accommodating virtue of loyalty would be found to fall: the question has been happily settled, and we can now safely allow our reason to be candid. Though it is illustrative of national good sense, and right principle, that it would have been dangerous to avow a doubt; yet it ought to be recollected that an attachment to the Stuart race had not yet become a disgrace. But it was, in truth, the fault of Harley, to be devoid of political affections: like many of both parties, he only looked to his own interest, and desired to be prepared for whatever might fall out.

Mr St John, to whom Swift was at once introduced, compared with Harley, was a person of far more brilliant powers, but inferior in good sense and virtue. A libertine as to morals, a latitudinarian as to principle,—he was endowed with matchless eloquence, and a considerable mastery of the resources of intellectual power. His views were bold and specious, and if we cannot admit them to be profound, we will add, that we are not very confident of the 'precision of this class of distinctions: the mere assumption of a few elementary fallacies is enough to set awry the whole system of the most powerful reason. The profligate—and St John was a profligate—who is governed by the worst passions, must employ his reason to find a refuge from self-contempt in the worst principles; and, hence, it may have been that Bolingbroke was a false subject, and a shallow free-thinker. He was, however, a man of brilliant powers, of warm affections, and engaging manners: like all who feel the proud consciousness of intellectual power; and, perhaps, the juster tastes to which it gives birth, he could, with the most fascinating ease, place himself on the same level with a companion whom he desired to win, or for whom he felt a respect; and, hence, the spell which attracted and bound the heart of Swift. Profound as was Swift's sagacity, for which we do not think Sir Walter's expression, "the most keen and penetrating of mankind," too strong; his sincere and faithful regard for his friends blinded his perception of these defects; and notwithstanding the many things in his conduct which no biographer has satisfactorily explained, we are of opinion, that the respect he seems to have retained throughout for this most unworthy person is the greatest mystery of all. Human affections are clinging in their nature, and when they have any reality, will survive respect—this is an infirmity of mankind and not characteristic of the worst. But, in the latest portions of Swift's correspondence, the *prestige* of this splendid mountebank dwelt upon his understanding.

Such were the two great persons who occupy so large a space in Swift's life; and to whose friendship and confidence we believe him to have been fully admitted, notwithstanding the comment of lord Orrery. On lord Orrery's motives, for a representation* the tone of which is not friendly, we have not left ourselves space to dwell.

* Orrery's Remarks on the Life of Swift.

We shall, however, extract a passage of great force, beauty, and truth, from Sir Walter, in the spirit of which, we strongly agree. Speaking of lord Orrery's remarks, he says, "This is the language of one who felt that the adventitious distinctions of rank sunk before the genius of Swift; and who, though submitting to the degradation during the dean's life, in order to enjoy the honour of calling himself his friend, was not unwilling after the death of that friend, to indemnify himself for the humiliation which he had sustained in the course of their intercourse." Of Swift's most peculiar and characteristic manner of asserting an independence bordering on, and often transgressing the limit of equality among his superiors in rank and station, we shall, presently, select sufficient illustration.

We may now offer the promised illustration of the very characteristic temper manifested by Swift in this intercourse, and this will be best done by extracts, which will be as brief and more elucidatory than any continuous narration. The following extracts are from his *Journal to Stella*:—"Feb. 6, 1710,—Mr Harley desired me to dine with him again to-day, but I refused him; for I fell-out with him yesterday, and will not see him again till he makes me amends." Feb. 7.—"I was, this morning, early with Mr Lewis, of the secretary's office, and saw a letter Mr Harley had sent him, desiring to be reconciled; but I was deaf to all entreaties; I have desired Lewis to go to him, and let him know that I expected farther satisfaction. If we let these great ministers pretend too much, there will be no governing them. He promises to make me easy, if I would but come and see him; but I wont, and he shall do it by message, or I will cast him off. I will tell you the cause of our quarrel when I see you, and refer it to yourselves. In that he did something, which he intended for a favour, and I have taken it quite otherwise, disliking both the thing and the manner, and it has heartily vexed me; and all I have said is truth though it looks like jest; and I absolutely refused to submit to his intended favour, and expect farther satisfaction."

In a subsequent part of the *Journal*, he acquaints Stella with the cause of the quarrel, which was the offer of a bank note of fifty pounds.

He also refused the situation of chaplain, when offered to him by the same statesman.

"My lord Oxford—by a second hand—proposed my being his chaplain, which I, by a second hand, excused. I will be no man's chaplain alive."*

In his *Journal to Stella*,—April 1, 1711,—he says, "I dined with the secretary, who seemed terribly down and melancholy; which Mr Prior and Lewis observed, as well as I—perhaps something is gone wrong—perhaps there is nothing in it."

April 3,—"I called at Mr Secretary's to see what the d—ailed him on Sunday; I made him a very proper speech, told him I observed he was much out of temper; that I did not expect he would tell me the cause, but would be glad to see he was in better. And one thing I warned him of, never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a school-boy; that I had felt too much of that in

* Swift's Works.

my life already (meaning from Sir William Temple); that I expected every great minister who honoured me with his acquaintance, if he heard or saw anything to my disadvantage, would let me know in plain words, and not put me in pain to guess by the change or coldness of his countenance or behaviour, for it was what I would hardly bear from a crowned head. And I thought no subject's favour was worth it; and that I designed to let my lord Keeper, and Mr Harley, know the same thing that they might use me accordingly. He took all right; said I had reason; vowed nothing ailed him, but sitting up whole nights at business, and one night at drinking; would have had me to dine with him and Mrs Masham's brother, to make up matters, but I would not; I don't know, but I would not. But, indeed, I was engaged with my old friend, Rolliston; you never heard of him before."

Sir Walter quotes from a tract which we have not seen, a most curious and graphic account, of what he terms one of Swift's levees: he considers it as likely to be accurate enough, and if so, it is most valuable, as it leaves not a shade of doubt upon the extreme height to which he could be transported by his natural arrogance of temper. This extract describes him "charging Patrick, his footman, never to present any service; giving notice that all petitions to him be delivered to him on the knee; sitting to receive them like a Triton in a scene of wreck, where, at one view, according to Patrick's fancy, in disposing of them, you might have seen half-shirts, and shams, rowlers, decayed night-gowns, snuff swimming upon gruel, and bottles with candles stuck in them, ballads to be sung in the street, and speeches to be made from the throne; making rules of his own to distinguish his company, which showed that he was greater than any of them himself. For, if a lord in place came to his levee, he would say, "Prithee, lord, take away that damned ch—mb—r—p—t, and sit down. But if it were a commoner only, or an Irish lord, he would remove the implement himself, and perhaps ask pardon for the disorder of his room, swearing that he would send Patrick to the devil, if the dog did not seem to be willing to go to him himself."

While with Sir Walter, we admit the general truth of this singular portraiture; we should observe that that is not unlikely to be the truth which belongs to a good caricature. It is not, at least, easy to reconcile its many lines of strong absurdity with the common sense and the keen perception of the ridiculous, which form part of Swift's character. It is a picture drawn by a hostile hand, and probably composed of those exaggerations which will always accompany the repetition of amusing incidents, which provoke wit even when there is not the addition of malice. But even a caricature has no effect when it represents nothing: we may fairly take this story, with the statements of Swift himself, and consider all as illustrative of the temporary exaltation of the towering pride of his nature, into a triumphant and overbearing arrogance. The concurrence of a great variety of statements, among which many are his own, seems to leave no evidence wanting of this. Its importance may excuse our extracting one more narration, which, though from one who was no admirer, has yet every claim to credit. It occurs in the diary of bishop Kennet,

and has been cited by most of Swift's biographers who have written since. "1713,—Dr Swift came into the coffee-house, and had a bow from everybody but me. When I came to the anti-chamber to wait before prayers, Dr Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as a master of requests. He was soliciting the earl of Arran to speak to his brother, the duke of Ormonde, to get a chaplain's place established in the garrison of Hull for Mr Fiddes, a clergyman, in that neighbourhood, who had lately been in jail, and had published sermons to pay fees. He was promising Mr Thorold to undertake with my lord-treasurer, that according to his petition, he should obtain £200 per annum, as minister of the English church at Rotterdam. He stopped E. Gwynne, Esq., going in with the red bag to the queen, and told him aloud he had something to say to him from my lord-treasurer. He talked with the son of Dr Davenant to be sent abroad, and took out his pocket-book, and wrote down several things as *memoranda*, to do for him. He turned to the fire, and took out his gold watch, and telling him the time of the day, complained it was very late. A gentleman said, 'he was too fast,'—'how can I help it,' said the Doctor, 'if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right.' Then he instructed a young nobleman that the best poet in England was Mr Pope (a papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe; for, says he, 'the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him.' Lord-treasurer, after leaving the queen, came through the room, beckoning Dr Swift to follow him; both went off just before prayers."

On the subject of these narrations, Scott offers several just and admirable reflections, which are not, however, directed to the same end for which we have here adduced them. Among other remarks, he observes the apparent inconsistency of a contempt for rank, with the manner in which it was ostentatiously displayed; and infers (we think justly), a keen sense of the value of those advantages which he so strenuously affected to depreciate. While he affected to treat his superiors as equals, it is shown plainly enough that he would willingly look down in contempt on the rest of mankind. And the fact seems additionally confirmed and illustrated, when we recall to mind the small claim to respect of many of the most respected of his patrons and patronesses at this period. It is evident that lady Masham and her husband derived a lustre and dignity in his eyes from the reflection of the beams of royal favour: the same is plain in the case of Mrs Howard in a subsequent reign. Upon the *entire* of Swift's communication with courts and courtiers, the same sentiment of respect and jealousy is ever peeping out, like a purple vest concealed under the rags of a cynic. Scott adverts to an incident which we shall here present in Swift's own statement. "I dined to-day with Mr Secretary St John: I went to the court of requests at noon, and sent Mr Harley into the house to call the secretary, to let him know I would not dine with him if he dined late."* It is, indeed, plain enough that however hard it may have been to deceive Swift in other matters, it

* Journal to Stella. February, 1711.

was no difficult matter to fool him to the top of his bent in this. But pride itself, with all its overweening insolence and infirmity, undoubtedly bears a near relation to some of the highest of the social virtues: the contempt of inferiority will show itself in scorn for baseness, and strengthen though it cannot generate independence and integrity. But, in truth, we must confess, that we cannot see in the subject of this memoir, any strong exemplification of this truth: his pride, which we have here endeavoured to set in so broad a light, was entirely founded on the importance which he attached to his intellectual power: there was in it nothing of that refined sentiment which consists in what is becoming and fit, which discerns on all occasions the most delicate claim to respect, and is prevented by self-respect from intrusion. There is a veneration due to goodness and wisdom, a deference to authority, a tribute of honour to all excellence, and a respectful observance to social rank; the higher elements of civilized life, and their due recognition is a social claim not to be separated from the character of the gentleman.

But Swift had in reality not overrated his importance—a species of importance not now very easily comprehended. The war of faction, in modern times, conducted through the full and overflowing channels of public discussion and the cheap and flexible medium of the daily press, had then but one effective resource. The business of the newspapers was then mainly performed by tracts and pamphlets, which were anxiously looked for, and eagerly read. The general information of the public was far less, and political information was much less precise, detailed, and practical; and it may be considered as a consequence, that the arts of rhetoric, and the varied artifices of wit and talent had far more commanding effect. Under such conditions, it may well be supposed that one possessed of the wit, satire, mastery of style, and political intelligence of Swift, was likely to feel confident of his hold on ministers who stood so much in need of him. It is but reasonable that he should set the just value on his abilities, and resolve to exact the fullest return. Nor can it be considerably said, that his exaction was greater than the real importance of his services. A war undertaken to check the growing greatness and inordinate pretensions of the house of Bourbon; and the formidable encroachments of Louis XIV., which had already broken down and menaced entirely to destroy the balance of Europe, had been arrested by the victories of the allies under the command of Marlborough. And Louis was beginning to be as anxious for peace as he had been ambitious for conquest. This anxiety was yet, however, tempered by his desire to retain as much, and sacrifice as little as possible, and with this view attempts were made from time to time, to set on foot a negotiation in which the English were sure to lose the advantages which they had gained in the field—a liability which has become proverbial; and it will be no digression from our main purpose to observe, that this has been in a very great measure the result of that state of things which regulates the conduct of England, rather by the interests of parties than by those of the kingdom. When any one great party happens to become identified with any line of action, from the conduct of a war, to the smallest question of internal economy,

there will be a current of hostility immediately directed against that measure, and a popular feeling endeavoured to be excited. It will quickly be discovered, that all the wants and calamities which exist, or can be invented, are its results, and that all sorts of base and sordid interests are the real motives for pursuing it.

To carry the war to the successful termination which seemed now within the range of certainty, was unquestionably the most expedient and honourable course. It was also the interest of the whigs; and above all, it was the interest of the duke of Marlborough, whose avarice and grasping ambition afforded too ready a handle to his enemies.

To bring about a speedy peace, and to throw a character of unpopularity upon the war, and all who had been connected with it, was the interest and main policy of the tory leaders. And Swift's pen was the principal weapon in their hands. In a succession of periodical papers and pamphlets, of the most consummate skill and dexterity, for which his materials were afforded from those official sources at the command of his employers, he strengthened his party with every argument that wit, sophistry, and sagacious insight could supply; and the effects of eloquence and argument were extended and heightened by talents of a more popular description, humour and satire, circulated in every form of prose or doggerel verse, that malice or invention could suggest.

The whole or at least the greater part of those compositions are now to be found in his works;—it will be enough here to describe the general outline of the view which he put forward. Putting out of view the great and necessary objects of the war, with the real importance of the advantages which had been gained, he dexterously presented the representation of a war carried on to preserve the interests, and indicate the territorial rights of the allies, and in which the Dutch who were to be the sole gainers, contrived to throw the entire burthen upon England; so that while they urged the English government as if England alone were the party concerned, beyond the stipulated supplies in money and men, they themselves fell short of these engagements. In treating this argument he did not fail to dwell upon the exactions and the insulting arrogance of the Dutch, and on their uniform assumption of superiority over England in all their treaties; with this he painted the internal suffering and financial exhaustion of England, in consequence of a war which led to no useful end, and which would have been long before happily ended, but for the avarice and private ambition of Marlborough, who, he insinuated, was the only gainer by the contest.

Those and such views, disseminated through numerous channels, effected a considerable change in the feelings of the people, ever sure, when successfully turned, to go on with mechanical acceleration in the direction of the force impressed. The ministers were in consequence enabled to assume by degrees a bolder tone, and the peace which they had so much at heart was concluded, after many negotiations in which the anxiety which they had betrayed, was taken advantage of by the French, who would have been, in one more campaign, forced to submit to any terms.

During this anxious course of ministerial difficulty and intrigue, Swift gained an ascendancy which can only be explained by admitting the importance thus assigned to his efforts. On his part, he laboured with the most unremitting zeal, and may well have felt that he had earned the right to be free and independent—whatever they could eventually give was not, he felt, more than he had earned. That such freedom as he insisted upon maintaining with the ministers who thus profited by his abilities was in any way accessory to the disappointment of his ambition, we do not believe; for such is not the result which it would have had the effect of producing. All ranks and classes of men quickly conform to whatever convention they habitually act upon; and by admitting Swift to a level of confidential and familiar intimacy, a person endowed with his spirit and capacity soon filled the place of a friend and companion; those writers who have doubted the sincerity of this, have failed also to make due allowance for the influence of character. The claims of Swift were rather felt to rise than suffer any diminution from the privilege of intimacy, a truth perfectly understood by himself. His jealousy upon the subject of any offer of pecuniary reward, did not in fact arise either from disinterestedness or friendship, but from his sense of the importance of not suffering the existence of any understanding which might interfere with such expectations as belonged to this position. Conscious of services which he was not likely to underrate, he took the position which most distinctly fixed the true rank of his pretensions, and felt that the assent of his patrons was the admission of his claim. He refused fifty pounds, but hoped for a bishoprick. That Harley and St John fully entered into the same view, there can be no doubt. But through the whole of this administration, they laboured in vain to bring him into favour with queen Anne.

During the first years of this intercourse, while the tory administration was in its greatest strength, the life which Swift led in London was one of extreme and unceasing business and excitement, and more adapted to call forth all his powers, and gratify all the ruling propensities of his nature, than any interval he had previously experienced, or was ever to know again. With the high prospects to which his aspiring temper looked, the friendship of the noble, and the favour of the powerful, which gratified his fiery self-importance, the regard and esteem of the most gifted men of his age, and the general admiration and respect of the large circle of acquaintances to which he was thus favourably introduced; it was fully as much as his time afforded, to satisfy the pressing invitations of friendship, and the flattering importunities of the great men who needed his service and counsel. From his journal, we can through the whole time, with a precision not to be found in more important things, trace all his movements and tell the distinguished or noble house where he dined or refused to dine. But on days of state consultation, when the measures of government were to be privately discussed, he seldom was absent from the lord treasurer's, to meet there the trusty few. And from his note of these meetings, we learn how seldom anything of importance was transacted. Mr Harley was accused of being dilatory, and of suffering the interests of his party to be risked for want

of promptness and attention to business: it is well ascertained that the defect was inherent in his constitution and habits; but at that time his fault was subservient to his purposes, as by that course of loitering policy he was endeavouring to maintain his own ascendancy in the cabinet. St John, while he exerted his whole energy upon those main lines of policy on which his party depended for power, had also his secrets. And whatever were the causes, Swift often found that he was himself the only person who seemed to be quite in earnest upon the business in hand. At first, and for a time, he was only a party to those affairs in which it was thought necessary for him to make some representation to the public, and when it was indispensable that he should be furnished with facts and heads of argument and reply, or that his pamphlet should be discussed previously to its being published. And on these occasions, his representation of the difficulty of bringing his great friends to a due hearing, reminds the reader of two pupils and their pedagogue who is more willing to teach than they are to learn. By degrees, frequent consultations and the necessary confidences attendant upon such, naturally extended his knowledge of state affairs, and at the same time increased his influence over the two statesmen, whose confidence he had thus obtained. The dissensions which very quickly arose between these ministers much increased this influence: though ostensibly labouring for common interests, they soon began each to have a secret object of his own, and to move in different orbits round their common centre in Mrs Masham's closet. We shall, further on, have occasion to go into the detail of their animosities; it is here only necessary to observe, that in proportion as their mutual regard changed into enmity of the most rancorous kind, their common regard for Swift increased.

But though we see every reason to believe that Mr Harley omitted no opportunity to serve Swift's interests at court, nothing seemed likely to be effected in his favour; the queen was prejudiced against him beyond the powers of any effort of entreaty. This discouraging circumstance was also the means of largely increasing his influence with the minister; other compliances were thought due to so useful an ally whom they found it too difficult to reward in his own person; his requests in behalf of others were seldom refused, and he was thus enabled to exercise the patronage of the crown for the benefit of his friends, and the advantage of literary men, and deserving persons of every class and party.

Such is the general description of Swift's position during this important interval of his life. In habits of intimate and friendly intercourse with a large circle who were distinguished for wit and literature, or who were of political importance in the tory ranks; with the ministers he possessed a confidence, which, though it belonged in some measure to the mode of management then employed by administrations, was yet unparalleled in degree. Elated with this double importance, and the flatteries which attended upon it, and arrogant by his nature, he assumed a tone of dictatorial and often insolent superiority, such as has been graphically described in some of the extracts which we have already given, and which equally manifests itself from beginning to end in his journal; though, of course, in the more mild and subdued

tone belonging to such a record. In the excitement of a flattering circle, a vain man is not fully conscious of the airs and graces of self-importance; but when he *speaks* of his own feelings, his language is subdued and chastened by his judgment and taste, and all that would offend is softened down into remoter intimations and a more moderate tone. Yet, in the perusal of this journal, an impression grows upon the reader, which is not much increased by the most extravagant of the foregoing anecdotes.

Among the friendships which he now formed, many were those whom his influence was instrumental to serve; of some, he laid the first foundation of their fortunes, for others he obtained relief from distress. Pope was at the time emerging into notice, and was indebted to his active and spirited exertions for a large increase to the subscribers for his translation of the *Iliad*, then in progress. With Addison and Steele he had formed an earlier intimacy, during his intercourse with the whigs: his alliance with the tories, and the prominent part he took, now very much tended to alienate them from him. Addison was offended by the political infidelity of his friend, and these sentiments were increased by the extreme virulence and animosity, as well as the personal rancour with which Swift attacked those whom a little before he had professed to regard and follow. He did not perhaps think much allowance due to Swift's complaints of the neglect and insincerity of those great men, which was his real motive for turning against them, or for his high church principles which was his justification in his own eyes. And as Swift must thus have fallen in his esteem, a coolness was likely to arise—their meetings must have been embarrassed by the sense that there were subjects to be avoided on which they had ever been free, and that their common friendships and enmities had become inverted; so that no one could be praised or censured, or indeed mentioned between them, without a difference of opinion. Addison, little as he must have thought of the consistency or political integrity of his friend, yet saw his valuable qualities, his generosity, affection, and his vast and unrivalled powers, and not having himself much party fervour, avoided coming to any open or decided breach with him. With this feeling, perhaps, it was that he gave up the *Whig Examiner*, upon Swift's undertaking the tory paper of the same name: which had previously run to thirteen numbers, and was continued by him from the 2d November, 1710, to June 14, 1711. The reflection with which Swift's first paper commences appears to have been suggested by some sense of the probable consequences on the feeling of his friends. By his change to the tory party, he made, however, some valuable friends; and some of whom it is not easy to understand the value, farther than as they might be supposed to offer some immediate prospect of advantage. Among the first, may be reckoned Arbuthnot and Atterbury; among the latter, the Mashams. Prior was at the time in the employment of his patrons; Parnell he was the means of relieving from embarrassment, Dr Freind and Dr King were principal tory writers, and had both preceded him in the *Examiner*. The illustrious dramatist Congreve, though a staunch whig, was protected by Swift from the deprivation of his post. Berkeley was indebted to

him for those favourable introductions which eventually led to his advancement.

There is perhaps nothing which may set his real importance in a more strong light, than the club which was during these eventful years formed by his means among some of the higher Tories, consisting of lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, Ormonde, Orrery, and other lords and commoners, who were the principal supporters of the ministers to the number of nineteen: they adopted the title and style of brethren, and met once a fortnight at a dinner provided by some one of the party. Among these, Swift himself was not the least important, and, as may be easily supposed, the most in earnest and authoritative: of this the following extract from his journal, gives a curious illustration:—"I walked before dinner in the Mall a good while, with lord Arran and lord Dupplin, two of my brothers; and then we went to dinner, where the duke of Beaufort was our president. We were but eleven to-day. We are now in all nine lords, and ten commoners. The duke of Beaufort had the confidence to propose his brother-in-law, the earl of Danby, to be a member; but I opposed it so warmly, that it was waived. Danby is not above twenty, and we will have no more boys, and we want but two to make up our number. I staid till eight, and then we all went away soberly. The duke of Ormonde's treat last week cost £20 though it was only four dishes, and four without a desert; and I bespoke it in order to be cheap, yet I could not prevail to change the house. Lord treasurer is in a rage with us for being so extravagant, and the wine was not reckoned good neither, for that is always brought by him that is president. Lord Orrery is to be president next week; I will see whether it cannot be cheaper, or else we will leave the house." The details concerning this union, may be found throughout the journal, in which he not only speaks of the members as brothers; but carries the fanciful tie into all its consequences, mentioning their children as his nephews, &c. Nor is it less amusing to find him protesting against the increase of their number, and in one instance, exerting himself against the admission of a nobleman of high rank.

Among the acquaintances whom he chiefly cultivated at this period, there were none who exercised a more strong or dangerous influence over his real affections, than one of which he did not, it is probable, himself fully estimate the power. Hurried as he was, among the current of earnest, laborious and absorbing interests and expectations, which belonged to the position which he held, his moments of relaxation were soothed and rendered cheerful by that species of companionship, which had of all others the most attraction for him,—that of a young girl of considerable spirit and talent, who seemed fully to appreciate his wit and the charm of his tongue, and to manifest all the signs of the liveliest admiration of his person. As he was at this time advanced to his forty-fourth year, this preference had the most irresistible claim upon his vanity. All that we have said with reference to his first attachments, may, with little modification, be applied to this. It was without any express design that he now entered upon the task of forming Miss Esther Vanhomrigh's mind, as he in former years had undertaken the improvement of the not less unfortunate

Miss Johnson; and it was doubtless by the same imperceptible transitions that familiarity stole into attachment. There were some differences—Swift was always cautious, he was now grown doubly so; but Miss Vanhomrigh was far more impressible and passionate than Stella: a little friendly rebuke, not very strongly expressed, or very sincerely intended, had only the effect of kindling her fervid temperament, and on her part a violent attachment was formed, which only ended with her life. Such is the outline of a course of intimacy, which occupied more of Swift's leisure, than is at first sight very apparent. In his journals to Stella, in which he never fails to mention the place where he dines, Miss Vanhomrigh's house frequently occurs in a manner which indicates the close and almost domestic intimacy, yet at the same time so slightly and so much like an incidental occurrence, or a *pis aller* when other engagements failed, that the continual recurrence of the same slight intimation must have soon suggested a cause to the jealous acuteness of Stella: and the more, as there were not wanting occasional incidents, expressive of very close and intimate ties of some kind, which a knowledge of the writer might not find it difficult to interpret.

During the whole of this interval between 1710, and the time of his preferment in 1713, there can be no reasonable doubt, that one main object must have been present to the mind of Swift. Considering either his character or the rightful expectation due to his labours, or the professed regard of the ministers, his hopes must have been kept in a state of earnest activity. As the time went on, and added to these grounds of expectation, his anxiety increased, and many slight circumstances were discernible by his close and keen insight, which must have awakened uneasy reflections on the uncertainty of party ascendancy, and on the possibility of his great and laborious exertions being not merely lost, but leaving him to the mercy of a host of enemies. At first, he might with some complacency have assumed the part of disinterested friendship or patriotism, without the fear of being taken at his word: and there can be no doubt that he occasionally received such intimations, as must have quieted his anxiety, and led him on in the confidence which his opinion of the truth of his patrons was calculated to inspire. In conformity with these suggestions, we find him at first in several letters to his correspondents, assuming the tone of indifference and of disinterestedness; and after a time, expressing himself in the language of disappointment. He occasionally, too, remonstrates with his patrons, yet still rather assuming the tone of one who felt that derogatory imputations must arise from their neglect, than of one very solicitous in his own interests: a sentiment which doubtless he must have also felt. When they called him "Jonathan" and "brother Jonathan," he now began to hint that he supposed they would leave him "Jonathan as they found him." In his journal to Stella, he speaks cautiously in terms, but significantly enough, and tells her that he hopes his labours will "turn to some account," by which he adds, "I would make M D [Stella herself] and me easy, and I never desired more." This, by the way, is one of those expressions to which we have generally referred as helping to govern our construction of the understanding between himself and Stella. Again he

mentions, "I have been promised enough," and after, "to return without some mark of distinction would look extremely little, and I would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am." We should also infer as to the quantum of his expectations, that he did not desire to accept of a mere living,—as he mentions that he was given to understand that he could have one whenever he pleased from the lord-keeper. It may therefore be not without foundation concluded, that he set his mind upon a bishoprick, and that his friends said nothing to lower such a hope.

Whatever may have been the amount of their promises or his expectations, an incident, in the beginning of 1713, served to cast a more precise and less encouraging light upon his prospect. The bishopric of Hereford became vacant, and offered a fair trial of the truth or power of his friends. That it was their sincere desire to obtain this preferment for him, is not to be doubted, and is the conclusion of Sir Walter, who infers it from the coincidence of different notices which, though vague in point of expression, can yet be referred to nothing else. A letter from Bolingbroke, which seems to imply some previous communication, begins thus:—

"Thursday morning, two o'clock, Jan. 5, 1712-13.

"Though I have not seen, yet I did not fail to write to lord-treasurer. *Non tua res agitur*, dear Jonathan. It is the Treasurer's cause, it is my cause, it is every man's cause, who is embarked on our bottom, &c."

In a note on this letter, Sir Walter observes, "about this time it would seem that Swift was soliciting some preferment, and also that he thought the lord treasurer negligent of his interest." This remark was probably made in the body of Swift's works, (vol. xvi. p. 44,) before the writer had formed the specific inference, from which he quotes in the introductory memoir: both inferences are however valuable, and may be combined in the assumption, that Swift had put in his claims to the see of Herefordshire; the "foregone conclusion" to which this letter seems to point. It is just to mention that in one of his journals of nearly the same date, Swift says, "I did not write to Dr Coghill that I would have nothing in Ireland; but that I was soliciting nothing anywhere, and that is true;" but such a fact merely amounts to the very common evasion of those who desire to conceal the precise state of their affairs from strangers; there was a settled understanding which rendered direct applications superfluous, and Swift's adroitness could well seize on all occasions to spur the good will of his friends, without being importunate. This journal occurs in January 24th, 1713, and is dated one day earlier than that of lord Bolingbroke, already cited. The vacancy of the bishopric is likely to have occurred long after the letter to Dr Coghill.

There seems to be no doubt, that Mr Harley immediately applied to the queen, whose prejudices against Swift led her to refuse: but it is related that she was induced by the earnest solicitations of Swift's friends in court, to comply against her own inclination. But Swift had a powerful enemy at court: he had given mortal offence to the duchess of Somerset, who at this time held divided influence with Mrs

Masham over the royal favour, and she is supposed, through the entire interval of his sojourn in England, to have been the main impediment to his making any way at court. She now interposed her entire weight, and used every effort of suggestion and entreaty, to persuade the queen to retract. The effort was successful, and from this time it is not difficult to perceive the effect of disappointment in Swift's demeanour and communications. The history of this enmity, and of the manner in which it was shown in this instance, deserve a more particular detail. About two years before, Swift and his friends were alarmed by the influence which this duchess appeared to be acquiring at court; she was not amicably inclined to themselves, or to their party, and had been in fact advanced by the queen with a view to balance the influence of the tory favourite, through whom she feared being again reduced to the species of thralldom which she had already escaped from. Swift had the indiscretion to think of opposing this by ridicule, and wrote, "The Windsor Prophecy," in which he reproaches her with connivance at the murder of her former husband,* and ridicules her for having red hair. "It may be doubted," writes Sir Walter, "which imputation she accounted the most cruel insult, especially since the first charge was undeniable, and the second only arose from the malice of the poet;" to a court lady of that period, the vindictive recollections, *memores iræ*, of personal disparagement would be wronged by the comparison. The "prophecy" was printed, and on the eve of publication, when it was stayed by the earnest remonstrances of Mrs Masham, who better understood the effect which it would have. The impression was however brought to the club of brothers, and each took twelve copies for distribution, so that a circulation of nearly 200 copies in the most public circles, must have had all the effects of a publication. The consequence is depicted by Scott in his peculiar manner. From this time, by the effects of the enmity he had thus raised, "he remained stationary, like a champion in a tale of knighterrantry, when, having surmounted all apparent difficulties, an invisible, but irresistible force prevents him from the full accomplishment of the adventure." And Swift, fourteen years after, in a letter to Mr Tickel, adverts to it in a manner which tends to confirm this account, it "shows how indiscreet it is to leave any one master of what cannot without the least consequence be shown to the world. Folly, malice, negligence, and the incontinence of keeping secrets (for which we want a word), ought to caution men to keep the key of their cabinets."†

As we have already mentioned, the growing insecurity of an administration, in which the most bitter enmity and distrust had been for a long time gathering in secret, could not fail to be known to so clear and vigilant an observer, so intimate with the parties; and his assumed tone of dignified independence was compelled at last to give way to the more sincere anxiety, which he had so well suppressed. The re-

* She was daughter and sole heiress to the Earl of Northumberland. She was first married to lord Ogle, and next to Mr Thynne who was murdered by count Coningsmark's instigation, with the design to obtain her hand.

† Swift's Works, XIX. 356, Ed. 1814.

verse, to which he might be exposed by the casualty of a day, was too alarming to one who had assumed so high a style of conduct and bearing. "I will contract," he says, "no more enemies, at least I will not imbitter worse those I have already, till I have got under shelter, and the ministers know my resolution." Of lord Oxford he writes, "he chides me if I stay away but two days together—what will this come to? Nothing. My grandmother used to say,

"More of your lining,
Less of your dining."

At last three English deaneries became vacant, and Swift justly regarded the occurrence as offering a conclusive test of the ability of his friends to provide for him. It was on the 13th of April, that Swift received the intelligence from his friend Mr Lewis, of which the whole purport, with his reflections upon the occasion, may best be told in his own language. "This morning, my friend Mr Lewis came to me, and showed me an order for a warrant for three deaneries; but none of them to me. This was what I always foresaw, and received the notice of it better than he expected. I bid Mr Lewis tell my lord-treasurer, that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the queen would do nothing for me. At noon, lord-treasurer hearing I was in Mr Lewis' office, came to me, and said many things too long to repeat. I told him I had nothing to do but to go to Ireland immediately; for I could not with any reputation, stay longer here, unless I had something honourable immediately given to me. We dined together at the duke of Ormonde's. He then told me he had stopped the warrants for the deans, that what was done for me, might be at the same time, and he hoped to compass it to-night; but I believe him not. I told the duke of Ormonde my intentions; he is content Sterne should be a bishop, and I have St Patrick's."* As this entire passage was written on the evening of the very conversation to which it adverts; we can with certainty infer that the plan here mentioned was first proposed at this meeting. It is also evident from the following part of the same entry, that Swift was in some measure disappointed by the arrangement, which, instead of advancing him to one of the English deaneries, transferred him to Ireland, and at the same time made a distinction not very gratifying to his pride, by the promotion of Sterne,† whom he very wrongfully considered to have treated him with some slight, and to have inferior claims. The plan was perhaps mainly the suggestion of Harley. The duke had himself some objections which he afterwards waived in behalf of Swift. The point was however still to be settled with the queen, and in the interim, every expression which Swift has left, is such as to indicate affected equanimity and inexpressible impatience. On the next day he writes to say, that he would leave that end of the city (where he lodged to be near the court), as soon as the warrants of the deaneries

* Journal to Stella.

† Sterne had been on terms of the most friendly intimacy with him up to the time of his departure for England, and had but a very little before made him an offer of his purse through Stella, which Swift scarcely condescended to acknowledge. See Journal.

should come out; and adds, "lord treasurer told Mr Lewis, that it should be determined to-night; and so he will say a hundred nights," concluding with his plan of travelling on foot to Chester, on his way home. The following day, he writes, "lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him to-day; I was as good company as ever; and told me the queen would determine something for me to-night. The dispute is Windsor, or St Patrick's. I told him, I would not say for their disputes, and he thought I was in the right." This extract strongly indicates a state of mind bordering on exasperation; and it also dimly shows, what we are inclined to believe, that nothing would be more satisfactory to the subtle hypocrite with whom this conversation occurred, than Swift's going off in a fit of childish petulance, as it would be the best means of effecting a breach between him and lord Oxford, and securing his powerful alliance for himself, in the collision for which he was then preparing the way. The whole narration of the intervening days is equally full of significance; but we pass to the 18th, when the question was decided. From the remarks which dropped from Swift on this occasion, we shall only add one very expressive of the nature and form of his expectations, "Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland; and I confess I thought the ministry would not let me go," &c.* After all appeared settled, the duke of Ormonde objected to the promotion of Dr Sterne; with him Swift then exerted his powers of persuasion, and the duke, who perhaps desired no more than to place him under some obligation, consented. On the 23d, all the warrants were signed, and Swift was placed beyond the suspense which had tortured him through the interval; for as Scott, in a note on this part of his journal, observes, that he had become at this time fully aware of the mortal enmity he had provoked.

The remaining incidents are unimportant. He was annoyed to find that heavy deductions were to be made between the claims of Dr Sterne and the deanery house, the first-fruits and the patent; in all amounting to a thousand pounds. We have only here to add, that in the short interval between this preferment and his departure for Ireland, lord Oxford and Mrs Masham made another strenuous but unsuccessful effort to obtain something more suited to his expectations. The fact was denied by the insidious Bolingbroke, whose authority we should receive with many scruples, and whose dislike for Oxford amounted to perfect hatred. We shall have quickly to return to the differences between these rival politicians, and the circumstances which attended the decline of their power: these, though to some extent interwoven with the incidents of previous transactions, we have reserved for the summary statement which best suits our space.

After a long and wearisome journey, Swift arrived in Ireland. There are different statements as to his reception, which lord Orrery mentions as unfavourable in the extreme, and is contradicted by Sheridan and Delany. We must refer the curious to their accounts; the first wrote in no kindly spirit, the others were his most attached friends; the truth is probably between them. Swift was certainly then unpopular; there was no class for whose dislike some reasons might

* Works, iii. 208.

not be given. With the whigs he was an apostate; with the dissenters a high churchman; among the clergy, if any were spiritually minded, his character was marked by many obvious defects; to such, his libels, levity, grossness, haughtiness and eccentricity, together with the public reputation of an ambitious and worldly disposition, would render his elevation unacceptable; among the crowd of ecclesiastical persons, mostly then composed of men of small understandings and moderate attainments either in piety or knowledge, most would look with an eye of jealousy on the rapid elevation of the poor vicar of Laracor; for men of mean understanding are apt to be affected by a strong wish to think slightly of the powers which they do not possess, and cannot even fully comprehend; thus, if we could even venture to imagine such a thing as a bishop not very adequately provided with brains, there can be little doubt that he would look with supreme contempt on a very clever curate, and feel highly scandalized if some inconsiderate lord-lieutenant should lift him above his humble level to a deanery.

But Swift met with far more legitimate dislike from those with whom his promotion brought him into contact. We have, we trust, dwelt enough on his haughty and imposing manner, to enable the reader to feel at once how such a high and authoritative address as was become natural to him, would be likely to please persons over whom he came to claim authority, or to exact rights; the allowance of his superiors or friends, or the partiality of those whom his wit pleased, and his attentions flattered, might overlook much rudeness and petulance, which was not likely to meet the same tolerance from the prebends and official functionaries with whom he had now to cope: there is always a wide difference to be found between those who conceive themselves to be condescending to their acknowledged inferiors, and those who, in dealing with a haughty superior, have a little dignity of their own to support. Such a beginning was pregnant with annoyances, and Swift spent a harassing fortnight in arrangements connected with the entrance upon his new preferment, which he afterwards, in an epistle in imitation of Horace, describes to his patron lord Oxford.

——— all vexations,
 Patents, instalments, abjurations,
 First-fruits and tenths, and chapter treats,
 Dues, payments, fees, demands, and cheats,
 The wicked laity's contriving
 To keep poor clergymen from thriving.

There is also some evidence of the public opinion at the same time existing, as to his merits, in a ballad which Scott quotes from the works of Jonathan Smedly, and mentions that it was fixed on the door of the cathedral on the day of his instalment.

“ To-day, this temple gets a Dean,
 Of parts and fame uncommon,
 Used both to pray, and to profane,
 To serve both God and mammon.

When Wharton reigned, a whig he was ;
 When Pembroke, that's dispute, Sir ;
 In Oxford's time, what Oxford pleased,
 Non-con, or Jack, or neuter.

This place he got by wit and rhyme,
 And many, was most odd ;
 And might a bishop be in time,
 Did he believe in God."

&c. &c.

To these vexations, Swift opposed a haughty and scornful front of resistance, and provoked a strong spirit of opposition in the chapter; who were joined by the archbishop of Dublin. He was thus thwarted and baffled in many of the arrangements which he endeavoured to make for the promotion of his friends. After a fortnight thus spent, he retired with feelings of gloom and dissatisfaction to Laracor, from which place he wrote to Miss Vanhomrigh. "I staid but a fortnight in Dublin, very sick, and returned not one visit of a hundred that were made me; but all to the dean, and none to the doctor. I am hiding here for life, and I think I am something better. I hate the thoughts of Dublin, and prefer a field-bed, and an earthen floor, before the great house there, which they say is mine."* In the same letter he mentions, "I design to pass the greatest part of the time I stay in Ireland, here in the cabin where I am now writing; neither will I leave the kingdom till I am sent for, and if they have no further service for me, I will never see England again. At my first coming, I thought I should have died with discontent, and was horribly melancholy while they were installing me; but it begins to wear off and change to dulness." The dean retained Laracor and Rathbeggan, which he had at first some intention of resigning, and also designed to recommend Dr Raymond as his successor. Upon a nearer view, however, and under the influence it may be supposed, of the various exactions attendant on his promotion, he changed his purpose.

Among the numerous small vexations which depressed or disquieted his gloomy and irritable spirit, there was one which must have been deeply felt: he was inextricably entangled between two ladies, for each of whom he entertained a strong affection, and who both, as he was well aware, reckoned on him as a future husband. How such a sense must have corroded his better feelings, the reader can easily conceive; and it must be evident enough that the reunion with Stella must have been attended with feelings more nearly allied to remorse than satisfaction. Such meetings are the happiest incidents which human life affords: but Swift had abjured all the ways of peace, and the blessings of that home intercourse of affection which is the only infusion of sunshine upon the clouds and tedious trials of life.

In this gloomy retirement, it was with joy that the Dean received a summons from the tory administration, many of the members and friends of which were urgent for his instant return to London, where the dissensions between Oxford and St John had arisen to a height which threatened to shake their party to the foundation.

* Letter dated Laracor, 8th July, 1713. Works, vol. xix. p. 410.

We have already given a sketch of the character of Swift's two great friends, so far as was necessary to possess the reader with a more full sense of his remarkable progress in their regards. We must now revert to the consideration of their several histories, and of their mutual intimacy and opposition, as best explaining much of the following events which we are obliged to notice. Mr Harley, (at this time the earl of Oxford,) had been bred a dissenter, and had first attained notice under the auspices of the whigs; and after having filled the office of speaker in the house of commons, was made secretary of state by the duke of Marlborough. He was however soon found to be an unsafe and perfidious ally, and as the underhand intrigues which he carried on with the Tories could not long escape the penetration of his own party, he was dismissed from office: on which he went over to the Tories. At that time he was deeply engaged in that system of practice upon the feebleness and the resentments of the queen, by a secret intercourse contrived between himself and Mrs Masham, which was in the course of a little time, and with the help of circumstances which we have already mentioned, the means of bringing in that party, with himself at its head.

Mr St John may here be briefly described as the *élève* of Harley, and as the companion of the conduct and changes here described. Like him he was bred up among the dissenters; like him he availed himself of their influence, and turned against them when they had served his purpose; like him he was moderate in his party feelings; because he was like him devoid of sterling principle; and he followed his steps through the crooked ways that led to court favour and political power. But here the parallel ends. Mr Harley had been designed by nature to ornament private life, and to be the companion or patron of men of genius and virtue. Circumstances had led him into unclean paths, where he degenerated into an intriguer and a courtier, and rose to power by the only means available to mediocrity. His vices were as moderate as his virtues, and those virtues had in them a reality; his small craft and political meanness were set off by social affections; and even in his selfish aims, there were lengths at which he felt himself checked by the very principles which he had overlooked; there were some lengths in profligacy to which he was reluctant to go. He still would keep within the bounds of self-justification, which must indeed be admitted to be pretty spacious. St John was from the beginning indifferent to all human considerations, but the attainment of that advancement which his vast and splendid capabilities entitled him to expect. His principles, his opinions and rules of conduct, his virtues and vices, demand no refined analysis to appreciate their respective measure, or their mutual relation; he was a thorough profligate, and alike devoid of private or public virtues. We need not take the trouble to weigh some indications of kindly feeling toward Swift and Pope, or his French wife, to whom we believe he was not unkind. He respected wit and genius, which it was his interest to have on his side; he was not without some animal affection for those whom he thought fit to cultivate; and this is allowance enough. Within our own times, he has been made the theme of some very severe invectives, in the full sense of which, we believe all right-minded persons agree, and also of some pane-

gyric of which we have been unable to apprehend any foundation in reality, unless great and powerful abilities can be allowed to obtain the respect only due to superior goodness: of his powers we have already said enough. Having been mainly introduced to public life, under the countenance of Mr Harley, he quickly became distinguished by powers far superior to his master, and having been mainly instrumental in the conclusion of a dishonourable treaty, which was more conformable to the interest of his party, than to the honour of England, he began to feel that he might take an independent course, and supplant lord Oxford in the favour of queen Anne and her waiting-women. This respectable ambition was additionally stimulated by motives full as worthy. When lord Oxford obtained his earldom, St John put in his claim to a similar elevation; for this, neither the duration nor the amount of his services were felt to be adequate, and lord Oxford would have refused, if he did not stand too much in need of his abilities and in fear also of his fierce, intriguing and vindictive disposition. The rank of a viscount rather seemed an admission than a satisfaction of his claim. His pride was irritated rather than appeased, and he was evidently roused to seek matter for additional discontent. Lord Oxford received the order of the garter; and as there were some further vacancies, Bolingbroke insisted upon one. It was as a matter of course refused, and he at once gave way to his animosity. From this he pursued with steady determination to overturn the administration of lord Oxford, and obtain the government of the cabinet into his own hands.

Such is a very general outline of the history of this ministry. Swift, who never was made privy to the private baseness of his friends, and who gave them credit for those ostensible motives, of which it is always easy to find enough for the justification of any wickedness that is cunningly pursued, attributed their disagreements to motives and resentments far less deeply seated than the actual ones: in the short sketch which he has left of their quarrels, he assigns a rather slight occasion. After relating at some length the account of Guiscard's attempt to assassinate Mr Harley in the privy council, he writes, "I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr Harley and Mr St John, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr St John affected to say in several companies, 'that Guiscard intended the blow against him,' which if it were true, the consequence must be that Mr St John had all the mint, while Mr Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain."* Such insinuations must certainly have rankled in Mr Harley's mind, and not the less that they perhaps had some foundation in truth: but before this; he had probably felt that St John was to be feared and distrusted, and distrust was no small portion of Mr Harley's genius. Swift too was long aware of the repulsion which operated between them, and he had experience of Mr St John's efforts to prejudice his rival with himself. The enmity which had long been partially suppressed by prudence, at last forced

* *Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry*, Works, vol. iii. 251.

its way. Bolingbroke had completed the mine under his adversary's feet, and was prepared to fire the guilty train. Oxford felt the whole danger. Their friends, who knew nothing of the reality, attributed their quarrels to pique, and temper. Swift had an intuition of the truth, but it was no more; he came over in the hope of effecting a reconciliation on the ground of mutual interest and common danger. It is supposed that his influence was at first successfully exerted; but we are disposed to think it was only because the crisis had not come,—they had yet some common points of interest, and their common enemies were watching them with unremitting vigilance. The scale of their destinies was suspended on the favour of the queen and lady Masham. Swift brought them together, and exacted exterior courtesy, while he once more entered into the field of party politics and fought their battles with his usual spirit and effect. With this view he wrote several papers of great effect,—one of which contained an attack on the Scottish peers, so very offensive, that they took the matter up with considerable animosity, and the printer and bookseller were taken into custody. The bookseller declared his ignorance; the printer refused to answer. This latter was Mr John Barber, who afterwards became eminent as lord mayor of London, and is known by his long correspondence with Swift, which was continued through their lives, and is to be found in the published correspondence of Swift. Every one well knew who the real author was, and the implacable hate of Wharton took the occasion for revenge: he exclaimed that the house had no concern with these persons; that the only object was the discovery of the “villanous author,” and proposed that the printer should be set free from the consequences of any self-crimination. This having been Mr Barber's plea, the finesse of Harley warded the well-aimed blow, by directing a prosecution, which of course disqualified Barber as an evidence. The Scottish peers, justly indignant at this frustration of their resentment, went up to the queen, headed by the duke of Argyle, and demanded a proclamation for the discovery of the author: £300 were offered by the queen's command, and Swift was for some time in suspense and danger: he relied however on the fidelity of Barber, and the protection of Oxford. This minister indemnified the printer and bookseller with £150 sent through the hands of Swift himself.

As it is our anxious desire to preserve our limits, we shall here, as in the former interval, abstain from the detail of his political labours, which would demand copious digressions into English and continental history. His angry correspondence with Steele is to be found among the rest of his published correspondence; and as Steele is on our list, may be brought forward again to less disadvantage. Swift had also to contend with bishop Burnet, whom he attacked in a paper, entitled a “Preface to the bishop of Sarum's introduction to the third volume of his History of the Reformation.” This is described by Sir Walter as an ironical attack and as treating the bishop as one whom the author delights to insult. The description is substantially just, but the irony is not sustained through a single paragraph: the intent is evident enough; but Swift's eagerness to find fault, and to fling imputation (and with this perhaps the want of those prominent points which irony demands), quickly alter his purpose; the ridicule resembles that of a

wit, who becomes angry and throws off the mask of playfulness, to exchange smart sayings for abuse.

In the mean time, there was a rapid progress of incident and event, which contributed to weaken the tories, and to accelerate the disgrace of lord Oxford. Many circumstances had contributed to propagate fears for the protestant succession; the underhand negotiations of most of the tory leaders, and even of some of the whigs with the pretender, were too numerous to be quite concealed, and it would be difficult to prove beyond further question, that these private intrigues were not countenanced by the queen. It is placed beyond doubt that both Oxford and Bolingbroke took part in them; the former cautiously and insincerely, and rather for his own security; the latter thoroughly and devotedly. Oxford, whose entire conduct was dilatory, and a perpetual observance of the wind of accident, was so far betrayed by appearances, that although he was by principle for the settlement, he not only transmitted his advice to the Pretender, but took some daring steps which contributed very materially to his own defeat. Of this nature was his motion, "for the further security of the protestant succession, by making it high treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom." The real drift of such a motion, unnecessary against the Pretender, and only efficient against friends to the succession, was at once detected; and the oversight was taken advantage of by Bolingbroke himself. The consequence of many such indications was, a large secession from the strength of the tory party.

If lord Oxford was thus weakened by the imputation of Jacobitish designs, he was not less so, by a more just accusation of the contrary disposition. It was early discovered by the emissaries and friends of the Pretender that he confined himself to vague promises, and that he no less kept up a secret understanding with the ministers of the Hanoverian court. He thus became an object of contempt and suspicion to every party. His conduct as to the schism act in which he sacrificed the interest of the dissenters, his only remaining friends, left him bare to the tempest of party enmity and scorn—he had the folly or the honesty to incur the enmity of lady Masham, by refusing a grant of public money in her favour, and when there was no one to say a word for him, when his finesses were understood by all, when his delays, demurs, and hesitations, were traced to incapacity and want of purpose or honesty, when his obstinate reserve was recognised as jealousy of power and love of artifice, it was easy for his equally cunning, but far bolder and more able rival, to shake to dust the hollow structure of his favour.

But to Swift, the whole of this concatenation was not apparent: he was unacquainted with the private perfidy of Bolingbroke, or the doubling play and impotent finesse of Oxford: he saw their power was crumbling, and that it demanded vigour and union to make head against the leagued hostility of the whigs, and those who were daily added to their ranks; and he saw with feelings bordering on despair, the growing enmity of those on whose cordial understanding he considered all to be dependent. Under these circumstances, his conduct was generous, and as far disinterested as can be supposed, where his interests were in point of fact involved. His friendship with his first patron increased with the de-

cline of his power, and with the dangers by which he was surrounded: as he had not been servile in prosperity, so he was incapable of falling off in adversity. In vain Bolingbroke endeavoured by every art of insinuation, to detach him from his friend, and to win him to his own service,—Swift would only understand what was honest, and laboured to promote a union which was already dissolved. A letter written many years after to Oxford's son and successor, gives an interesting account of the last effort which he made—it may serve here as a summary of the whole affair. He writes upon the subject of his history of the last four years of the queen, which introduces the following narrative, "Your lordship must needs have known, that the history you mention of the last four years of the queen's reign was written at Windsor, just upon finishing the peace; at which time, your father and my lord Bolingbroke had a misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad consequences. When I came to Ireland to take this deanery (after the peace was made), I could not stay here above a fortnight, being recalled by a hundred letters to hasten back, and to use my endeavours in reconciling those ministers. I left them the history you mention, which I had finished at Windsor, to the time of the peace. When I returned to England, I found their quarrels and coldness increased. I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able. I contrived to bring them to my lord Masham's at St James's: my lord and lady Masham left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good consequences. I was to go to Windsor next day with my lord-treasurer. I pretended I had business that prevented me, expecting they would come to some * * * * But I followed them to Windsor, where my lord Bolingbroke told me that my scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same rate—they grew more estranged every day—my lord-treasurer found his credit daily declining. In May, before the queen died, I had my last meeting with them at my lord Masham's. He left us together; and therefore I spoke very freely to them both, and told them, "I would retire, for I found all was gone." Lord Bolingbroke whispered me, "I was in the right;" your father said, "all would do well." I told him, "that I would go to Oxford on Monday, since I found it was impossible to be of any use." I took coach to Oxford on Monday, went to a friend in Berkshire, there staid until the queen's death; and then to my station here, where I staid twelve years. I never saw my lord your father afterwards."

Swift, according to his determination, left London on a visit to a friend, the reverend Mr Gery, at Upper Letcombe, where he remained for some weeks, not perhaps without some hopes of being recalled by some favourable occasion, and filled with fears, anxieties, and expectations which, to some extent, may have rendered him insensible to the gloomy and monotonous frugality and seclusion of his host's abode. At no time had his own prospects appeared to such advantage, or drest in more hopeful array, than in the little interval that consigned him to Dublin and discontent, for the remainder of his life. His friendship with Oxford had grown to the most perfect affection and even confidence to the fullest extent that Oxford's character admitted; and he was the counsellor of his private, as well as his public affairs. There

could be indeed no doubt that if affairs were restored, and the queen's life continued, but that all the obstacles to his further promotion must have given way; as the first effort of Swift's friends would have been to reconcile him with the queen and her favourites. We should also have observed what Sir Walter mentions upon the most sufficient authority, that all the most important affairs of Ireland were entirely transacted according to his advice. But the tide of his prosperity was already on the ebb: a new conjunction of events and circumstances, most of which were already within the reach of sagacious conjecture, was fast approaching to verify, in Swift's instance, the *dictum* of Shakspeare, and consign the rest of his life to a voyage, "bound in shallows and in misery." He did not however know the full sum of evil circumstances which affected the prospects of his party; the real designs of Bolingbroke—the secret intrigues with the Pretender, in which all his principal friends were more or less involved, were yet secrets to him: he only was enabled to perceive dissensions and divisions which appeared still capable of being reconciled, only because he attributed them to causes more slight and transient in their nature, than those from which they actually proceeded. Ignorant of the deep and fatal mine which the perfidious Bolingbroke was actually on the point of exploding under the feet of Oxford's administration, he only saw the madness and folly of a disunion in which he saw the ruin of their common party, and could not believe that they would be the fools to persist in so destructive an error. He also saw the rapidly rising influence of Bolingbroke; but not being aware of its real direction, he only looked upon him as the remaining stay and support of a declining cause: and thus indulging himself secretly in the hope of daily hearing that matters had assumed a more favourable turn, he flattered himself still with the expectation of being called to town to fight the battle of his party, and to receive the reward of his exertions. In the mean time, however, his best feelings were tormented by daily accounts of the actual course of affairs. The dissensions between his friends grew more virulent from day to day: their party was weakening by divisions, while the precarious condition of the queen's health gave a fatal importance to these discouraging symptoms. In the midst of all this darkness and dismay, the star of Bolingbroke alone seemed to increase in magnitude and light; and while his rival, Oxford, grew more dilatory and despised, he appeared to advance in favour and influence, and to grow in vigour and promptitude. The struggle between them was not at this time many days protracted: while Swift was thus oscillating between hope and fear, and waiting the event of circumstances, he received the afflicting intelligence that his friend lord Oxford was insulted by the queen and Mrs Masham, and compelled to resign. "On the next day," Mr Lewis writes to Swift, "the queen has told all the lords the reasons of her parting with him; that he neglected all business; that he was very seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself, she could not depend on the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time she appointed; that he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all, that he behaved himself towards her with bad manners, indecency, and dis-

respect, &c.* On the night of the 27th, a cabinet council was held, to settle who were to be the commissioners for the treasury—the queen and Mrs Masham having, it is supposed, formed the scheme of governing for the future without a minister, a plan encouraged by Bolingbroke, who would thus have the real control of everything. The council could not agree, and the discussion was carried on with such violence till a late hour of the night, that the queen's head became affected with a complaint which terminated her life in a few days. In this interval, Bolingbroke's activity was not asleep; and he entered with the vigour and talent of his character into measures, which if the queen should but hold out only a few weeks, would in all probability have restored the Stuart line. His plan for a ministry was as follows: he was himself to retain the seals, to continue secretary for foreign affairs, and put the treasury in commission; a set of known Jacobites were to fill the other cabinet offices,—the duke of Ormonde and Buckingham, Atterbury, lord Harcourt and the earl of Mar, all of whom he hoped to find subservient to his aims, and who were deeply engaged in the same plot which was the main end of his entire policy. During the few days which he continued in office, he showed an activity and address, which would soon perhaps have put the expectations of the Jacobites in a prosperous train. Among other acts, he at once obtained for Swift the order for a thousand pounds, about which lord Oxford had trifled so long. He was most eager in his efforts to bring back to town the most able of his supporters; and the most pressing, but seemingly undesigning letters from him, appear among those which poured in at this time on the dean's retreat at Letcombe. But an unseen arm was raised already to dash all those cobwebs of state policy: the queen was on her deathbed; and some extracts from these letters may show the anxious working of the breasts of those about her, and throw some added light on those topics on which we have too slightly and superficially glanced. On the 29th of July, lady Masham wrote a letter to the dean, in which she says of lord Oxford, "I was resolved to stay till I could tell you the queen had got so far the better of the dragon [lord Oxford], as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most ungrateful man to her, and to all his best friends, that ever was born. I cannot have so much time now to write all my mind, because my dear mistress is not well, and I think I may lay her illness to the charge of the treasurer, who for three weeks together was teasing and vexing her without intermission, and she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last," [the 27th.] She then remonstrates against his expressed intention of returning to Ireland, and adds, "I know you take delight to help the distressed, and there cannot be a greater object than this good lady, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here, and do not believe us all to throw away good advice, and despise everybody's understanding, but their own," &c. Among these letters there are some from Mr Lewis, who appears to have formed a more just estimate of the conduct of the persons chiefly concerned, than most of the other correspondents: he speaks with affection and tenderness of lord Oxford,

* Swift's Works, vol. xvi. 191.

while he sees the entire littleness of his conduct, and mentions that he had offered to serve on any terms, and that he had met the insults of the different classes of low people about the queen with fawning servility; adding in one place his conviction that his intellects were gone, "I have long thought his parts decayed, and am more of that opinion than ever."* He also, a little after, shows the impartiality of his judgment in speaking of his rival, "But sure the earth has not produced such monsters as *Mercurialis* [Bolingbroke]." On the 31st, letters came informing Swift of the queen's death, and the successive accounts followed of all the numerous and minute circumstances of the break up that followed. It is impossible for us to enter on this detail, so as to preserve the almost romantic interest of the crisis; for such it was. The whole of the real movements of the late administration had been to favour the pretender—the most active of the Jacobite party had been in the possession of the whole efficient powers of the realm—the queen was not disinclined to the promotion of the same objects, but simply endeavoured to keep her own conscience free by a little flimsy self-disguise—the best affected of the Hanoverian party had no direct power of interference; and many who might have exerted a salutary influence were rendered so doubtful of the issue of events, that some were repressed by fear of being involved in the uncertain result, and some endeavoured to make friends of both sides. The death of Anne was the moment of decision: though the whole feeling of the nation was for the Settlement, the Jacobite party were up in array, and at their posts—a breath might have turned the scale.

But happily the recent struggle in the very bosom of the tories had spread doubt and disunion among them. Suspicions of the truth had sprung up, and as Jacobitism was only the disease and not the element of that party, the tainted portion found itself in a measure severed from the sound; the Jacobites could not rely on the ranks in the strength of which they had prospered. The leading whigs had been on the watch—they were men of ability, and their decision and promptitude saved the nation. It does not belong to our present purpose to describe how the Jacobite leaders met, unprepared for the emergency for which they had long been laying their trains; how some doubted and some recoiled, and none, in their first surprise, knew what to do; or how, before they had time to look round and avail themselves of their position, the whig leaders stepped in, and by one bold and decided move which none had the courage to gainsay, took the reins out of the hesitating hands of Bolingbroke and his faction; and gave the word to which the whole nation responded with a readiness which silenced the meditated treason. These details have recently been added to the page of regular history by lord Mahon, to whose most able work we have been much indebted in forming our views on the entire history of this and the following reigns; and we take this opportunity to express our obligation the more gladly, as the very summary glance which we are compelled to take of English history, has prevented any precise citation of his lordship's

* Swift's Works, xvi. 195.

pages.* We may add, that the perusal of the correspondence published as an appendix to the history here adverted to, has decided all the opinions which we have expressed as to the baseness and dishonesty of every one of the tory ministry. And those writers who have asserted that Swift was never entirely in their confidence, though it was invincibly said, and with something of a different intent, are after all no more than just. While his writings clearly establish his claim to a thorough acquaintance with all that concerned those measures of administration on which the tory policy rested as its basis, the ministers had individually an internal system of motives and designs connected with their private hopes and aims, which they strictly concealed from one whom they knew too well, to hope that he would countenance an undisguised departure from the most common principles of political honesty.

One circumstance must not be here omitted. During the brief interval of Bolingbroke's triumph, while he was soliciting the return of Swift to London, and opening new hopes of promotion to tempt him to come to his assistance, the genuineness of Swift's friendship, and the independence of his spirit, were shown to great advantage. He had sent up a pamphlet designed for the service of the tottering administration to Barber—this, lord Bolingbroke obtained possession of, and unceremoniously proceeded to retouch it for his own special purposes; but on hearing the circumstance, Swift peremptorily insisted on the return of the manuscript. In the same trying moment, when ambition and Bolingbroke were inviting him again into that field where all his hopes yet lay, he received a letter from his friend, the fallen Oxford, inviting him to "fling away some on one who loves you;" Swift without hesitation chose the nobler and less alluring track, and immediately prepared to follow his friend into his retirement. The events which followed thickly upon each other, interrupted his intention, and consigned his unfortunate patron to the tower, where he continued till he was released by another turn among the currents of political faction.

We may now follow Swift into Ireland, and trace his conduct in scenes of a very different kind. Ignorant of the extent to which his friends had really implicated themselves, he urged them up to the fatal breach, and offered to stand forward boldly in their cause. As Dr Arbuthnot, who better knew their real condition observed, "Dean Swift keeps up his noble spirit; and, though like a man knocked down, you may still behold him with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his adversaries."

In Dublin he had now to face a heavy storm of insult, menace, and persecution. The whigs had completed the overthrow of their opponents by a sweeping imputation of Jacobitism, and the followers were involved in the disgrace of their leaders. The nearest friend and adviser of Oxford who was imprisoned on such a charge, and of Bolingbroke, a fugitive and delinquent confessed, could not but be looked on by the Irish whigs, with horror and suspicion. In Ireland, from the

* History of England, by Lord Mahon.

frequency with which the worst results of disaffection had been made familiar, the fears and jealousies of party ever took a more active and excited form. The same events which in England might have but changed a set of men, in Ireland would have deluged the country with massacre; and hence the violence of the Irish protestants—with them, it was not an affair of policy, but of personal safety and property. How far such feelings, arising from such causes, are liable to pass the line of reasonable foundation, need not be considered; so it was, (and to some extent is,) that in Ireland political sentiments were always liable to be carried to the most violent extremes of personal animosity. It was enough that he came over with the suspicion of a leaning to the pretender, to render Swift the object of dislike and animosity. He could only be seen as the friend of Bolingbroke, who had thrown off all reserve and resigned himself to the Stuart schemes, with a publicity that showed an utter disregard of the safety of those friends he had left in these kingdoms. All the resources of libel and calumny were now exhausted on the Dean—his enemies took the occasion to insult him in the streets—his former friends deserted him. It will be, if not the most concise, at least the most interesting way of exemplifying these circumstances, to offer an instance which may be given in his own language, being a petition which he made to the house of lords, upon a most wanton insult from lord Blaney.

“ The humble Petition of Jonathan Swift, D.D., and Dean of the Cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin.

“ Most humbly sheweth,

“ That your petitioner is advised by his physicians, on account of his health, to go often on horseback; and there being no place in winter so convenient for riding as the strand toward Howth, your petitioner takes all opportunities that his business or the weather will permit, to take that road: That in the last session of parliament, in the midst of winter, as your petitioner was returning from Howth, with his two servants, one before and the other behind him, he was pursued by two gentlemen in a chaise, drawn by two high-mettled horses in so violent a manner, that his servant, who rode behind him, was forced to give way, with the utmost peril of his life; whereupon your petitioner made what speed he could, riding to right and left above fifty yards, to the full extent of the road; but the two gentlemen driving a light chaise, drawn by fleet horses, and intent upon mischief, turned faster than your petitioner, endeavouring to overthrow him: That by great accident your petitioner got safe to the side of a ditch, where the chaise could not safely pursue; and the two gentlemen stopping their career, your petitioner mildly expostulated with them; whereupon one of the gentlemen said, ‘Damn you, is not the road as free for us as for you?’ and calling to his servant who rode behind him, said, ‘Tom,’ (or some such name,) ‘is the pistol loaden with ball?’ To which the servant answered, ‘Yes, my lord,’ and gave him the pistol. Your petitioner often said to the gentleman, ‘Pray sir, do not shoot, for my horse is apt to start, by which my life may be endangered.’ The chaise went forward, and your petitioner took the opportunity to stay behind. Your petitioner is

informed, that the person who spoke the words above mentioned, is of your lordship's house, under the style and title of lord Blaney; whom your petitioner remembers to have introduced to Mr Secretary Addison, in the earl of Wharton's government, and to have done him other good offices at that time, because he was represented as a young man of some hopes, and a broken fortune. That the said lord Blaney, as your petitioner is informed, is now in Dublin, and sometimes attends your lordship's house. And your petitioner's health still requiring that he should ride, and being confined in winter to go on the same strand, he is forced to inquire from every one he meets, whether the same lord be on the same strand; and to order his servants to carry arms to defend him against the like, or a worse insult, from the said lord, for the consequences of which your petitioner cannot answer.

"Your petitioner is informed by his learned counsel, that there is no law now in being, which can justify the said lord, under colour of his peerage, to assault any of his majesty's subjects on the king's highway, and put them in fear of their lives, without provocation, which he humbly conceives, that by happening to ride before the said lord, he could not possibly give.

"Your petitioner, therefore, doth humbly implore your lordships, in your great prudence and justice, to provide that he may be permitted to ride with safety on the said strand, or any other of the king's highways, for the recovery of his health, so long as he shall demean himself in a peaceable manner, without being put into continual fears of his life, by the force and arms of the said lord Blaney."

We might add many anecdotes relating to the same time—we have, however, only afforded space to this, on account of the strong exemplification it gives of the author's general style and habits of mind. We do not think it necessary to defend him here from the charge of Jacobitism—any reader who desires to find all that can be said on this point, will find enough in Scott's memoir. The imputation had for a time the effect of narrowing his intercourse with the better classes of society, and reducing him to move in a more narrow and less refined circle than he had been accustomed to for some years. Some persons of very high respectability, character, and talent, still superior to the prejudices of the crowd, rallied round him; and though destitute of that artificial charm which power and high rank can even impart to insignificant minds, cannot be supposed to have wanted the main qualifications of the best society, wit, learning, refinement, and good-breeding, with as much of the social affections and more sincerity and worth than his regretted patrons and court friends. Among these were the Grattans, a large, influential, and highly accomplished family, Dr Helsham, Dr Delany, Mr Sheridan, and numerous other names, less generally known to posterity.

But in this circle his breast reverted ever to the friends and companions of that brilliant season of pride and hope, which was now over; they were wanderers and exiles, or awaiting the dangers of prosecution for state offences. With a spirit superior to inconstancy or fear, he continued openly to correspond with them, and pressed to be per-

mitted by his friend, lord Oxford, to attend him in the tower. Sir Walter quotes from one of his letters to Pope, the following very affecting passage:—"You know how well I loved both lord Oxford and lord Bolingbroke, and how dear the duke of Ormonde is to me. Do you imagine I can be easy while their enemies are endeavouring to take off their heads? *I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.*" In another passage which we quote from the same letter, Swift gives a graphic sketch of his manner of living:—"You are to understand that I live in the corner of a vast unfurnished house; my family consists of a steward, a groom, a helper in the stable, a footman, and an old maid, who are all on board wages; and when I do not dine abroad, or make an entertainment, (which last is very rare,) I eat a mutton pie, and drink half a pint of wine; my amusements are, defending my small dominions against the archbishop, and reducing my rebellious choir. *Perditur inter hæc misera lux.*" From a letter written several months before that to Bolingbroke, it would appear that he had at first some thought of retiring to live for a time at Laracor, but had been deterred by meeting annoyances in that vicinity, from some litigious neighbour, as also by the disrepair into which his glebe-house had fallen. "I would retire too, [he alludes to Bolingbroke's retirement before his flight into France,] if I could; but my country-seat, where I have an acre of ground, is gone to ruin. The wall of my own apartment is fallen down, and I want mud to rebuild it, and straw to thatch it. Besides, a spiteful neighbour has seized on six feet of ground, carried off my trees, and spoiled my grove. All this is literally true, and I have not fortitude enough to go and see my dominions."*

Some letters which passed, in the spring of 1716, between him and bishop Atterbury, contain the precise particulars of the disputes with his "rebellious choir," alluded to in one of the foregoing extracts. In one of those letters he consults the bishop as to the regulations of other cathedrals. He first says, "I am here at the head of three and twenty dignitaries and prebendaries, whereof the major part, differing from me in principles, have taken a fancy to oppose me upon all occasions in the chapter-house; and a ringleader among them has presumed to debate my power of proposing, or my negative, though it is what the deans of this cathedral have possessed for time immemorial, and what has never been once disputed. Our constitution is taken from that of Sarum; and the knowledge of what is practised there in the like case, would be of great use to me." The answer of Atterbury was strongly adverse to the dean's notions, as it gives the very lowest statement of the power of the deans in the older deaneries; and advises him to avoid the precedents which he proposed, and to pursue a discreet and forbearing caution to avoid stirring questions on the foundations of his authority. Swift, in promising to comply with this counsel, at the same time enumerates the special privileges of the dean of St Patrick's, with their high and ancient authorities, so as to show that he was not at least convinced; and, we may add, such as also to make it apparent, that he had at least much strong ground to go upon.

While the dean was thus entangled in conflicts, little adapted to

* Works, xvi. 245.

compose his irritable temper, or to assuage the deep and painful recollections and anxieties which he felt for those friends, with whom all his generous feelings rested; those friends were passing through trials, adversities, and scenes of reverse and privation. At the coronation of George I., the several actors on that stage, from which Swift had so reluctantly retired, took their places in the scene with different degrees of apprehension, or confidence, as they had been differently involved in the late events. They had each already received intimations of the several degrees of disfavour in which they were involved; Oxford had been coldly received, because he had been a cold and equivocal friend, and was yet affected by suspicion; but he had been too cautious in his movements to have much to apprehend; and having been rejected and spurned by the tories, he was even taken into the new cabinet; he was aware that these circumstances would not prevent the hate of his enemies from the endeavour to place him on his trial; but he was endowed with passive courage, and under worse risks would have braved them for the preservation of his estates and honours; he had made no friend among the Jacobites, and was by principle opposed to them. Ormonde was constitutionally sanguine; he had large interests at stake, and could not resolve without one trial, to sacrifice his fortune to a cause: against him, the king was in the highest degree prejudiced; he had been, under the authority of Bolingbroke, made the agent of a truce, perfidious with respect to the allies, disgraceful to the British arms. When on his way to meet the king at Greenwich, he was met by a message to apprise him that he was forbidden to appear in the presence. Bolingbroke, too deeply dipped in perfidy and treason, to have a reasonable hope, did not brave the contumely of the new court; he measured his danger with a clear and sagacious judgment, and calculated with precision the interval during which he might brave appearances, and try what the high reputation of ability and eloquence, or what fortunate contingency might work for him in the mean time. On the meeting of parliament, these several parties were not long allowed to continue in suspense. Ere this, the pretender had issued a declaration which tended to implicate the entire administration of the late queen. This cruel and perfidious oversight commenced the war of party; the whigs seized on the implication, which was indeed too obvious for doubt; the tories defended themselves; and ere the session commenced, a fierce reciprocation of pamphleteering attacks, defences, and recriminations, prepared the way for heavier weapons.

The old parliament was dissolved, and another, more constituted for the meditated views of the ascendant party, succeeded; the pretender's manifesto was noticed in the king's speech: in the address, both houses stigmatized the dishonourable peace, and expressed their sense of the delinquency of the late ministers. "It shall be our business," was the language of the commons, "to trace out those measures, in which he [the pretender] places his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." Such an intimation was plain enough. Bolingbroke, in a few evenings after, appeared publicly at the theatre, and bespoke the play for the following night; he then retired, and disguised himself as the lacquey to a French courier, under

whose protection he thus made his way to Calais. Ormonde indulged for a little longer in that confidence which was constitutional to a spirit rather ostentatious than great. Oxford had much to hope, and comparatively little to fear; he firmly and calmly stood his ground, displaying in the trials which followed, that however unfit to meet and cope with the emergencies and difficulties of public life, he was not devoid of the courage and fortitude which can grace adversity. A long and able report was brought in by Walpole, detailing the charges against the late administration. When it was ended, Bolingbroke was impeached of high treason; the impeachment of Oxford followed. Ormonde might have been overlooked, but his indiscretion provoked the doubtful blow; the motion for his impeachment followed, but he was suffered to escape.

In about a month after, Oxford was committed to the tower. We have entered into this detail, as the meet preface to a letter which is so creditable to Swift, that it should not be omitted in this memoir.

“To the Earl of Oxford. *July 19, 1715.*

“My Lord,

“It may look like an idle or officious thing in me to give your lordship any interruption under your present circumstances; yet I could never forgive myself, if, after being treated for several years with the greatest kindness and distinction, by a person of your lordship's virtue, I should omit making you at this time, the humblest offers of my poor service and attendance. It is the first time I ever solicited you in my own behalf; and if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me. I do not think myself obliged to regulate my opinions by the proceedings of a house of lords or commons; and therefore, however they may acquit themselves in your lordship's case, I shall take the liberty of thinking and calling your lordship the ablest and faithfullest minister, and truest lover of your country, that this age has produced; and I have already taken care, that you shall be so represented to posterity, in spite of all the rage and malice of your enemies. And this I know will not be wholly indifferent to your lordship; who, next to a good conscience, always esteemed reputation your best possession. Your intrepid behaviour under this prosecution astonishes every one but me, who know you so well, and how little it is in the power of human actions or events to discompose you. I have seen your lordship labouring under great difficulties, and exposed to great dangers, and overcoming both by the providence of God, and your own wisdom and courage. Your life has been already attempted by private malice; it is now pursued by public resentment. Nothing else remained. You were destined to both trials; and the same power which delivered you out of the paws of the lion and the bear, will, I trust, deliver you out of the hands of the uncircumcised.

“I can write no more. You suffer for a good cause; for having preserved your country, and for having been the great instrument, under God, of his present majesty's accession to the throne. This I know, and this your enemies know, and this I will take care that all the world shall know, and future ages be convinced of. God Almighty

protect you, and continue to you that fortitude and magnanimity he has endowed you with. Farewell, JON. SWIFT."

We learn from a letter which Swift soon after received from Arbuthnot, that lord Oxford was greatly pleased with the generous proposal thus made; and that he intended to write an immediate answer. This answer appears to have been postponed from the extreme indolence and the procrastinating habits of this lord. His incarceration had on the plea of sickness been deferred, and he had gone to pass the short interval thus allowed at one of his seats.

Many of Swift's more humble associates had not been in any way involved, and several enjoyed the immunity belonging to their inferior and simply official connexion with the recent set of men or measures which had now become the mark of increasing clamour and prosecution. On the decline of the club of brothers already noticed, another had been formed far inferior in rank, wealth, and the splendour of social distinctions, but still more superior in the pretensions of a more truly elevated and permanent description. Of this the members were no more than six, and of these were Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot—Harley and Bolingbroke completed, and gave an imposing character to a union of which they are now (nearly at least,) the lowest names. This union is immortalized in the works of Pope and Swift, as the Scriblerus club. Its members now became his chief correspondents, and in their letters published in his works, their own history, and the literary history of their time is to be found.

While thus harassed by anxiety for his best loved friends, and immersed in harassing dissensions with his chapter, Swift had not like most persons who have to meet the distresses and labours arising from their commerce with the world, a refuge in the affections and confidence of home. In this great source of the best and purest human enjoyment, he must be regarded as the most unfortunate of men: his home hours were but a duller variety of the feverish dream of life, dependent on casual hospitality, or purchased servility, for some faint mock gleams of the love and personal regard to which all right minds turn for rest and peace. There was for him no endearing tie, no holy and cloudless union of love and perfect confidence. The want alone connected him with his kind: and he vainly tried to fill the aching void by cultivating affections which had neither the wholeness nor the faith of those he missed. Had he been a hard-minded man, a devotee to pleasure, or a sincere worshipper of folly, or could the dazzling dreams of his ambition have lasted, he might have escaped the long and weary suffering which tortured him through life. Or had he been content to follow the common path, and sought his happiness in the obvious course in which it was his fortune to meet it, his biographer would have been spared the painful duty of finding cause for censure or apology in those relations of his life in which it most commonly occurs, that the atoning virtues, or the compensating felicities, are to be found in the lives of those whose public career offers little to be dwelt upon with satisfaction. The subject of Swift's intimacy with the two most unfortunate ladies, Miss Johnson, and Miss Vanhomrigh, of which we have already related the commencement,

was at this time beginning to bring forth its fatal fruits. We have fully expressed our own view of this much discussed, and (it must be allowed) still doubtful subject; but we omitted to notice as distinctly as must now become necessary, that after very anxiously considering the arguments adduced on opposite sides of the highly authoritative writers, who have most recently expressed their views upon the subject, we feel compelled to mention, that we must dissent from both, in some of their main conclusions. We do not think it necessary, nor would our space allow it, to enter into a controversial and minute review of their reasons; we only desire to apprise such of our readers, as may happen to be acquainted with this controversy, that our omission does not arise from neglect: we have then, we should say, scrupulously weighed Sir Walter's statements, which are marked by his usual caution and candour, and those of Dr Lyon, which, so far as concerns the main proofs of the principal fact, are equally characterized by acuteness and observation. Having said thus much, it will be enough on this point to add, that in adopting a view which is in some points at variance from either, we shall entirely rely on the reasons and explanations which must accompany our statements.

Many of Swift's friendly biographers in their extreme zeal to repel the malignity of others, and to elevate the character of one whom they venerated, have been led to commit the oversight of overlooking the common facts of human nature, and the numerous moral indications of Swift's mixed and somewhat complicated character. They perhaps felt, that the tenderness, the generosity, and the scorn of vice which were very prominent features of his temper, could not be consistent with the motives and conduct of an opposite nature and tendency, which so much of his history seems peremptorily to force upon the conviction; and have thought it necessary to exert very considerable ingenuity, in constructing for him a character adapted to reconcile those opposites; but altogether out of nature. Now it is with regard to Swift, of all men of whom there is any distinct record, that every one incident of his life is strongly and prominently stamped with the common vein of mixed motive, fine-spun self-deception, adulterated virtue, and dignified infirmity, which is a known condition of human nature. A full view of this nature leads to much comprehensive toleration—they who have clearly viewed what it is at best, will not be inclined to refuse to Swift's virtues, genius, and sufferings, the degree of veneration, respect, and compassion which really is their due, because they were compounded with those infirmities, which are the conditions of humanity, and which in too many cases expand and develop with its powers and capacities. And we may declare (for our own part,) that we are more anxious to guard against fallacious theories, than to set right the character of Swift or any other subject of these memoirs. The assumption that Swift and Stella, from the beginning, entertained no further understanding than a Platonic attachment, commits not one but several errors. We may point out a few: it sets wholly aside the ordinary and well-known law of human character, as commonly observable in the commerce of sexes; it supposes that a man must be very profligate and cruel, before he will be tempted to tamper with female affections without just and honourable

intentions; it then, to redeem Swift from so black a charge, thinks it necessary to assume that the most keen and fastidious observer of others that ever was, and the most severe analyst of motives, one too, remarkable for the tact by which he almost governed female hearts, was, in this one respect, a witless driveller and a simpleton, below the dullest Lothario of a mantuamaker's tea-table; and Stella, who is always mentioned as a person of talent and common sense, not wiser than a miss in her teens, befooled with bad novels. The wise can be led into folly, and the virtuous tempted first, and then self-deluded into guilt—the circle is an old one; but even the dullest understandings find some subterfuges, palliations, and disguises of an honest colour, necessary to keep them well with themselves, as they glide smoothly down the shelving declivity. Were there *distinct evidence* that so simple a convention as a platonic friendship, to exclude all further ties for life, was *expressly* entered upon between Swift and Stella, our inevitable inference would be unfavourable to the virtue of both—we have no faith in such ties—every one knows too well what they mean. It is the true vindication of Swift's head and heart, that his intentions were honourable and natural, and Stella's, that she so understood him. This will not acquit him of much cruelty and much dishonourable conduct; but it will leave us free to find some extenuations and allowances.

The same considerations will, with certain modifications, apply to Vanessa. If, in Stella's case, he reconciled the obtrusive scruples of his better nature, by an indefinite prospect of matrimony; in that of Vanessa, he was satisfied to keep his own conscience clear, by giving warnings and exhortations, which were neither calculated nor intended to have any effect. This is too palpable to waste words upon it; but the path he took is curious for a dexterity of which he was not distinctly conscious. He saw the inflammable temper and sanguine spirit, and while he played with her passions by alternations of gallantry and reproof, he selected and suggested to her sanguine and romantic fancy the very delusion which was wanting to lead her inadvertently on till it was too late to return. He offered objections which were not conclusive, and suggested the platonism which no woman believes sincere, but which served well to ward off for a while distinct and decided explanations. Surely this is the common by-way of seduction; and if we say that we acquit Swift of any vile design, it is because, in reality, this awful crime is not in all, or even in most cases, the result of design: the tale is an old one,

How laughter into folly glides,
And folly into sin.

It is our duty to add, that the folly is never purely free from guilt: there is always an obscure consciousness; and Swift cannot be advocated on the plea of extreme simplicity. He was no dreaming sentimentalist—he was no poet cloud-capt in the heaven of fancy—he was no metaphysician losing his way in empty abstractions and sterile words: he was a man pre-eminently of the world, who is distinguished for having worked his way to male and female favour with an address, which his fierce pride and irritability could not defeat. The esteemed and admired friend

of the high-bred countess—the artful court favourite—the intriguer—the statesman—the morbid and keen-eyed satirist—the subtle and dexterous reasoner—commanding in a word the *elite* of every class, and holding a petty tyranny in the female world: he is not altogether to be defended by the imputation of the most frivolous platonicism. We cannot admit of new and far-fetched theories, when the ancient laws of nature apply so well. We must conclude these remarks, which we have carried far beyond our intention, with a few very short extracts from the journal to Stella, the language of which can only be understood as expressive of an intention to marry or to deceive. “Farewell, dearest beloved, MD. and love poor Presto [himself] who has not had one happy day since he left you, as hope to be saved;—it is the last sally I will ever make, but I hope it will turn to some account. I have done more for these, and they are more honest [likely to serve him in turn,] than the last; however, I will not be disappointed, I would make MD. [Stella] and me easy; and I never desired more.” Again, “You are welcome as my blood to every farthing I have in the world; and all that grieves me is, that I am not richer for MD.’s sake, as hope to be saved To return without some mark of distinction would look extremely little; and I would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am. *I will say no more*, but beg you to be easy, till fortune take her course, and to believe that MD.’s felicity is the great end I aim at in all my pursuits.” All this is plain as any woman would require; but for a slight tone of equivocation, which too uniformly appears in his protestations, as if he wished to impress the obvious inference without committing himself. And this we suspect to be the fact. As he advanced in life, and as the gay back-ground of the prospect approached, it came upon his eye in more sober and less attractive colours; the attractions faded, and the less-pleasing features started into prominence: he felt himself to be in a position, from which, if he could, he would recede; and he endeavoured to glide imperceptibly into a new understanding. Even while the journal was in its progress, events had been occurring to make the old tie less pleasing; and Scott notices (what we also felt,) the gradual alteration of tone, which marks, as he proceeds, the transfer of his affections. Miss Vanhomrigh was youthful, interesting, personally attractive, and fascinated by his wit and graceful insinuation. As he had made his first advances to Stella in the guise of a Mentor,—a favourite approach since the days of Abelard, and before them;—so he also in the same way caught up the reins of Vanessa’s more brisk and impulsive fancy, and guided her into the path he knew so well. His inclination was amused—his pride gratified;—and in the spell of the moment, he committed to oblivion, as men ever will, the danger attendant on such gratification. Too habitually shrewd not to perceive the more than usually fast progress of his pupil’s passion, he thought to set himself right by a little good advice, which he knew would not be taken; for when did a few sage precepts ever act otherwise than as an excitement, when coming from an object of pursuit. All these considerations are plain enough in the correspondence between Swift and Miss Vanhomrigh, to which we must refer any one who would verify our reasoning.

How then, at this time, stood the dean's affections? We confess that we can do no more than conjecture upon the same broad grounds, where they apply with diminished certainty. We should say that his regard for each of these ladies was in different stages of progress, and therefore that strictly there can be no comparison. Perhaps his inclinations leaned to Vanessa, who was the younger, the more brilliant, and the more flattering; but that the better and more tender affections of his breast recognised the claims, and sympathized with the feelings of Stella. To Stella he had pledged himself: there had been no express contract, but there was an understanding which he felt thoroughly; for he is ever in his journal speaking upon such an understanding.

On his first arrival to take possession of his deanery, he took lodgings for Stella and her companion, Mrs Dingley, on Ormonde quay, the other side of the Liffey, and resumed his usual intercourse with them—an intercourse of which it must be observed, that it absolutely involved the species of understanding which we have explained. In every circumstance, of which we find any record, as well as in all his language, the same distinction may be observed: Stella was neither by him, nor by herself, regarded as a mere intimate friend, but as appropriated. All her arrangements were perceptibly included as a part of his.

Soon, however, the death of Mrs Vanhomrigh was the occasion of those embarrassing occurrences for which we have endeavoured to prepare our readers. Her son survived her but a short time, and her two daughters became the heiresses to a small property in Ireland, near Celbridge. Their circumstances were, notwithstanding, much embarrassed, and it cannot be doubted that Miss Esther Vanhomrigh, whom we may call Vanessa, was too happy to seize an excuse to come over to reside upon their own estate. Vanessa had no apprehension of a rival. Swift, in his communications with each of these ladies, had been most guarded. Occasional hints, which dropped now and then in such a manner as to imply a nearer intimacy than was consistent with his general silence upon the subject, had for some time awakened the most painful suspicions in the mind of Stella; but if such incidents occurred in his intercourse with Vanessa, the ardour of her temper was more likely to overlook them. Stella was more calm, prepared, and trained to endurance: hope deferred, while it depresses the springs of life, has the tendency to create that painful sense which will be most readily understood by calling it a presentiment of ill. The arrival of Vanessa could not fail to awaken this unhappy sensation; and Stella, if she possessed the good understanding for which she has credit, must have had at this time some definite sense of Swift's character and mode of thinking and feeling.

The dean himself was become fully alive to all the perplexity of the position in which he was entangled; and here we feel compelled to observe, that some biographers who take a different view of the whole of this part of his history, dwell with unwarranted stress on the language of some of his letters and communications, which plainly manifest his own anxiety to repel the unfavourable impressions created in the minds of others; to extricate himself from the embarrassment arising from the expectation of both ladies, and which also indicate

that, as his inclinations changed, and the period had arrived, when it was no longer possible to amuse himself with good intentions, he had laboured as most men do on similar occasions, to shift the character of the existing relation between him and the victim of his love. He had always used equivocal language; and, between playfulness and irony, had contrived to suggest whatever he pleased, without committing himself: it was easy for him to persuade himself that he had given no serious pledge—to forget much—overlook inferences—and alter meanings;—he could also assign meanings to that language which proceeds from female pride and reserve, and give it a sense which it was not designed to bear. He could thus make a case for himself; and it would be easy to show by a circumstantial reference to all his correspondence and actions, that his accuracy of assertion was not too great to admit of direct contradiction between the assertions which he made at different times. This, indeed, does not amount to a direct imputation of wilful falsehood: but biographers are too apt to lay stress on such indications, from not making allowance for forgetfulness, change of view; and lapse of time; they are imposed on by the narrow limits of the longest life when it is collected within the compass of a few hours' reading, and thus identify very distinct stages in the progress of man's being. Swift was at this time possessed of an invincible repugnance to matrimony; but his happiness not the less depended upon the whole possession of some tender and devoted breast—he loved Stella, and he pitied her. He may, as Sir Walter supposes, have had more inclination towards the comparatively youthful Vanessa, but in him such inclinations were not a governing principle, and he was (we are persuaded,) more affected by disinclinations. His moral sentiments, friendship, pity, and remorse, were more potential in his nature; and everything indicates a full allowance of the superior claims of Stella.

Vanessa's letters are extant, breathing the most ardent passion, and, taken together with his answers, make it quite clear that her whole heart was bent on a union which he was equally resolved against. The terms on which their intercourse now proceeded are forcibly depicted in the following portion of one of her letters, written from her retirement in 1714:—"You bid me be easy, and you would see me as often as you could. You had better have said, as often as you could get the better of your inclination so much; or as often as you remember there was such a one in the world. If you continue to treat me as you do, you will not be made uneasy by me long. It is impossible to describe what I have suffered since I saw you last. I am sure I could have borne the rack much better than those killing words of yours. Sometimes I have resolved to die without seeing you more; but those resolves, to your misfortune, did not last long. For there is something in human nature, that prompts one so to find relief in this world, I must give way to it; and beg you would see me, and speak kindly to me; for I am sure you'd not condemn any one to suffer what I have done, could you but know it. The reason I write to you is, because I cannot tell it to you should I see you; for, when I begin to complain, then you are angry; and there is something in your looks so awful, that it strikes me dumb. O! that you may have but so much

regard for me left, that this complaint may touch your soul with pity! I say as little as ever I can; did you but know what I thought, I am sure it would move you to forgive me, and believe I cannot help telling you this and live."

From such a spirit there was, it is evident, no escape, without the most cruel inhumanity;—he could not refuse, even had inclination been altogether silent, to visit and correspond with her; he could not, if he would, have acceded to her wishes for a nearer union. Of his tie to her rival, we have said enough: and it is quite apparent, that a marriage with either was likely to be a death-blow to the other. To marry either, was not his desire, and he had a painful and embarrassing course to steer between them.

Under the fatal impression which this condition of circumstances must necessarily have made upon Stella, her health had begun at last to be visibly impaired: she, as Sir Walter says impressively, "had forsaken her country, and clouded her reputation, to become the sharer of his fortunes when at their lowest." She must, indeed, have bowed beneath the withering wrong, much aggravated (instead of extenuated,) by the evasions and indirect courses which only made her condition the more humiliating, and left her no room for remonstrance. Her obvious depression alarmed the tenderness of Swift; and at this point a serious controversy arises on the conduct he pursued. Scott, following the tradition of evidence from the bishop of Clogher through Berkeley, and of Sheridan through Mr Madden and doctor Johnson, confirmed by doctor Delany, Mrs Whiteway, and other intimate associates of the dean, relates, that Swift seeing Mrs Johnson's depression, commissioned Dr St George Ashe, who had been his tutor in college, to inquire the cause. The answer was such as must have been anticipated, that "it was her sensibility to his recent indifference, and the discredit which her own character had sustained from the long subsistence of the dubious and mysterious connexion between them." According to that account, Swift strongly stated his own resolutions, formed as he alleged at an early period; 1st, not to marry, without having first an adequate fortune; and 2d, to marry so early as to have time to push the fortunes of his children, and settle them in the world. He had not yet attained the first of these conditions, and the second was already past. But to satisfy Mrs Johnson's mind he would consent to a marriage, which was to be merely a ceremony, and to be kept strictly secret, and that they should live on the same guarded terms as previously. To this most laughably absurd proposal it is said Mrs Johnson consented, of course (if the story have any truth,) in the hope that one step might lead on to another. In consequence, it is said that they were married in the garden of the deanery in 1716. Against this narration, founded on hearsay evidence, we have to balance the opposite testimony, collected by Dr Lyon, which is brought forward on the authority of Mr Mason. This testimony is wholly different in its nature from the former;—the one being, so far as it goes, positive, the other negative. This latter consists in stating the contrary impression of several persons who were equally intimate with the parties; in certain arguments of considerable force, arising from after circumstances; and in a more general reasoning in which

he weighs the various indications which appear to ascertain the actual understanding which had all through subsisted between the parties. From these considerations Dr Lyon rejects the entire story about the marriage.

NOW, considering that the question is still, and must for ever remain doubtful, we are inclined to think the balance of probability in favour of Dr Lyon's view. Strong deductions are, we grant, to be made: the evidence which Sir Walter suggests (for he is not himself satisfied,) has the advantage of being affirmative: that relied on by Dr Lyon is negative. Again, the effort to draw any inference from the expressions and acts of Swift at different periods, is not to be relied upon, as we conceive the foregoing pages to have sufficiently established. Making these exceptions, we consider the doctor to have offered as strong an argument as the subject admits of, to prove that no such marriage ever took place. We shall state such of his arguments as we admit the force of, in his own words: the reader will then have before him all that can now be said to any purpose on this curious question. Having mentioned an assertion of the dean's made to one of his friends, Dr Lyon goes on to say, "The same gentleman, who was intimate with Mrs Dingley for ten years before she died, in 1743, took occasion to tell her that such a story was whispered of her friend Mrs Johnson's marriage with the dean, but she only laughed at it as an idle tale, founded only on suspicion. Again, Mrs Brent, with whom the dean's mother used to lodge in Dublin in the queen's time, and who was his own housekeeper after he settled in Dublin in 1714, and who, for her many good qualities in that situation, was much confided in, never did believe there was a marriage between those persons, notwithstanding all that love and fondness that subsisted between them; she thought it was all platonic love, and she often told her daughter Ridgeway so, who succeeded her in the same office of housekeeper. She said that Mrs Johnson never came alone to the deanery; that Mrs Dingley and she always came together; and that she never slept in that house if the dean was there, only in time of his sickness, to attend him, and see him well taken care of; and during this course of her generous attendance, Mrs Dingley and she slept together; and, as soon as he recovered, they returned to their lodgings on Ormonde quay. These ladies slept other two times at the deanery, at an * * * * pleasant house, and near his garden called Naboth's vineyard, and that was for those months in 1726 and 1727 which he spent in England. It chanced that she was taken ill at the deanery, and it added much to his affliction that it happened at the deanery, for fear of defamation in case of her dying in his house, whether he was at home or abroad. Had he been married, he could not have lived in a state of separation from her, he loved her so passionately; for he admired her upon every account that can make a woman amiable or valuable as a companion for life. Is it possible to think that an affectionate husband could first have written, and then have used, those several prayers by a dying wife with whom he never cohabited, and whose mouth must have been filled with reproaches for denying her all conjugal rites for a number of years, nay, from the very period (1716) that is pretended to be the time of the marriage? Would he have suffered his wife to make a

will, signed Esther Johnson, and to demise £1500 away from him, of which £1000 is enjoyed by the chaplain of Steven's hospital for the sick, and accept of a gold watch only, as a testimony of her regard for him? If he could direct, or rather command her to leave the fortune as he pleased, it is probable he would have directed the application towards the future support of lunatics, which was the species of charity he thought most worthy the attention of the public. Is it not probable, that two gentlemen of honour and fortune, still living, who knew them both intimately, and who were her executors, would have known of a marriage if there was one? And yet they always did, and do positively declare, they never had cause to suspect they were married, although they were in company with both one thousand times; they saw proof of the warmest friendship, and any love but connubial love. If she made him a present of a book, you may read in the titlepage these words—and so she distinguished every book she gave him:—

Esther Johnson's gift to
Jonathan Swift, 1719.

Would he deny his marriage with a woman of good fortune at that time, when he says, "She had a gracefulness somewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action."

This is the view of Dr Lyon, to whom the care of Swift in his last state of imbecility had fallen: it seems to place the side which he adopts of the question in the strongest light of which it probably admits. It may be observed, that a marriage, accompanied by the conditions said to have been proposed by Swift, was in the first instance so perfectly nugatory, as to be unworthy of the lowest sense or feeling to propose: it was not a secret salve for a secret distress of conscience that Stella wanted; it was a wounded reputation that was to be repaired; for such a purpose the alleged offer was a most cruel and absurd mockery. We cannot, without better proof, admit it to have been made. But we do not quite concur with Dr Lyon in the stress he lays upon Swift's concurrence in the will of Stella, or in the name written in the books as in the above extract. If there was any marriage, it is still evident with how strong a feeling the secret was guarded by Swift; and, to any one who has duly appreciated the vindictive tenacity of his temper, and considered his time of life, and the peculiar eccentric equity which pride will maintain, and which in him so often appears as a characteristic humour: these instances will not seem to have very great weight on the negative side. It is hardly to be supposed that he would seek to derive benefits, or claim rights from a union of which he would not permit her to obtain the only advantage which she had sought, or could have expected from it: the name which he would not allow her to wear, could not appear in her will, or on her gifts: to draw any inference on the other side from her not being allowed to bear that name, is simply to beg the question; we cannot therefore allow much positive value to the facts of Dr Lyon's statement. As for the general arguments as to what Swift would, or would not do, drawn from notions of his moral character, they simply show that Dr Lyon's perceptions of human character were by nature very obtuse; or, that, as often occurs, the near inti-

macy with such a man as Swift, imposed upon his understanding. The elevated ideas of platonic love which he attributes, are laughable out of the nursery; they belong at best to apprentices and boarding-school misses; in a woman of Stella's understanding they could have no place: when pretended by persons of sense and experience, they are uniformly the cover for ulterior designs. A reason, drawn from the assumption of the truth and honour of Swift, is equally fallacy: his virtues were impulses and passions, not strict and unbending rules of obligation; they were the virtues of pride, not principle. His whole life is stamped with all the marks of a low elastic morality: he is in this respect to be estimated from his own accounts of himself, as well as from the entire circle of those whom he courted, and whom he shunned: Harley, St John, the Mashams, and Mrs Howard, were the chosen objects of respect to him who looked with disrespect on Godolphin, Halifax, and Somers. We can easily admit the numerous considerations, by which all this can be favourably explained; but we cannot reconcile any portion of Swift's life, or any part of his exposition of himself with the assumption of any extraordinary virtue or nobleness of spirit, for the purpose of an argument. He himself talks lightly of deceiving others, and we have taken some pains to show how apt he was to deceive himself; it was easy for him to find reasons to confirm his will, and satisfy himself, that there was no injustice and fallacy in the reasons he now and then expressed for his conduct: the contradictions and inconsistencies, which are now so glaringly manifest in his collected remains were of course not before his mind at any one time. But it was hardly to be concealed, either from himself or Stella, that she was suffering a proscription on his account, from all female society. The female, who could willingly submit to this, was wanting in all the peculiar virtues of her sex—every one then, as now, understood the real character of that lofty contempt of decorum, which bespeaks the exaltation of vice alone: we cannot suffer poor hapless Stella to be made a historic parallel for the *Déesse de la raison*.

We have now gone through the main points on either side of a question so doubtful and so interesting; and we think the result to be, that there are no satisfactory grounds for a decision. We cannot attach conclusive value to the statements of any of those who have entertained the question, while we admit that there are reasons of much weight advanced on every side. This much we consider clear, that Stella must have expected a marriage, and that Swift encouraged such an expectation; that he was sincere in those intimations which gave rise to such an expectation; but, that having some repugnance to enter into such a union, he continued to put it off, and, as most persons do in a variety of duties, to find reasons, shift his views, and make corresponding changes in his statement to others on the subject. All this is broadly written on the surface: the rest is hid in doubt. He may have made up his mind against the step, and fortified himself with reasons which were fallacious, and averments which were not strictly true; while some well-meaning friends may, in pity for poor Stella, and zeal for his character, have persuaded themselves to believe or invent a secret marriage. Again, on the other side, the dean, in

pity and remorse, may have yielded to a strong and earnest wish; or, as is more probable on this supposition, feeling that he could not refuse, may have reluctantly consented and imposed conditions which wholly neutralized it; while Stella, on her part, may have still hoped for some further relaxation, which might at least release her from her unhappy position in society. While Swift, whose whole moral temper is not ill-described in a line which was applied to him by some of his intimate friends:—

*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis;*

held to his conditions with the vindictive force of his acrimonious and unbending spirit. To this, were we to assume his marriage, might be added an additional motive of great force, which is thus stated by Sir Walter, “terror for the effects the news of his marriage might produce on the irritable feelings of Vanessa, and a consciousness that his long concealment of the circumstances which led to it, placed his conduct towards her in a culpable point of view, must be allowed as one chief motive for the secrecy enjoined upon Stella.” Swift was, it must be allowed, placed under circumstances of extreme embarrassment: it is a perplexity by no means uncommon; he found a way of his own to escape it.

This tragedy had a double plot: we must now for a moment return to conclude the history of Miss Vanhomrigh. We have stated, at some length, our view of the intimacy which led to her most unfortunate fate: in this we endeavoured to draw the line as precisely as we could between the different degrees of censure to which either party was liable; and, acquitting Swift of any express purpose of a criminal nature, we have not hesitated to bring home to his charge an inconsiderate and selfish gallantry, which can be easily traced through all its disguises. Her arrival in Ireland was, however, embarrassing in the extreme: Swift would have deterred her from coming, but in vain: there remained no longer for him the same strong attraction which gave interest to her conversation in London: he also more clearly saw the result to which her precipitate temper was drifting. During the interval she remained in town, he is said to have visited her as rarely as he could, without offending her irritable feelings. During this time he introduced to her some persons of respectable fortune and pretensions as suitors, each of whom she rejected—not without some display of the irritation caused by such a step. Her intercourse with Swift seems to have been by no means such as to offer much attraction: she became exacting and petulant; and, we should infer from numerous hints in the letters on both sides, continually angling for the proposals which she never ceased to expect, and showing displeasure at not receiving them. At last, in 1717, she returned with her sister, to reside at Marlay Abbey, her place near Celbridge. From this there was an epistolary correspondence between them, but it appears that they never met except when she came to town, until 1720, when she began to be visited by him occasionally. It is said that she always planted a laurel with her own hands whenever she expected one of those visits. It was

their wont on such occasions, to sit in a summer-house in the garden, with a table spread with books and writing materials between them; and, it may be presumed, that the conversation was entirely on subjects of criticism and philosophy;—from the character of both it is easy also to infer with considerable certainty, that Vanessa was ever availing herself of such topics as arose to press her own private views of their position, and that Swift was no less adroit in evasions and warnings similarly urged. The correspondence which passed between them during this interval is preserved, and has been given to the public in the edition of Swift's Works, published by Sir Walter Scott: it offers the very clearest view into all the recesses of Vanessa's mind, and leaves no doubt as to the whole spirit and character of their intercourse. We must now pass at once to the close of this romance of indiscretion and woe. For a long time she seems to have been sustained by the hope which is slow to desert enthusiasts—the very concessions, so forcibly extorted, were still added to the fatal pile of her illusions—she was kept within the bounds of due restraint by the awe which she entertained towards her fancied lover; but still it is probable that she reversed in her fancy the actual state of affairs, and thought that a reluctant entanglement with Mrs Johnson, alone withheld his hand. She is supposed also to have been impressed with the idea, that this lady was rapidly declining in health, and could not long continue to be an obstacle to her wishes. At last, she felt that her years were stealing away, while these wishes appeared as far as ever from their object. The buoyant spirit of youth had sunk, and continued disappointment imparted perhaps the resolution of despair; she took a decisive, and, as it eventually proved a fatal step! She wrote a letter to Mrs Johnson, requesting to know the truth of the report that she had been married to the dean.

Of the effect of this letter, there are, of course, two opinions, and must be two ways of telling the story. If, with Sir Walter, we conclude that such a marriage had actually taken place, Stella must have handed this letter to the dean, as one which she could not answer consistently with the understanding which existed between them. If the marriage had not occurred, it was a happy occasion to convey to the dean, without incurring his anger, the real character of the injury she was herself receiving at his hands. In either case her conduct was likely to have been the same. If, however, it was merely the secret that was risked, it is not so easy to understand the extreme violence of Swift's resentment—in this case, nothing had occurred which could not be remedied by an explanation, except the shock which poor Vanessa must have received—there was just enough to excite the irritability of his temper. But if we assume the contrary supposition, the whole becomes intelligible enough; for then Vanessa's indiscretion must have placed him in a position of the utmost embarrassment with Mrs Johnson: it at once rent asunder the nice web of illusions which he had so long and so dexterously kept up; it placed unequivocally before both, in a broad and glaring light, what her delicacy and pride had recoiled from uttering, and his sophisticating ingenuity concealed. This was, he must have felt, too much from one whose weakness he had so long treated with indulgence, and whose petulance and unauthorized expect-

tations he had met with pity and consideration: it was a crime to be bitterly avenged.

Sir Walter, in his relation of these occurrences, says, "Stella, in reply, informed her of her marriage with the dean." If such a reply has any record whatever, it ought to be produced: it would at once put an end to the question on which so much valuable ingenuity has been wasted. But it is, we should suppose, only inferred from the assumption that such a marriage had actually taken place. If so, one consideration is strangely overlooked. Such a reply would have been a breach of confidence made on grounds so slight, that if it be admitted, it is not easy to suppose that the secret could have been at all kept. We assume therefore, that Stella wrote no reply, but contented herself with sending Miss Vanhomrigh's letter to the dean. Infuriated by the indiscretion, he rode straightway to Marlay Abbey,—the rest we must tell in the language of Sir Walter:—"As he entered the apartment, the sternness of his countenance which was peculiarly formed to express the fiercer passions, struck the unfortunate Vanessa with such terror, that she could scarce ask whether he would not sit down. He answered by flinging a letter on the table, and, instantly leaving the house, mounted his horse and returned to Dublin. When Vanessa opened the packet, she only found her own letter to Stella. It was her death warrant. She sunk at once under the disappointment of the delayed, yet cherished hopes, which had so long sickened her heart, and beneath the unrestrained wrath of him for whose sake she had indulged them. How long she survived this last interview is uncertain; but the time does not seem to have exceeded a few weeks. In the meanwhile she revoked a will made in favour of Swift, and settled her fortune, which was considerable, upon Mr Marshal, afterwards one of the judges of the court of common pleas in Ireland, and Dr Berkeley, the celebrated philosopher, afterwards bishop of Cloyne. A remarkable condition is said to have accompanied her bequest; that her executors should make public all the letters which had passed between the testatrix and Swift, as well as the celebrated poem of Cadenus and Vanessa." But, as Sir Walter immediately adds, that in reality no such injunction was made in the will, and if made at all, it must have been in some private communication. The letters were suppressed, it is supposed, from an honourable sense of delicacy by Berkeley, and by Marshal from fear of Swift. It was also supposed that Berkeley destroyed the letters; but a full copy of them was retained by the judge, from which some mutilated extracts found their way to the public. Sir Walter adds, that he has himself been enabled to "fill up this curious desideratum in Swift's correspondence, which gives him the more pleasure, as any sinister interpretation of the former imperfect extracts, which, as natural, were taken from those passages which expressed most warmth of passion, will be in a great measure confuted by the entire publication." We quite assent to the truth of these and all the very forcible comments of Sir Walter, with the slight exception of his remark as to the tone of feeling appearing lowered, by the more full and perfect restoration of the sense. On the part of Swift it is clearly so; and it is also perfectly evident that there is no room left for any scandalous construction. But the reader must not

imagine that Vanessa's passion was in any degree less glowing, impulsive and extreme, than it has been represented. The letters, as published in Sir Walter's edition, contain passages enough which are too expressly the language of passionate infatuation, softened by no context, and capable of no interpretations but the literal frenzy of amorous folly and despair. It would however be extreme injustice to quit this topic without one more sentence from Sir Walter. "It would perhaps have been better, had their amours never become public; as that has however happened, it is the biographer's duty to throw such light upon them as Mr Berwick's friendship has enabled him to do, in order that Swift's conduct, weak and blameable as it must be held in this instance, may at least not suffer hereafter, from being seen under false or imperfect lights." On this topic, Scott has offered many just reflections, well worth much attentive consideration—but for these we must refer to his *Life of Swift*. In a note on this part of his subject, he gives a very curious proof how much Swift must have been the object of female admiration, in a letter from a lady who signs herself Sacharissa. It breathes the whole fervour and fire of the most devoted passion, and what seems difficult to conceive, refers it to the perusal of his writings, which she assures him gave birth to her passion before she saw his "godlike form." This assuredly opens a curious side view into the female fancy; and perhaps into the spirit of that age. According to the refinements of modern feeling and taste, it would be hard to conceive writings less calculated to awaken "love's young dream," than anything ever published by Swift; it can hardly be imagined that one so young as Sacharissa seems to have been, could be inflamed by grossness, or softened by dry humour; though we can well understand the effect of these and such other additions in certain stages of life and disposition, and when set off by address and personal appearance. But poetry was in a low state, and perhaps the ardent fancy of Miss Sacharissa was won by the cold and stinted gleams which adorn Swift's verses: his reputation for genius, wit, and female favour, would be enough to complete the impression. She represents it as her "misfortune to be in the care of persons who generally keep youth under such restraint, as won't permit them to publish their passion, though ever so violent." The restraint which permitted such language was, we should fear, to no great purpose, and scarcely included a religious education, or the cultivation of a sense of decorum, or of that chaste self-respect which belongs to virtuous modesty. We have a strong suspicion that this letter, which is treated as a genuine effusion, must appear to many as a practical piece of waggery by some of his own acquaintance, among whom he was not alone a wit but the cause of wit; though it must be admitted, that the utmost reach of caricature will fall short of the sincere absurdities into which young persons of an enthusiastic temperament often fall, when they lay aside the useful restraints of propriety.

On the death of Miss Vanhomrigh, Swift retired into the north of Ireland, where he remained for two months, in gloomy seclusion.

Of his occupations in the same interval there are abundant notices, as also of his habits and manner of living. As we have made more than usually free with the very limited space at our command, we shall

here endeavour to bring together a few details and extracts, which may help readers to form more distinct conceptions of the man. It is believed that he devoted much of his time to study. In the notes of his life by Scott, there is a long list of books noted by himself, taken from Faulkner's catalogue of his library, and such as to display a very considerable extent of reading, which comprised most of the principal ancient and modern writers, as well in the learned languages, as in French and English. It is also mentioned as probable, that it was in this period that he sketched the first outline of *Gulliver's Travels*; and many circumstantial confirmations of this opinion are pointed out.

His domestic economy was in some degree characteristic of the extreme precision and frugality, which, partly from early habit, and partly from better motives, he uniformly preserved through life; something too is to be attributed to the single state in which it was his will to continue. He boarded with Mr Worrall, a clergyman who lived in his vicinity; but kept two public days at the deanery. So far as we have been able to discover any distinct notice of these entertainments, they appear to have been sufficiently ample for the dean's fortune and circumstances; but it is known that they were then unfavourably compared with the more affluent hospitalities of his predecessor, dean Sterne. The age was one of extreme and open hospitality in Ireland; and as the dean did not keep house at home except on these formal days, the poorer clergy, who were in the custom of making visits of business, could not fail to miss and feel the want of the certain welcome they had always hitherto met at the deanery. "His best defence," says Sir Walter, "is, that he received his preferment on such terms as involved him considerably in debt, and that his parsimony never interfered with the calls of justice or benevolence." But as the same writer observes, the strife between parsimony and hospitality sometimes betrayed him into "instances of ridiculous accuracy." The stories illustrative of this are known as popular anecdotes, and have a place in so many jest-books, that we need not repeat them here. It was a habit which there is reason to think he continually observed, to allow many of his visitors at the deanery a small sum to provide entertainment for themselves; and when he chose to visit any of his poorer friends, he always insisted on paying for his board.

There was a small inner circle of friends with whom he was most in the custom of living, and with whom he kept the most unreserved intercourse. Among these Sheridan and Delany may be chiefly mentioned—of each of whom we shall give some separate account. Their entire intercourse appears to have been a commerce of wit and gaiety, of which the extant remains would fill a volume. Swift also was a frequent guest with chief baron Rochfort, at whose house he frequently passed considerable intervals. This judge was opposed to the existing government, and his house was a centre of all sorts of tory wit.

Among his prebendaries and the officers of his cathedral, he soon acquired the most entire ascendancy. His unpopular manner, and the high tone of authority which he had from the very beginning assumed, combined with other prejudices already mentioned, had roused a con-

tunacious temper among them; they soon began to see that he not only kept right on his side, but that their own privileges and immunities had acquired in him a spirited and uncompromising defender. Of his manner among them, a notion may be formed from some lines of a poem written by dean Percival.

“He sometimes to a chapter goes,
With saucy strut and turned up nose,
Leans on his cushion, then he'll bid ye
Hearken to what all know already.
Perhaps he'll sneer or break a jest,
But deil a bit to break your fast.
Go when you please, let the clock strike
What hour it will, 'tis all alike.
Some country preb. comes just at one,
In hopes to dine, and so begone;
The dean appears, “I'm glad to see you,
Pray tell what service I can do you,
Be quick, for I am going out.”
The hungry Levite's vexed no doubt
To be thus balked; tucks up his gown,
Makes a low scrape, and so to town;
Is welcome there, so makes a shift
To drink his glass, and rail at Swift.”

This is the language of satire, but as we have already noticed, the point of satire consists in the truth of its aim. The subject of such verses could not well be a favourite with the “country preb.,” but he was not the less respected and honoured by the more sterling and higher classes of his associates; small minds are only to be repelled or attracted in the commerce of little things, which are mostly overlooked in the estimation of genius and virtue. It must be confessed that the satire of dean Percival displays no inferior powers of satirical description; but he had been severely mauled by the relentless pen of Swift; and we cannot help thinking, that among the many fragments of description which are to be found scattered among his biographers, there will be found nothing so true as the language of dean Percival. There is always to be observed this distinction between the language of panegyric and satire: eulogy aims to magnify that which is to be admired, and avoids the little and absurd,—it is therefore liable to be diverted into splendid generalities; it is not easy to deal forth precise measures of the sublime: homely peculiarities can always be converted to the purposes of satire, not so much because they are intrinsically ridiculous, as because they are characteristic and minute. For instance, the following slight touch conveys a picture:—

“As for himself, with draggled gown,
Poor-curate like, he'll trudge the town,
To eat a meal with punster base,” &c.

Of the occasionally boastful tone of Swift's conversation, the same poem gives no unlikely specimen—

“But let's proceed from these poor tricks,
O' the kitchen to his politics.
They stare, and think he knows as well
All depths of state as Machiavel.”

“ It must be so, since from him flows,
Whate’er the earl of Oxford knows.
He swears the project of the peace
Was laid by him, in Anna’s days ;
The South Sea ne’er could have miscarried,
As he contrived, but others marred it.
Thus he goes on two hours and more,
And tells the same thing o’er and o’er;
The darkest plots he can unravel,
And split them ope from the head to the navel,
What dire effects o’er bandbox hovered,
Venice Preserved,” &c.

It asks no reflection to perceive from these lines, how much Swift must, in his graver conversational moods, have been in the habit of reverting frequently, and at length, to his political achievements.

But it was in politics, and in the cherished dream of political importance and influence, that all his more serious thoughts found their appropriate object. For this, the whole frame of his heart and head were cast. And while he dwelt with melancholy fondness, or still rankling irritability on those busy and ambitious seasons in which his hopes found their object and disappointment, it is easy to conceive the relief of an occasional free breathing of the fulness of his pent-up and impatient spirit. Such a spirit could not fail sooner or later to find scope and a field of action for itself: Swift could not contentedly subside into the quiet insignificance of an Irish deanery, or avoid entering with his stormy and over-wakeful temper into the scene of party strife which surrounded him. Unconnected with the existing government; opposed to them in the line of views he had adopted, and not less so in his friendships and hostilities, it is easy to see into what current he must have been carried, by the prepossessions of his mind. He could not therefore have failed to adopt the popular side in Ireland. We are anxious to call attention to this, and to some other seemingly trifling considerations, because it has appeared to us that very exaggerated views have been taken of his conduct and character, upon the ground of the part which he took at this time in the politics of Ireland. He has by some of the most respectable English historians been represented as a ruffianly demagogue, who endeavoured to obtain political importance by popular agitation; while his Irish admirers have exalted his conduct and motives beyond the realities of human character.

Now, the fact of human nature is, that it is, in most instances, the love of distinction, and the kindred sentiments of ambition, which first carry the public man forward into political life; but, in his conversation with public affairs, the passions become engaged, and the several interests which become the objects of exertion will be sincerely espoused. The strong evidence of factious impulse and personal motive which can often, as in Swift’s history, be distinctly substantiated, by no means tends to prove that he had not adopted the principles on which he professed to act.

Another important consideration would demand here a very tedious digression, had we not, throughout the entire course of these memoirs, endeavoured to mark with great caution the line of distinc-

tion between the conflicting views of Irish politicians. We shall here avoid the disquisitions into which we have so often been forced by cases like that now before us, in which we have had to speak strong truths, without making any concession to the statements of either whig or tory writers. The points are briefly these: the state of Ireland, and the questions affecting her political condition at that period are complicated; and, resting not on general, but very peculiar grounds, they were not understood in England. They who have looked distantly and generally along the course of Irish history have seen, clearly enough, ample grounds for both a stern and coercive policy, and for a treatment which seemed to assume a very low state of civilization; while others, having taken narrower ground on local details, could only see the wrongs which were inflicted by subordinate agents, under the license of such a policy. Again, those writers who dwelt upon the wisdom and integrity of the English cabinet, and who have vindicated their policy, have, without much reflection, failed to draw the distinction between their English and Irish opponents; but viewing the former as a faction striving for power, and labouring to embarrass the government, have extended the same imputation to those who appeared to be their fellow-workers in Ireland.

Now, whatever may be said against Jacobitism in England and elsewhere, the apprehension of which casts a tinge of disaffection on all opposition; and whatever may be said of the popular disposition in Ireland, (if there was any such thing as popular disposition then,) it cannot be denied, that there were great and heavy wrongs and oppressions to be complained of. It is true (however it may be extenuated,) that Ireland was at that time looked on with the most thorough contempt by the members of the English government, and, consistently with such a sense, treated as a country not entitled to any consideration, when English interests were in the least concerned. And those who have assailed the memory of Swift, on political grounds, have been similarly governed by misapplied views, or deceived by their unacquaintance with the separate and wholly different circumstances of Irish affairs.

A man of genius, and therefore endowed with the more expansive and liberal sentiments of humanity; a spirit too elevated and proud to mix itself with the low aims of subordinate partisans; too just to look with indulgence upon national wrongs and flagrant acts of oppression; too irritable and too sore to look on them without exasperation, may well be acquitted of base or merely factious motives. In entering on the field of Irish politics, Swift could have taken no other ground. The lengths to which he was carried were the result of the energy and talent which he brought to bear upon the main questions of the hour. If some English nobleman had risen in his place in the English privy council, and advised that some regard should be had to the commercial interests of Ireland, and that no attempt ought to be made to encroach upon the privileges which at that time she possessed, it would scarcely be attributed by so able an historian, and so uniformly just a reasoner, as lord Mahon, to any factious motive. Yet it is only necessary to suppose such an adviser in Ireland, and something more in earnest, and better acquainted with

the facts and consequences, to have the whole case of dean Swift. There is, we grant, some discredit reflected on the course he took, by the means and from the consequences; but even this is only specious, as we shall presently see.

We have already had occasion to relate, that after the revolution, some important changes took place in the general administration of Irish affairs: previous to that event, however ill administered the affairs of this kingdom might have been, there is yet uniformly to be traced in the policy of the English cabinet, a general beneficence of intent, shown by a disposition to promote the civilization of the people, and the commercial interests of the country. And thus, though abuses were rife in the official administration, yet there was never wanting a rectitude of intent, and a fair regard to the independent privileges of the kingdom. The respective consequences of these two facts were, that while there existed much internal malversation and corruption, and while individuals were heavily oppressed, there was a rapid advance in the general prosperity of the country. But the wars of the revolution, and still more, the circumstances by which they were preceded, called up the memory of those former rebellions, massacres, and internal agitations, which seem to have had a periodical return in Ireland. The causes of these disturbances were no less calculated to make an unfavourable impression than the disturbances themselves; there appeared too plainly to escape notice, a strong national tendency to be excited by influences of the least tractable, and most dangerous character, and such as no expedient, or indeed possible system of measures were likely to remove. In consequence of this growing impression, severe measures were had recourse to, for the security of the kingdom, and a most unfortunate sense sprung up, that a country which was the centre of so many disorders, fatal to internal prosperity, and dangerous to the empire, was not to be treated with any further consideration, than what was just necessary to keep the people quiet.* Such impressions operated with a sense of self-interest, to lead the English commons to attempt encroachments on the independence of the Irish parliament, and also to deprive this country of some of its most important commercial advantages. In the reign of William III., they prohibited the exportation of the Irish woollen manufactures, except to England and Wales. The double wrong, an injury and an insult, were not allowed to pass in silence at the time; but the stunning influence of recent convulsion was still upon the mind of all; the winners were yet distrustful, and the losers still depressed and terrified. The British government, still under the sense of dangers not altogether visionary, adopted the notion that it was necessary to maintain its power with a strong hand; and in Ireland, the remembrance of a still recent period of horror and destruction operated to depress the spirit of resistance. There was, in consequence, an interval of torpid acquiescence which lasted through the following reign.

This silence was first to be broken by the voice of Swift. A whig

* We cannot too strongly impress on the reader, that we are here only stating the general nature of an impression operating at a distance. We have no hesitation in condemning the policy to which it gave rise, *so far as it is here considered.*

in his political creed, and in no way disposed to favour the turbulent and flagitious spirit which dwelt in the hopes of rebellion, and looked to the enemies of England as friends to Ireland; but on the contrary, strongly and explicitly drawing the distinction in favour of the English interest, he yet saw, with the strong indignation of a humane and liberal mind, the stagnation of national interests resulting from misgovernment and injustice. His resentment was not the less that he felt a dislike and contempt towards the agents of this maladministration; and he entered with all his power and energy into the field of political contest once more. "Do not the corruptions and villanies of men eat your flesh and exhaust your spirits," he said to his friend Delany; who, answering in the negative, the dean became exasperated, and angrily answered, "Why, how can you help it?" "Because," said the other, "I am commanded to the contrary, 'Fret not thyself, because of the ungodly.'"

Swift was not slow to find occasion for his meditated appeal: he began by a short pamphlet, published in 1720. It was entitled, "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures, &c." Considering the temper of England, as we have described it, it may be easily conceived how such a pamphlet would be taken in that quarter.

Indeed, considering the substance of his representations in this pamphlet, together with the severe measures of prosecution adopted by the crown, it offers a very striking evidence of that state of contempt into which Irish affairs and interests must have sunk. It is perfectly free from the slightest hint which could by any force of language be construed into disaffection, or into an attack on any existing authority or law. To any one who reads it now, it will appear deficient in force, matter, and argument; but it spoke an intelligible language, and gave a voice to strong existing discontents; the representations it held forth were not merely practical, but couched in the most familiar forms, and framed in that style of playful severity and irony, which has everywhere, but most of all in Ireland, so much popular effect. It reads like a happy selection from the common talk of the day, here and there pointed with the keenest shaft of Swift's wit. He tells the story of Arachne turned into a spider, and forced to spin and weave out of her own bowels; after which, he proceeds,—"I confess, that from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess,* on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence, which is, however, fully executed on us by England with further additions of rigour and severity. For the greater part of our bowels and vitals is exhausted, without allowing us that liberty of spinning and weaving them." He then follows the subject on into a strain of very happily couched irony, in which he makes a person complain at some length of the wrongs sustained by poor England, in consequence of certain impositions practised by Ireland; such as digging their own ground for coals, &c.; and proposes a project to transport our best wheaten straw to Dunstable, and oblige "us by a law to take yearly so many tons of straw hats for the use of our women, which will be of great use to the manufacture of that industrious town." To appreciate the boldness of Swift in the publication

* Pallas.

of a tract that spoke a language which might appear exceedingly moderate in our own times, it will be necessary to recollect that neither the liberty of the press, nor of the people, had, even in England, attained those uttermost lengths of freedom which now press so often on the extreme bounds of license and confusion. As political intelligence was less, so the effects of popular excitement were far more sudden and dangerous. It is also justly observed by Sir Walter Scott, that "we must remember he was himself a marked man, intimately connected with the measures of that minister, whose period of power was now usually termed *the worst of times*." He also observes the strong feeling that must have been excited upon a question affecting the interests of many powerful persons; a feeling which extended to those on whom it would devolve to be the judges, in case any state prosecution should be instituted. Sir Walter expresses also strongly, the praise due to one who, having always asserted his rooted aversion to the country, was yet content to take up its wrongs, from no other sentiment than disinterested patriotism. It will not be any detraction from Swift to attribute his conduct to somewhat more common and natural feelings; there is a strong sense of justice, and a sympathy with those who are the subjects of undeserved wrongs for the benefit of selfish, unjust, and inconsiderate oppressors, which, even in a well-told tale, and in an imaginary country, would be enough to kindle the passions, and excite the spleen. To Swift such a statement would be peculiarly directed—and, though the scene were Nova Scotia, or the tyranny that of Prester John, would kindle the fury of his irritable spirit. But against the existing government, and against their official representatives and agents in this country, he entertained feelings of contempt, dislike, and jealousy; the very fact, that he was himself a "marked man," was a motive to one like him, more vindictive than timorous—more desirous to obtain importance and show power, than apprehensive of consequences." With such a temper, his sense of justice and humanity was warmed by a strong infusion of other equally characteristic feelings. But it rarely indeed happens, that human motives are purely to be traced to any unmixed source. And in ascertaining the identity of the character through its various moods, we must at the same time admit that those secondary motives which we have been tracing, have mostly a latent connexion only with the direct and immediate sentiment, to which they give movement and contribute force.

A prosecution was quickly put in motion: the law officers of the crown prosecuted the printer; and the grand juries found that the tract was a "seditious, factious, and virulent libel." The printer (Waters,) was arrested, and forced to give bail under large securities. The trial came on, and the result was, in all appearance, likely to turn out differently, as the jury, who had perhaps been better instructed by the effect of public discussion, brought in their verdict of acquittal. Chief-justice Whithshed was, however, determined, and had recourse to threats, which in more recent times would not be dared, or listened to by the bar; but the imputation of disaffection was then an object of no vain terror; and after daring to resist, for eleven hours, the courage and firmness of the jury gave way so far as to bring in a

special verdict,* by which the case was left in the judges' power. The arbitrary temper of Whitshed had carried him too far, and it was felt necessary to treat the matter with caution. The further proceeding was postponed until the arrival of the duke of Grafton, at whose desire a *noli prosequi* was entered. Swift pursued Whitshed with inexorable vengeance, and showered lampoon and epigram on his devoted head.

Many singularly ridiculous projects had at that time amused the credulity of the world, and Swift's strong and early hatred of such schemes had been continually excited. It was an unlucky time for the proposal of a national bank; for such an establishment, the commerce, the intelligence, or the independence of the country were not yet ripe. It was proposed by persons who, it was suspected, would have made it the engine of large frauds upon the public; and it was perhaps still more evident, that it could be made use of by the government, to the prejudice of the currency. Swift attacked it so effectively with ridicule, that the project was rejected by the Irish parliament.

We pass a variety of minor incidents and tracts which filled the same interval, to state the particulars of a contest which terminated in giving Swift more popularity than has been attained in this country, from his time to the present generation, by any individual.

There had for some years been felt a great want of copper coinage, for the transaction of the retail trade; so that a person, having money in his pocket, was in small bargains necessitated to depend on the credit he might find in the warehouses; a deficiency most felt among the lower classes, whose wants were chiefly such as to incur this inconvenience. A necessity so evident seemed alike to demand the interposition of the crown, and at the same time to hold out a temptation to the speculation of adventurers. A person of the name of Wood was induced to avail himself of the circumstance, to obtain from George I. a patent for the coinage of £108,000, in half-pence, to supply the Irish circulation. He succeeded in this by the influence of the duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress; and the patent was passed without recourse to the usual formalities of consent in the privy council, and the Irish parliament; which latter was required to give legal currency to a coinage of base metal. This measure was looked on by Swift, as an infringement of the legislative independence of the kingdom. He sounded the alarm in three letters, signed M. B. Drapier, in which he avoided the dangerous considerations of privilege and national independence, which, if too early put forth, might cause his design to be effectively resisted at the outset, and appealed to the apprehensions of the vulgar, by a most dexterous selection of arguments. These were founded upon an assumption of the exceeding adulteration of the copper; proceeding on which, he showed the losses to be sustained both by individuals and by the country; from which he showed that the gold and silver would be entirely drawn away in a

* A special verdict is given, when the jury, doubting the law of the case, choose to leave the question open to the decision of the court; this they do by a statement of the facts and finding, upon a condition to be decided by the judge.

little time; he also dwelt on the inconvenience which must ensue, when this base copper should become the only existing medium; and on the tyrannical extortions of which it might be made the means. All these suggestions he put forward, with a curious adaptation of manner and language, to the classes who were chiefly to be agitated; the small casualties of their dealings; the phrases to which they were accustomed; and even the very emphasis which fear and ignorance give to trifles, he contrived to infuse by means of the Italic characters which ran through every paragraph, giving an impressive significance to his hints and affirmations. The whole was strongly seasoned with characteristic humour, admirably adapted to the supposed writer, and those on whom it was designed to tell. It is unnecessary to state at length arguments and representations which were not sincere, and only pursued for the purpose of exciting those to whom the real objects of the writer would have been unintelligible. Such, indeed, has ever been the principle of popular appeals,—the excitement of delusive resentments and fears for the furtherance of some special purpose or view, with which they are wholly unconnected. The arguments used in these celebrated letters were all illusory; as the pretence on which they were founded was untrue: in fact, Wood's copper had been carefully assayed at the mint, and no precautions which could be under any circumstances taken, were neglected by the government to control the issue of his half-pence; so that in point of reality, the measure was in itself most beneficial in its tendency. This being considered, the reader of the Drapier's letters will be amused by the grave humbug with which the rabble of every class is cajoled, in a manner which reminds one of the species of banter sometimes used with children. A specimen will convey the most distinct idea. After explaining that they were not obliged to take this coin, and having made a statement, with all the specious precision of numbers, to show the exact extent of the loss, he goes on,—“THEREFORE, my friends, stand to it One and All; refuse this *filthy trash*; it is no treason to rebel against *Mr Wood*. His *Majesty* in his patent obligeth nobody to take these *half-pence*; our *gracious prince* hath no such ill advisers about him; or if he had, you see the laws have not left it in the *king's* power, to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, *gold* and *silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.”

“And let me in the next place apply myself particularly to you who are the poorest sort of *tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these *half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but brass, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *half-pence* to a shop for *tobacco* or *brandy*, or any other thing you want, the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the *key under the door*. Do you think I will sell you a yard of tenpenny stuff for twenty of *Mr Wood's half-pence*? no, nor under two hundred at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I'll tell you one thing further, that if *Mr Wood's* project should take, it will ruin even our beggars;

for when I give a beggar a half-penny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny, will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve."

A popular ferment was soon excited; and as the Irish parliament and privy council had previously addressed strong remonstrances on the infringement of the legislative independence of Ireland, and the insult which they felt it to convey, counter-representations began to be circulated in different forms. One in Mr Harding's newspaper was supposed to be Wood's own defence of himself; in reply to this Swift's second letter was written. In this he repeats most of the former arguments with increased speciousness, and replies with great wit and dexterity to those advanced in the newspaper. His third letter is addressed to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, and consists of observations on a report of the English privy council, consequent on the remonstrances of the Irish council and parliament. This report he pretends to believe to be an impudent fabrication of Mr Wood's, and replies by representations adapted to irritate and excite the Irish parliament. On this occasion he adopts a more cautious style of affirmation as to the baseness of the coinage, but replies to the various arguments offered to establish the opposite assertion. But he dwells more upon the questions of legality and of usage, and enters on the history of coinage in Ireland, to meet the argument derived from supposed precedents. This letter is an admirable specimen of advocacy, equally remarkable for the dexterity with which it misrepresents, and the promptness with which it seizes and overturns fallacies. The fourth letter is addressed to "the whole people of Ireland," and enters more directly and undisguisedly on those points, which in the previous letters he had cautiously and indirectly introduced. Here he entered on the immediate object which we have already stated.

These letters were accompanied by numerous squibs of satire, ballad, lampoon, and epigram, of which he now poured torrents from the press, and circulated in every shape. They told with immense effect upon every class. The grand jury and principal inhabitants of the liberty of St Patrick entered into an association to refuse Wood's coin. "The timid were encouraged, the doubtful confirmed, the audacious inflamed, and the attention of the public so rivetted to the discussion, that it was no longer shocked at the discussion of the more delicate questions which it involved; and the viceroy and his abettors complained, that any proposition, however libellous and treasonable, was now published without hesitation, and perused without horror, providing that Wood and his half-pence could be introduced into the tract."*

The duke of Grafton found himself unequal to such an emergency, and even Walpole admitted that there was a necessity for retreat. To avoid compromising the dignity of the government, he proceeded to retract the measure by degrees. But his dexterity was shown in one expedient. Lord Carteret, a man of great abilities, a favourite at court, his enemy, and one of his cabinet, whom he both feared and vainly

* Scott.

desired to get rid off, had been suspected of originating the entire affair, and of having secretly supplied the information of which the Drapier had made such tremendous use. Him Walpole determined to send over as lord-lieutenant, to encounter a storm of his own raising. He was directed to give effect to Wood's patent if possible; but permitted in the contrary case to put an end to it. It was in the interval between this appointment and his arrival in Ireland, that the fourth letter of the Drapier appeared, and gave a turn to the conflict which might have relieved him from much of this delicate entanglement, as it left no longer a doubt of the course expedient for the English government.

But even in the moment of retreat another difficulty presented itself. A tract which daringly discussed the rights of the Irish legislature and the limits of the royal prerogative, the independence of Ireland, and all the dangerously popular questions arising from these topics, in a manner equally bold and inflammatory, could not be allowed to brave authorities without question; and lord Carteret had scarcely set his foot upon the shore, when he found himself under the necessity to offer a reward of £300 for the Drapier. Harding, the printer, was at once arrested and thrown into prison; and for a time, the dean had reason to apprehend a discovery. That courage which was a high attribute of his character did not quail. He went straight to the first levee, "burst through the circle by which he was surrounded, and in a firm and stern voice demanded of lord Carteret the meaning of these severities against a poor industrious tradesman, who had published two or three papers designed for the good of his country." Carteret, to whom Swift was personally well known, and who could have no doubt of his being the author of the Drapier's Letters, evaded the expostulation by an apt and elegant quotation from Virgil:

"Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt
Moliri."———

Another anecdote on this occasion, related by most of Swift's biographers, is very illustrative of his character. We may give it best in the language of Scott. "A servant named Robert Blakeley, whom he intrusted to copy out and convey to the press the Drapier's Letters, chanced one evening to absent himself without leave. His master charged him with treachery; and, upon his exculpation, insisted that at least he neglected his duties as a servant, because he conceived his master was in his power. 'Strip your livery,' he commanded; 'begone from the deanery instantly, and do the worst to revenge yourself that you dare do.' The man retired, more grieved that his master doubted his fidelity, than moved by his harsh treatment. He was replaced, at the intercession of Stella; and Swift afterwards rewarded his fidelity by the office of verger in the cathedral of St Patrick's." Another anecdote may be taken from the same page, "that while Harding was in jail, Swift actually visited him in the disguise of an Irish country clown, *or spalpeen*.* Some of the printer's family or friends, who chanced to visit

* We suspect that Sir Walter is mistaken as to the meaning of the word "spalpeen"—a term indicative of contempt, used by the "country clown" to designate a particular class of people who are in the custom of emigrating towards harvest in search of work.

him at the same time, were urging him to earn his own release, by informing against the author of the *Drapier's Letters*. Harding replied steadily, that he would rather perish in jail, before he would be guilty of such treachery and baseness. All this passed in Swift's presence, who sat beside them in silence, and heard with apparent indifference a discussion which might be said to involve his ruin. He came and departed without being known to any one but Harding."

It will be unnecessary to follow up here the minute detail of the consequences of this transaction. The trial of Harding came on, and the grand jury ignored the bill, in opposition to chief justice Whitshed. They were by him dissolved; and the new grand jury took the further step of passing a vote of thanks to the author of the *Drapier's Letters*, in a presentment in which they brought in Wood's scheme as a fraud upon the public. Wood's patent was surrendered, and he received an indemnity of £3000 a-year for twelve years.

From this the popularity of Swift rose to a degree of enthusiasm which has no parallel in our history, as it was not merely that of a demagogue acquiring an influence by the propagation of popular delusion, but pervaded all ranks alike. The "*Drapier's head* became a sign; his portrait was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, struck upon medals." A club was formed, calling itself the *Drapier's Club*; to which was due the first collection of the letters published in his name. Though, as Sir Walter observes, his faults and infirmities were of a description peculiarly obnoxious to the Irish people, this did not in the least interfere with the enthusiastic veneration in which he was held. Unpopular beyond all men in his habits of thought and action; proud, arrogant, presumptuous; uncompromising in small things, and devoid of both the will and the manners to conciliate; he was followed as an idol in the streets; and if he travelled, received like a prince in the towns. When Walpole talked of having him arrested, some one present who knew something of Ireland, asked him if he could spare ten thousand men to execute such a writ. This exaggeration at least indicates the truth.

In the height of the popularity thus won, Swift retired for a while to his friend Sheridan's, near Trim, with Stella and Mrs Dingley. Of this retirement, and of the way of living there, we shall speak more particularly in a memoir of Sheridan himself. A short extract from Scott's memoir will now better suit the brevity we must observe:—

"Dr Sheridan, highly respectable for wit, learning, and an uncommon talent for the education of youth, and no less distinguished by his habits of abstraction and absence, and by a simplicity of character which ill suited with his worldly interest, had been Swift's friend of every mood, and of all hours, since the dean's fatal retirement into Ireland. A happy art of meeting and answering the raillery of his friend, and of writing with facility verses on domestic jests or occasional incidents, amused Swift's lighter moments; while Sheridan's sound and extensive erudition enlightened those which were more serious. It was in his society that Swift renewed his acquaintance with classical learning, and perused the works which amused his retirement. In the invitations sent to the dean, Sheridan was always included; nor was Swift to be seen in perfect good humour, unless

when he made part of the company." To which Sir Walter adds some mention of the influence which his wit and good humour had in turning away the dean's violent fits of irritation, and tranquillizing his temper; and mentions Swift's great regard for him.

In this retreat, his main occupation was the correction and transcription of *Gulliver's Travels*. When this was completed, he came to the resolution of once more paying a visit to England, whither he accordingly went soon after, in 1726.

The particulars of this visit have a deep interest, but an interest not by any means to be conveyed in any summary relation. They are to be found at length in a variety of separate narrations, and are vividly illustrated in the volumes of published correspondence which form a part of his works. Many of his former friends were still in London, and were happy to receive him. Bolingbroke had returned to live in England; restored to his estate, but not to his honours. Pope had advanced to the meridian of his reputation. Between their homes he lived, dividing his time chiefly between Twickenham and Dawley.

Immediately after his arrival, he dined with Walpole, by whom he was received with all courtesy; and obtained an audience soon after, for the purpose of stating his views of Irish affairs. Walpole heard him with patience and attention; and when he had finished his statement, explained his own views of the questions on which he had been addressed. They differed very much from those of the dean. After the conference, they separated with mutual courtesy. The dean immediately after wrote to lord Peterborough, who had obtained his audience for him, a letter, in which he gave a full and minute account of what passed on both sides, and concluded by a request that his lordship would give it to Sir Robert Walpole, and desire him to read it. This letter may be found among his correspondence,* and contains a full account of Swift's sentiments on the affairs of Ireland at the time. We may refer to it again, but cannot afford space to notice it further at present.

During the eight years of seclusion which the dean had passed in Ireland, many changes had been taking place, both in himself and in the scene to which he now returned, as one come home from exile. With respect to his friends, as Pope writes, a little previous to his arrival—"After so many dispersions and so many divisions, two or three of us may yet be gathered together." The earl of Oxford had died a little before, and Bolingbroke had but recently returned: Arbuthnot was just recovered from a dangerous and distressing malady: Gay was retained in the court of the prince, and with seemingly good hopes of preferment. They were the chief representatives of those brilliant days of importance and expectation which had passed never again to return. Of these, Pope had been in the interval steadily advancing in fortune and fame: he still not the less retained a deep-seated remembrance of the dean's early and efficient kindness, in laying the first foundations of his success: he now became the most attached and best loved of Swift's friends, and had the happiness to

* Works, vol. xvii. p. 68.

have him for his guest during the time that he remained near town. They were in some respects ill sorted, being both nervous, fretful, and dependent on the care and attention of others. Pope's extreme feebleness of frame and constitution are universally known: the dean was subject to fits of giddiness and deafness; and, what was far more prejudicial to companionship, to paroxysms of the most furious rage on very slight occasions. It is, however, easy to feel, that with one so kind and so weak as Pope, a strong sense of delicacy and of affection must have operated to constrain this latter infirmity, of all others the hardest to reconcile with unbroken attachment. Bolingbroke had endeavoured to obtain tranquillity from study, and dignity from the affectation of philosophy, while engaged in meditating a secret blow at christianity, which he wanted spirit to strike. He sought refuge in the sententious morality of heathenism, though the history of both his previous and after life indicate no more sincere regard to virtue, about which he has written well and even truly, than about religion, of which he was altogether ignorant: beneath the outward surface of calm and secluded composure, there ran a deep and turbid under-current of vindictiveness, treachery, and political intrigue; to an extent indeed which, but for the multitude and plainness of the proofs, could not easily be believed. He was, nevertheless, possessed of strong affections, governed and directed by good taste; and, in despite of the deserved admiration which some of his writings have received from a few eminent men of letters, the better part of his fame is preserved by his friendship with Pope and Swift. He was now restored to his estates by the generosity of Walpole, whom he repaid by all sorts of libels, lampoons, and epigrams, which money or hospitality could purchase, or his own ever active genius produce. He received Swift as one whom he respected and loved, and whom he might in some turn of affairs find useful; but he knew too well the haughty and intractable spirit of the dean to admit him to the inner mysteries of his heart. It is hard to say to what extent Swift was imposed on. We know that his real respect for rank and distinguished reputation were in some cases liable to influence his judgment; and it must undoubtedly be admitted as a practical maxim in the intercourse of the world, that it is unnecessary to pry too far into the secret frailties of those with whom we happen to be joined in bonds of regard and mutual kindness. The limit to such a maxim is evident enough, but few can fairly apply a test which but few can bear; and the spirit of life is, after all, mutual toleration. It must, in the case before us, be remembered, indeed, how little, comparatively, of the character of Bolingbroke could have been known to Swift, and how many plausible grounds there were for one who wished to look favourably. It is indeed amusing to read some of Pope's expressions of veneration, to be found in his letters, or in those noble lines of immortal poetry addressed to the philosophic genius of St John, and to reflect at the same time on the known character of the man. "Here," says Pope to Swift, "is one who was once a powerful planet, but has now (after long experience of all that comes of shining,) learned to be content with returning to his first point, without the thought or ambition of shining at all."

But for the aspiring spirit of the dean, the scene had still an attrac-

tion of that nature which is least likely to have any immediate or direct indication. The prince and princess of Wales kept their court at Leicester house, where they collected about them a party of distinguished persons, who were discontented with the government, and aimed to cultivate an interest of their own in opposition to the court. The princess was herself a woman of great amiability, talent, and address. She was extensively acquainted with books, and cultivated the conversation of learned men, by whom it was her pride and pleasure to be surrounded. Her "favourite science" seems to have been the metaphysical; and she kept up a correspondence with Leibnitz, and discussed abstruse questions in speculative divinity with Clarke. Her apartments re-echoed the voice of controversy, or resounded with the sally of wit. Over her husband she possessed the most unbounded influence; and, without the assumption of authority, occupied his entire confidence,—so that he was almost wholly governed by her advice. He kept a court mistress rather in compliance with the vicious fashion of the time, than from any disposition to inconstancy; but the queen still was as much the object of his inclinations as of his esteem and respect, and kept the mistress completely in subjection to her will. As this lady occupied a distinguished place among the friends of Swift, we must say a word or two on her history. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, for whom she obtained a title, and afterwards the earldom of Buckinghamshire. She married a Mr Howard, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk. Soon after their marriage, they went to Hanover, in the hope to obtain the good will of the electoral family, in whose favour all expectation then began to centre. Mrs Howard, who possessed a pleasing exterior, much address, and a considerable share of good sense and observation, became soon a favourite with the electoral princess Sophia, then, according to the act of settlement, heiress to the English throne. After the accession of George I., Mrs Howard was appointed bedchamberwoman to the princess of Wales, and in this station presently attracted the fancy of the prince. The virtue of Mrs Howard was not proof against the *prestige* of royal attention, the seduction of expected wealth and influence, or the low ambition which is known in courts, and out of them is not easily understood. Her husband was disagreeable, and indifferent alike about her person and his own honour; but such an opportunity of obtaining some improvement of his straitened means was not to be let pass: he made as much of the matter as he could. One evening he rushed with pretended fury into the court-yard of the palace, and called for his wife so violently, that he was turned out by the guards. He then had recourse to more formal means, and contrived in different ways to keep Mrs Howard in a state of alarm, until at last he obtained what he wanted; and, after a regular negotiation, he sold his claim to her for a pension of £1,200 a-year.

It does not very much exalt the characters of Swift and his eminent friends, to trace in their correspondence the too evident connivance at all the baseness and immorality of such a career. They seem to have affected to overlook the real character of her intercourse with the king: but the plain interest expressed so often in their letters, in the success of a criminal and dishonourable treaty, is incapable of being strained

into such ignorance. The truth is, that they were all committing a most signal mistake. They had in view the precedents of court favour: they were thinking of the duchess of Kendal, and the old ascendancy of mistresses and favourites. But the case was reversed: the princess not only kept the bedchamber-woman within her province; but she set herself against those who appeared to seek for anything through her influence. This was really the error of Swift and his friends Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay, and ended in their being disappointed in all their aims and wishes. It is mentioned, to the praise of Walpole's sagacity, that he early discerned the real state of these nice and delicate soundings, and afterwards paid his court directly and adroitly to the queen, with an entire disregard of Mrs Howard. Many curious stories concerning Mrs Howard have been preserved by Horace Walpole in his *Reminiscences*.

Among the many notices of this visit, to be found in the correspondence between the dean and his friends, the following passage occurs in a letter from Pope:—"Since then, I had a conference with Sir Robert Walpole, who expressed his desire of having seen you again before you left us. He said he observed a willingness in you to live among us; which, indeed, I did not deny," &c. To this Sir Walter appends a note. "Walpole perhaps foresaw an approaching union between the dean and Pulteney, and was probably not unwilling to give opening to a reconciliation which might prevent such a coalition;" but he goes on to say that he was late, as a correspondence between the dean and Mr Pulteney had already commenced. The dean was introduced to the princess of Wales at her own desire, by Dr Arbuthnot, whose note apprizing him of her royal highness's appointment is among the other correspondence, and dated April 5, 1726.

The dean was, however, for the present interrupted in this temporary renewal of his intercourse with the great world, by the distressing intelligence of the illness of Stella, who had for some time been in a state of rapid decline. The letters which he now received from Sheridan and others were so alarming, that he became exceedingly agitated and restless, and left Mr Pope, with whom he lived. He first took lodgings in London, where he seems to have been in daily expectation of receiving accounts of her death. Sheridan's account was on July 19th; on the 4th of August, in a letter from London to Pope, we find him "gathering up his luggage," and preparing for his journey. On the 17th, he set out; and from the letters written in the interim, there is perceptible, much reluctance to depart—a part of which may be set down to an unwillingness to be on the spot, in case the death which he so apprehended should occur.

On the 1st of September, there is a letter from Dublin to Mrs Howard, which clearly indicates that she had obtained in his affections the place formerly held by lady Masham. He thus addresses her:—"Madam, being perpetually teased with the remembrance of you, by the sight of your ring on my finger, my patience at last is at an end; and in order to be revenged, I have sent you a piece of Irish plaid," &c. "I must likewise tell you, to prevent your pride, my intention is to use you very scurvily; for my real design is, that when the princess asks you where you got that fine night-gown, you are to say that it is

an Irish plaid sent you by the dean of St Patrick's; who, with his most humble duty to her royal highness, is ready to make her such another present, at the terrible expense of eight shillings and threepence a-yard, if she will descend to honour Ireland by receiving and wearing it; and in recompense, I, who govern the vulgar, will take care to have her royal highness's health drunk by five hundred weavers, as an encourager of the Irish manufactory." The latter part of this extract we have made, because the incident it mentions was afterwards frequently reverted to with some bitterness by the dean, when he found himself neglected by the queen.

In the interval of his stay in Ireland, nothing occurred of sufficient importance to detain our narrative. A letter from Mr Pulteney hints at some secret project, which Sir Walter, in a note, conjectures to be relative to the *Craftsman*, an antiministerial paper which he set up, and to which Swift lent his occasional aid. A letter from Arbuthnot conveys the sentiments at this time expressed by the princess concerning the dean. "I had a great deal of discourse with your friend, her royal highness. She insisted on your wit and good conversation. I told her royal highness that was not what I valued you for, but for being a sincere, honest man, and speaking truth when others were afraid to speak it." Another, of a later date, mentions the fate of the plaid sent to Mrs Howard. "The princess immediately seized on your plaid for her own use, and has ordered the young princesses to be clad in the same. When I had the honour to see her, she was reading Gulliver," &c.; and, after some very amusing anecdotes, which we exclude with regret, the doctor goes on to say—"Gulliver is in everybody's hands. Lord Scarborough, who is no inventor of stories, told me that he fell in with a master of a ship, who told him that he was very well acquainted with Gulliver; but that the printer had mistaken—that he lived in Wapping, and not in Rotherhithe. I lent the book to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map, to look for Lilliput." A letter from Mrs Howard follows, in which the dean is commissioned to send over more plaid for the princess. The measure is given in terms which appear to have emanated from the princess herself—"the height of the Brobdignag dwarf, multiplied by $2\frac{1}{2}$." For a "short method, you may draw a line of 20 feet, and upon that, by two circles, form an equilateral triangle; then, measuring each side, you will find the proper quantity and proper division." The goods were to be carefully sent, so as to escape the vigilance of the custom-house; and the money was to be ready against their arrival. In his replies to this and other letters in which Gulliver is alluded to, the dean affects mystery and misunderstanding; in his own peculiar vein of playful irony.

The immense and instantaneous celebrity of Gulliver's Travels, published in the November of this year, needs no description. It was read by every class, and afforded appropriate interest for all. For the higher ranks, its keen political satire gave an added zest to the strange mixture of wit, irony, and burlesque, to which the writer contrived to impart a tone of reality, and the interest of a traveller's tale. Sir Walter gives a long and most interesting critique upon it, in which are explained many of the allusions which it contains to the persons and events of his time: but this occupies no less than twenty pages of his memoir,

and can neither be compressed nor quoted consistently with our present limits. It will be enough here to mention that his description of Flimnap, the premier, which alludes to Sir Robert Walpole, is supposed to have been a bar to the further promotion which he had reason to expect on the accession of George II.

Stella's health soon appeared to recover; and in March, 1727, the dean once more returned to England. He spent the summer partly at Mr Pope's, and partly rambling about in his company to the country seats of his friends the lords Oxford, Bathurst, &c.; and also in improving his acquaintance with Pulteney and other rising men, whose success might, on a future day, be the means of his own advancement. Bolingbroke had entered into a coalition with Pulteney, and showered a storm of abuse against the impassive front of the minister; of whom Swift complained, that he set no value on genius, and had "none but beasts and blockheads for his penmen." Towards the close of summer, the dean had formed the intention to pass two months in France, where his reputation had obtained great celebrity: on this occasion he received a letter from Voltaire, enclosing a letter of introduction to the Comte de Morville, secretary of state; and explaining other provisions he had made, to secure him a satisfactory reception. But just as he was ready to set out, the death of George I. opened other prospects, and interrupted his journey. Here, the affectation of having nothing to ask, probably led the dean to assume the appearance of being guided by the advice of Mrs Howard, who strenuously urged it upon him not to stir. This view of his motives will find support, if the reader has before him the nearly childish frowardness which he showed at the time of his preferment by lord Oxford, which displays the same indications described by himself in his letter to Sheridan on this occasion. "I was just ready to go to France when the news of the king's death arrived, and I came to town in order to begin my journey. But I was desired to delay it, and I then determined a second time; when, upon some new incidents, I was with great vehemence dissuaded from it by certain persons whom I could not disobey." The same letter affords a much stronger view of the writer's mind, though not so suited for extraction, as being more scattered into broken hints. A "million of schemes"* which busied himself and his friends are incidentally mentioned, and their hopes of improving their position plainly stated. "It is agreed," he says, "that the ministry will be changed, but the others will have a soft fall; although the king must be excessive generous if he forgives the treatment of some people."

Sir Robert Walpole had, nevertheless, secured himself; and he appears to have been favoured by circumstances. When he waited on the prince with an account that the king had died upon his journey, he asked "to whom it was his pleasure to entrust the drawing up of the address to the council." The king replied, "To Sir Spencer Compton." This was decisive; and Walpole, considering his reign over, waited on Sir Spencer with the king's commands. Sir Spencer was not equal to the occasion: he was paralyzed by a seeming emer-

* Swift did not, however, enter with any of his usual spirit into those schemes which he considered injudicious.

gency, and in his perplexity turned to Walpole himself for aid. Walpole drew up the address. He immediately after, while matters were yet unsettled, had a conference with the queen, who was anxious on the subject of her own settlement—which Walpole engaged to have raised to £100,000, while Compton would only undertake £60,000. The interference of the queen quickly re-established Walpole, to the vexation and astonishment of those who were hoping to rise upon his ruin.

In August, while residing with Pope, the dean was visited by an attack of the deafness to which he was liable, and resolved to leave his host, whom he thought “too sickly and complaisant.” “I believe,” he also says, “this giddiness is the disorder that will, at the last, get the better of me.” In a letter to Mrs Howard, he says of this complaint—“About two hours before you were born, I got my giddiness by eating an hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond.”

On the 19th of August, he received from Sheridan an account of Stella’s last illness. We must give one short extract from his answer. “I have had your letter of the 19th, and expect, before you read this, to receive another from you, with the most fatal news that can ever come to me, unless I should be put to death for some ignominious crime. I continue very ill with my giddiness and deafness, of which I had two days’ intermission, but since worse; and I shall be perfectly content if God shall please to call me away at this time. Here is a triple cord of friendship broke, which hath lasted thirty years, twenty-four of which in Ireland. I beg of you, if you have not writ to me before you get this, to tell me no particulars, but the event in general: my weakness, my age, my friendship, will bear no more.” He immediately removed to his cousin Lancelot’s house, in New Bond Street. There he received another letter from Sheridan, which he was afraid to open, and kept for an hour in his pocket, before he could collect resolution. The event he feared was, however, protracted. He returned soon after to Ireland, where he found Mrs Johnson alive. She languished until the following January, 1728, in which month she died, in the 44th year of her age.

We have already had occasion to notice the peculiar circumstances relative to her will; but Sir Walter Scott, in a note on the passage in which he mentions the circumstance, brings forward a statement from doctor Sheridan, in which it is alleged, that she made her will during her last illness, in a vindictive spirit. “But soon after, roused by indignation, she inveighed against his cruelty in the bitterest terms, and sending for a lawyer, made her will, bequeathing her fortune in her own name, to charitable uses.” The act took place in Dr Sheridan’s presence, and therefore Scott admits that it is good authority; though he prefers Mr Theophilus Swift’s, and mentions some very strong considerations which lessen the value of Sheridan’s statement. We notice it here simply to observe that Sheridan’s statement loses whatever value it might otherwise have, when compared with a statement made by the dean himself, in a letter written from London in the previous year, July 15, 1726, on the first account of her illness, in which he says, “I wish that it could be brought about that she might make her will. Her intentions are to leave the interest of all her fortune to her

mother and sister during their lives, and afterwards to St Stephen's hospital, to purchase lands for such uses there as she designs."* This reduces the authority of Dr Sheridan to a very small value indeed, and shows that he had in some way been misled by a false assumption, or that his memory betrayed him. The existence of such an inconsistency also tends to diminish very much the force of all the statements on the same side, as they indicate a very strong leaning to a conclusion.

From this point of time, the incidents of the dean's life become far less important; and considering the very unusual length to which, in spite of our best efforts, we have been compelled to protract this memoir, we must now at last come to a close as summarily as possible.

In Ireland there was nothing that could give Swift's intellect and passions the full excitement of which they were susceptible, and which was a want of his nature; he was the inhabitant of some broad element, cooped up within a narrow cell; growing infirmities, and the sense of the approach of old age, rendered such a state more gloomy, by cutting off the last consolation of hope. With a temperament irritable, and perhaps inclined to discontent, it may be easily conceived that these inclinations must have been sadly aggravated under the present circumstances. Among the intimates with whom he maintained a friendly intercourse, there were a few whom he loved, and a few more whose society just helped to keep off the demon of loneliness, from a spirit which preyed upon itself; but in these intimacies, there was also a sad want of that equality which is required for the full and healthful exercise of the social powers and capacities, and of that respect which is necessary to give interest to conversation. It cannot be concealed, that generally speaking, among his intimates, the dean had no companion. His former companions, the associates of his better days, were Pope and Bolingbroke, Gay and Arbuthnot, and those who formed their brilliant circle—and though jealous, irritable, and froward, in his intercourse with courts, the dean loved to breathe within the atmosphere sunned by the beams of royalty. Deprived of these gay and proud excitements, and that congenial intercourse, he dwelt in a gloomy home, uncheered by any tie. His life, from henceforth, is marked by uniform gloom, discontent, and irritation, and by occasional excitements which were sometimes an intermission, and sometimes but the delirium of his malady. Of this last-mentioned description, might be regarded much of his intercourse with the inner circle of intimates who were in the habit of collecting round him twice a-week in the deanery house, to dispel its sombre atmosphere of dark dreams, by extravagant mirth and humour carried far beyond the limits within which they are usually tolerated. In those meetings, the order of the day was prank and practical humour, and boisterous hilarity, differing from the uproarious abandonment of wild children in no way, but that there was a little more mischief of design, and a little less equality. Swift who, in his moments of excitement, lost all sense of the dignity or self-respect of others, was in some re-

* Vol. xvii. p. 77.

spects unsafe to trifle with,—he had no dislike to meet the coarse humour which he could repay; but in the wildest flow of folly, the heedless wit who might be tempted to infringe a hair's-breadth upon the pride or the feelings of the dean, might as well have trodden upon a viper. Such a circle, nevertheless, kept up the cold excitement of his weary and monotonous existence, which probably appears invested in memoirs with an interest that did not really belong to it, because inevitably in these records it is only those marked passages of life, which form the exceptions that are brought together, and made to fill an apparent space, while the slow and weary stages between these stirring or lucid intervals are not and cannot be represented.

During the lieutenancy of Carteret, the dean exercised a private influence with this nobleman, in behalf of his own friends, for some of whom he was so fortunate as to obtain small preferments: but in the efforts which he made to be admitted to any station of trust, which might enable him to serve the interests of his country, he was uniformly refused. The following narration is taken from "*Swiftiana*" by Scott, from whose note we extract it: "He never could prevail upon lord Carteret to nominate him one of the trustees of the linen manufactory, or even a justice of peace. His lordship always replied, 'I am sure, Mr Dean, you despise those feathers and would not accept of them.' The dean answered, 'No, my lord, I do not, as I might be serviceable to the public in both capacities; but as I would not be governed by your excellency, nor job at the board, or suffer abuses to pass there, or at a quarter-session assizes, I know that you will not indulge me, for the good of this unhappy nation; but if I were a worthless member of parliament, or a bishop, would vote for the court and betray my country, then you would readily grant my request.' Lord Carteret replied, with equal freedom and politeness, 'what you say is literally true, and therefore you must excuse me.'"

As might be presumed, his spirits often found their more congenial and healthful exercise, in efforts for the public good; he endeavoured to rouse the people to a sense of their just rights, and impress those in office and station, with a sense of what was due to justice, humanity, and good policy. In this vocation, he published numerous tracts of various descriptions, of which Sir Walter distinguishes one as an "inimitable piece of irony," in which he proposes a plan for the relief of distress, by causing the rich to feed upon poor people's children. In this, the method and style of a real speculation are so gravely kept up, the circumstantial details and calculations so precisely stated, and the usual tone of the earnest projector so critically supported; that it completely imposed upon some foreign economist, as a proof of the extreme destitution of Ireland.

Such conduct exasperated the government party in Ireland, and confirmed the prejudices of the court. He on his own part became gradually more and more violent in his dislike to the queen, the premier, and even to Mrs Howard. It was not until a little after his return into Ireland, that the actual inefficiency of this lady was made manifest by many circumstances, among which, that which came most prominently before the dean and his friends, was the fate of Gay, who having a promise of preferment from the princess, had in his simplicity

thought fit to devote himself to her bedchamber-woman, and accordingly after the accession of his ostensible patron to the crown, the claim which could not be set aside was satisfied by a preferment which marked more slight than favour, and Gay had the spirit to refuse it. This incident excited the indignation of his friends and was made the thesis for much severe reflection. But the dean had his own sense of injury treasured within his angry recollection; he secretly felt the derogatory position in which he had been placed, while he had worshipped an imaginary influence in the person of Mrs Howard; this lady, he felt, had, by the illusion of her smiles, abetted by his own mistake, diverted him from the true source of court favour; and the thought, too obvious to be missed, and too mortifying to be confessed, must have risen, clothed in all the gall of bitterness to his heart. This spirit breaks out in many of his letters to herself and to her friends, in which the heedless reader is surprised at the mixture of irritability and want of candour; while a moment's reflection shows the true temper of the writer, moved by a silent anger and quarrelling about straws.

The remainder of Swift's life is little diversified by marked events; though it would be an easy task to collect a volume of amusing and characteristic anecdotes. But having in this memoir endeavoured to discuss with some fulness, those points of prominent interest, which have continued from Swift's time to the present to be discussed as doubtful and curious, we shall endeavour to come more briefly to a conclusion.

To the very latest period during which he retained the possession of his understanding, he continued to exert himself, according to his own views, for the advantage of Ireland; with the native independence of his character, combating alike the opposite pretensions or corruption of different parties.

As dean of St Patrick's, his conduct was, according to every account, exemplary. He paid the most strict attention to the affairs and temporalities of the cathedral; watched with the most unremitting vigilance the conduct of all who were placed under his jurisdiction, and was not less constant and careful in the faithful discharge of his own duties. He preached in his turn, and administered the sacrament once a-week. From that peculiar scorn of affectation and hypocrisy which was a part of his character, he rather suppressed the appearance of piety; and this error (for such we must regard it,) was apparently aggravated by other peculiarities of manner, already known to the reader; he is nevertheless well ascertained to have been both assiduous and fervent in his private devotions, for which he had regular hours, and a private closet to which it was so much his habit to retire, that in the very latest moments, during which he showed any signs of recollection, this habit still asserted itself.

In the perusal of his correspondence throughout this latter interval of his life, the reader may with melancholy interest trace the departure of earthly desires and expectations; the diminution of all enjoyments, the increase of infirmities, and the seemingly slow, but ever swift and sure passing away of the vain illusions of life. In Swift, a morbid tone, which was constitutionally inherent in his character,

threw a shade of more than common gloom on those prospects of declining life which disease can hardly exaggerate, and which our healthful spirits only conceal; for many years he awoke each morning possessed by the contemplations of death; and though easily excited to momentary mirth, yet his habitual mood was one of suffering, and unhappy reflection and recollection.

Yet through a long interval of increasing infirmity he continued to retain the powers of his intellect; and several of the most bright and spirited effusions belong to a late period of his life: the anecdote of his quarrel with Mr Sergeant Bettisworth, occasioned by a rhyme, is well known, and would lose by being briefly related. His attack on the Irish Commons, under the denomination of the "legion club," as it was the last, so it is among the most spirited of his satirical productions. In the transcription of this poem, he was seized with a violent fit of the giddiness to which he had all his life been subject, and never entirely shook off its effects. The composition here mentioned was chiefly provoked by an effort of the house of commons to oppress the Irish clergy, against whose rights country gentlemen have always been too ready to conspire.

About the same time he strongly resisted a plan of primate Boulter's, for diminishing the value of the gold coin; this we shall state in our notice of that prelate: it is mentioned as the last instance of his interference in public affairs.

He nevertheless was not unoccupied by the avocations of literature, but had in 1737 formed a strong desire to publish his history of the peace of Utrecht. His friends soon obtained a knowledge of his intention, and the earl of Oxford became very anxious to have the manuscript submitted to his revision, before it should be published. Several letters passed between them in consequence, and the proposal was also urged by Mr Lewis and others who felt a deep and personal interest in the representations which the dean might be led to make. The dean knew very well that he had not in this work uniformly consulted the private prepossessions of his friends, and was reluctant to have the trouble and irritation attendant upon such an inspection, and he evaded the request of his friend for some time, but at last gave way. Many strong objections were made, among which the chief was, the danger to be incurred by the severity with which the characters of several of the leading whigs were drawn. The consequence was, that the history was suppressed at the time; the original copies were lost, and a publication appeared from some surreptitious copy in 1758. It seems to be a curious circumstance, that the anonymous publisher was violent in his opposition to the politics of the work—a fact displayed in the preface.

The dean also at this time meditated the publication of his "Instructions to Servants," a fragment on which he is said to have bestowed great pains, and which is amongst the most characteristic of all his productions. It seems also to have been the result of an experience, arising from the dean's peculiar habits in his domestic life: this connexion is easily traceable in a variety of very curious stories, which are very generally known, having for the most part found their way into numerous collections of anecdotes. They uniformly indicate the

despotic temper and the peremptory decision of his mind, combined with, and often controlled by, his love of frolic and humour; nor are there wanting in them, pleasing instances of the interposition of a benevolent temper. There is a peculiar vindictiveness marked at times in the exercise of singular fun and drollery, so as in some degree to remind the hearer of some of those monsters of fiction, which exercise a cat-like playfulness upon the terrors of their victims. The same stories also, as well as the instructions, mark the curious precision of the dean in observing the habits of servants. One of the effects of this habit and temper was the mixture of great occasional familiarity with his usual severity. In several instances, it also appears, that his own ways were no less keenly observed, and his own spirit caught by the intelligence of the servant: one case we relate for its extreme singularity:—"He and some friends resolved to celebrate a classical saturnalia at the deanery, and actually placed their servants at table, while they themselves attended upon them. The butler, who represented the dean, acted his master to the life. He sent Swift to the cellar in quest of some particular wine, then affected to be discontented with the wine he brought, and commanded him to bring another sort. The dean submissively obeyed, took the bottle to the sideboard and decanted it, while the butler still abused him in his own style, and charged him with reserving some of the grounds for his own drinking. The dean, it was observed, did not relish the jest; but it was carried on as long as it gave amusement: when the tables were removed, the scene reversed; an entertainment was served up for the proper guests, and everything conducted by the very servants who had partaken of the saturnalia, in an orderly and respectful manner."

Swift, though his infirmities confined him to Ireland, never ceased through the whole of this long interval to look with a gloomy longing to England. The peculiar nature of those infirmities was such as to require that he should have about him those who would accommodate themselves to his humours, and submit to his caprices, rather than the more congenial and more distinguished circle, in which habit, and the differences of rank, would render such concessions less to be looked for. Among his English intimates, the wish was also cherished for his presence among them. So late as 1732, Bolingbroke succeeded in negotiating an exchange between the deanery and the English living of Burfield in Berkshire. But it was now late to satisfy any favourite object of Swift's, and would have exacted a sacrifice both of rank and income, which at his time of life would be only attended by its obvious inconveniences. At the same time, the circle of his friends began to be broken by death: Gay died in 1732, and Arbuthnot in 1734, and the shock is apparent which these events gave to one who was himself fast descending into the shadows of decay. "The death of Mr Gay and the doctor," he says in one of his letters, "have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them; like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should receive at least annual interest, as I do from you, and have done from my lord Bolingbroke." And thus, one after another in the common progress so uniformly repeated in every human history, light after light faded and dropped away into

the silence of the tomb. Bolingbroke and Pope were the last survivors upon the scene: and the fast increase of their infirmities soon began to diminish, and finally terminate the intercourse between them,—the most painful circumstance of human friendships in this transitory scene.

The symptoms of decay were rapidly accumulating power in the dean, and giving no uncertain indication of the course which they were likely to take. His excessive irritability of temper, and the increasing frequency of those fits of vertigo to which he had so long been subject, appeared to show the chief point to which the progress of his diseases approached; and he had, it is known, himself always entertained a melancholy foreboding of insanity. Every reader may recollect the well-known story told by Dr Young, who mentioned that he was one of a walking party with the dean in 1717, and when the dean was missed at some part of their walk, he returned to look for him: he found him standing in silent meditation before an old elm tree, and when he accosted him, the dean pointed up to its summit which was in a state of decay, and said, "I shall be like that tree, I shall die at the top."

How far the disposition which he made of his property may have been influenced by this presentiment, is a question not to be distinctly ascertained; yet we can entertain but little doubt that it must have mainly operated to decide him. In 1732, he applied to the corporation for a plot of ground called Oxmantown Green, for the purpose of founding there an endowment for fools and lunatics; a request which was at once complied with. Some time after, there was a bill introduced into the parliament of Ireland, to prevent the disposition of property by will, for religious or charitable uses, and the dean petitioned for an exception in favour of his meditated plan, and stated, that unless it were complied with, he intended to remit his fortune to be applied to similar purposes in foreign countries. The mortmain act was not however brought in. Among the latest of his letters we find some upon the subject, chiefly relative to a plan for the investment of such monies as he possessed under several securities and in small sums, in some one secure and profitable estate; in this object he met with some impediments, and did not pursue it to any conclusion.

During the last years of his life, the dean was chiefly taken care of by his cousin Mrs Whiteway, a lady of great goodness, and very considerable talent, as appears from the numerous letters which are to be found in the published correspondence of the dean. Her care and tenderness had become essentially necessary to his health, and the ease of his declining age. He was exposed to the knavery and malignity of intimates of a different description. A Mr Wilson, one of the prebends of the cathedral, had succeeded in winding into his favour by flattery and sycophancy, and made use of the opportunities thus obtained, for the most base and infamous purposes. Among other things, it was observed that he always came to the deanery with an empty portmanteau, which was full on his departure, and suspicion being excited, it was soon found that large quantities of the dean's books were beginning to disappear. He some time after en-

deavoured to compel the dean by intimidation, to nominate him sub-dean of the chapter; and when Swift refused, had recourse to the most disgraceful acts of violence. On one occasion he prevailed upon the dean to visit him at his glebe-house, and it was while on their way in the dean's own carriage, that a most disgraceful scene occurred; the dean's servants interfered, and Wilson was turned out upon the road. He endeavoured to justify himself by a statement made on affidavit, in which he ascribes the struggle, which, says Sir Walter, "certainly took place, to a fit of frenzy on the part of the dean."

To such aggressions the infirmities and the failure of memory must at this time have exposed the dean, were it not for the continual and solicitous vigilance of Mrs Whiteway. Her influence was not, however, always successful to shut his door against the worthless parasite, who, by flattering his infirmities of temper, sometimes obtained an ascendancy. Upon one occasion, seeing that her efforts were to no purpose, after a long altercation, Mrs Whiteway stood up, and said, with a courtesy, "I'll leave you, Sir, to your flatterers and sycophants," and left the deanery in anger, for which, considering the known coarseness of the dean, she had perhaps abundant reason. The dean, whose anger was confined to the moment, quickly repented, and took means of a very characteristic nature to set all right between them. "For two days," as Scott tells the story, "she kept her resolution; and in that time had more than a dozen visitors at her door, who inquired with great concern for her health, after the unhappy circumstance that had befallen her. The fact was, the dean had gone round to his friends, and, with a serious face deplored the misfortune that he himself had witnessed, that Mrs Whiteway had been suddenly seized with a fit of madness, and had been taken home in a most distracted state of mind. When he thought the deception had sufficiently worked, he called, and making her a silent bow, sat down. Mr Deane Swift was in the room—being at that time on a visit at Mrs Whiteway's. The dean conversed with him about ten minutes, without interchanging a word or a look with Mrs Whiteway. He then got up, looked kindly at Mrs Whiteway, and turning to Mr Swift, 'half this visit was to you, Sir.' In uttering the word half, he glanced his eye at Mrs Whiteway, bowed to them both, and withdrew. Their cordiality was instantly renewed."

Such is, perhaps, a sadly faithful portraiture of Swift's declining years. The morbid irritability of his temper was rapidly increasing in frequency and violence; and the fits of vertigo, to which he had during the greater part of his life been subject, were also becoming of more continual recurrence. A letter, which is said to be almost the last document which remains of him as a rational and reflecting being, is dated July 26, 1740, and is remarkable for the awful distinctness of the link which it supplies in the history of his closing years. It is written to Mrs Whiteway:—"I have been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, that I am not in torture, but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is, and your

family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be.

"I am for those few days, yours entirely,

"J. SWIFT.

"If I do not blunder, it is Saturday,

"July 26, 1740."

He shortly after fell into that state, the most dreadful that can be conceived among the most numerous and complicated ills of humanity. To assign remote causes for the disorders to which the intellect may become subject, is perhaps, presumptuous, and empirical: too little can be known of the mysterious combinations of the elements of mind and matter, to speak upon the subject without language which must contain some fallacy, or some unwarranted assumption. But in the contemplation of Swift's life there is a well-marked uniformity in the deeply traced lines of character and conduct, which seemed to converge to the actual result of insanity;—there seems, when viewed with reference to such a notion, some degree of this to have been transfused through all the courses of his life, appearing like some black undertexture that throws its saddening tint up through gay hues and glittering images. Of this complexion was the morbid prejudice; the exorbitant exaction of pride; the frenzied irritability; the splenetic and satirical indignation; and the inexplicably eccentric courses of conduct which he pursued towards Stella, as well as generally, in all that we have recorded of his domestic life.

The first form in which his disease appeared, was that of raging and frantic insanity. Trustees and guardians were immediately appointed for his estate and person. He was placed under the care of Dr Lyons, a clergyman, whose argument we have already noticed on the subject of his marriage. The following account was written by Dr Delany—we transcribe it entire:—"In the beginning of the year 1741, his understanding was so much impaired, and his passion so greatly increased, that he was utterly incapable of conversation. Strangers were not permitted to approach him, and his friends found it necessary to have guardians appointed of his person and estate. Early in the year 1742, his reason was wholly subverted, and his rage became absolute madness. The last person whom he knew was Mrs Whiteway; and the sight of her, when he knew her no longer, threw him into fits of rage so violent and dreadful, that she was forced to leave him; and the only act of kindness that remained in her power, was to call once or twice a-week at the deanery, inquire after his health, and see that proper care was taken of him. Sometimes she would steal a look at him when his back was towards her, but did not dare to venture into his sight. He would neither eat nor drink while the servants who brought him his provisions staid in the room. His meat, which was always served up ready cut, he would sometimes suffer to stand an hour upon the table before he would touch it: and at last, he would eat it walking; for, during this miserable state of his mind it was his constant custom to walk ten hours a-day. In October, 1742, after this frenzy had continued several months, his left eye swelled to the size of an egg, and the lid appeared to be so much in-

flamed and discoloured, that the surgeon expected it would mortify. Several large boils also broke out on his arms and body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month; and during one week, it was with difficulty that five persons kept him, by mere force, from tearing out his eyes. Just before the tumour perfectly subsided, and the pain left him, he knew Mrs Whiteway, took her by the hand, and spoke to her with former kindness: that day, and the day following, he knew his physician and surgeon, and all his family, and appeared so far to have recovered his understanding and temper, that the surgeon was not without hopes that he might once more enjoy society, and be amused with the company of his old friends. This hope was, however, but of short duration; for, a few days afterwards he sunk into a state of total insensibility, slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be tempted to walk across the room. This was the effect of another bodily disease—his brain being loaded with water. Mr Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of his chapter, pronounced this to be the cause during his illness; and, upon opening his head, it appeared he was not mistaken; but, though he often entreated the dean's friends and physicians, that his skull might be trepanned, and the water discharged, no regard was paid to his opinion or advice.

"After the dean had continued silent a whole year in this helpless state of idiocy, his housekeeper went into the room, on the 30th of November, in the morning, telling him it was his birthday, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual—to this, he immediately replied—'It is all folly, they had better let it alone.'

"He would often attempt to speak his mind, but could not recollect words to express his meaning; upon which he would shrug up his shoulders, shake his head, and sigh heartily." We pass some portions of Dr Delany's interesting narrative, to the last instance of any attempt of the dean's to express himself by language. "In the year 1744, he now and then called his servant by his name, and once attempted to speak to him, but not being able to express his meaning, he showed signs of much uneasiness; and at last said, 'I am a fool.' Once afterwards, as the same servant was taking away his watch, he said, 'bring it here;' and when the same servant was breaking a hard coal, he said, 'that is a stone, you blockhead!'

"From this time he was perfectly silent, till the latter end of October, 1745, and then died without the least pang or convulsion, in the 78th year of his age."

This account, from the hand of Delany, may be best closed by the language of Scott:—"It was then that the gratitude of the Irish showed itself in the full glow of national enthusiasm. The interval was forgotten, during which their great patriot had been dead to the world, and he was wept and mourned, as if he had been called away in the full career of his public services. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the house to pay their last tribute of sorrow and affection. Locks of his hair were so eagerly sought after, that Mr Sheridan happily applies to the enthusiasm of the citizens of Dublin, the lines of Shakspeare:—

“ Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.”

An extract from Mr Mason gives the most graphic sketch of the affecting incidents connected with this event:—“A person, who resides in my family is one of the few persons, perhaps the only one now living, who witnessed this melancholy spectacle. ‘She remembers him as well as if it was but yesterday; he was laid out in his own hall, and great crowds went to see him. His coffin was open; he had on his head neither cap nor wig; there was not much hair on the front or very top; but it was long and thick behind, very white, and was like flax on the pillow. Mrs Barnard, his nursetender, sat at his head; but, having occasion to leave the room for a short time, some person cut a lock of his hair from his head, which she missed upon her return; and after that day, no person was admitted to see him.’”

It is on good grounds supposed that the executors intended to bury him with a privacy so strict as to involve an unsuitable obscurity. But they were deterred from such a course by the remonstrances of Mrs Whiteway. His remains were, however, interred privately, according to his own express desire, in the aisle of his cathedral, with the following inscription, from his own pen:—

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S.T.P.
HUIUS ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS
DECANI:
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
ABI VIATOR
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATE VINDICEM.
OBIIIT ANNO (1745);
MENSIS OCTOBRIIS DIE (19),
ÆTATIS ANNO (78.)

St George Ashe, Bishop of Derry.

BORN A.D. 1658.—DIED A.D. 1717.

ST GEORGE ASHE, though he filled many high situations, and had his share in the events and changes of his day, is now chiefly remembered as a name connected with the history of Swift, to whom he was tutor in the university. We shall therefore offer but a brief and summary view of the main incidents of his life.

He was a native of the county Roscommon; he entered the university of Dublin in 1679, and obtained a fellowship. In this laborious station he continued twelve years, and must, perhaps, have become a senior fellow before he was appointed provost to the university in 1692, in place of Dr Huntington, who resigned. During the tempo-

rary confusion of civil order which took place under the authority of James II. and his instrument Tyreconnel, the reader will recollect that Trinity college was specially distinguished as an object of the most unsparing and relentless persecution. With others, Ashe was driven into flight. In the interval of his exile, he engaged in the service of the English ambassador to Vienna, as chaplain and secretary for several years; nor did he think of returning to Ireland until the act of settlement had passed.

In 1695 he was preferred to the see of Cloyne, and consecrated in Dublin by Narcissus Marsh, archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Meath, Waterford, and Lismore. He was at the same time made a privy counsellor. Two years after he was translated to Clogher; here he continued nineteen years, until he was translated to Derry in 1716. He died the next year in Dublin.

He was chiefly, perhaps, distinguished among the learned, as a mathematical student, as he has left some mathematical tracts, and several papers which were printed in the transactions of the Royal Society. He also published four Sermons. He bequeathed his mathematical books to the university.

Dr Thomas Sheridan.

BORN A.D. 1684—DIED A.D. 1738.

THE birth-place of Sheridan is not accurately known, but is stated by some authors to have been in the county of Cavan, where his parents, who were in rather depressed circumstances, subsequently resided. He was born in 1684, and spent the early years of his life under the roof of his parents, who were unable to give him more than the common advantages of a school education. A friend of his family, however, perceiving indications of a more than common intelligence, under what he himself describes as not a very prepossessing exterior, sent him to the college of Dublin, and contributed liberally to his support while he remained there. He afterwards entered into holy orders, and established a school in Dublin, which obtained much celebrity, not only from Dr Sheridan's high literary attainments, and his attention to the morals of his pupils, but from the many distinguished characters who were educated there. He early formed a close intimacy and friendship with Swift, which commenced in the following characteristic manner:—Swift, who had heard much of Sheridan, as a man of wit and humour, desired a common friend to bring them together. They passed the day much to their mutual satisfaction; and, when the company broke up at night, Swift, in his usual ironical way said, "I invite all here present to dine with me next Thursday, except Mr Sheridan," but with a look which expressed that the invitation was made wholly on his account. They felt a mutual attraction towards each other, and had in many respects a similarity of taste and talent; and the points in which they differed made each of them still more necessary to the other. The sagacity, energy, and strong worldly sense of the dean, were invaluable adjuncts to the weaker, more ami-

able, and unadulterated character of his friend, and were the means of often extricating him from difficult and embarrassing positions into which his own inadvertence and uncalculating simplicity betrayed him. The dean's acquaintance being chiefly amongst those high in rank and station, he naturally wished to form around him a circle in which he could be more completely at his ease, and yet one in which his various powers would be equally valued and appreciated. To such a circle did Sheridan introduce him. His son, (Swift's biographer,) in writing of this period, says, that being "the first schoolmaster in the kingdom, an intimacy with those fellows of the college, whose acquaintance he chose to cultivate, followed of course, and there happened at that time to be a greater number of learned and ingenious men in that body than ever had been known before at any given period. An acquaintance naturally commenced with such families of distinction as intrusted their children to his care. Besides, as he was looked upon to be one of the most agreeable companions in the world, his society was much courted by all persons of taste." With a select set of these did Swift pass most of his festive hours for many years; but in the round of entertainments, care was always taken to engage Sheridan before a party was fixed, as the dean was never known to be in perfect good humour, but when he was one of the company.

As many of the evening parties were made up of this chosen set in the college, where subjects of literature were often the topics of conversation, Swift, who could not bear to be considered in an inferior light by any society into which he had entered, found it necessary to revive his knowledge of Greek and Latin, which, in the hurry of politics, and bustle of the world, he had so long neglected. With this view he invited Dr Sheridan to pass his vacations with him at the deanery, where an apartment was fitted up for him, which ever after went by his name; and, assisted by him, he went through a complete course of the Greek and Roman classics. This gave him a full opportunity of seeing the profound knowledge which Sheridan had of those languages; and he ever after pronounced him to be the best scholar in Europe. Thus living together frequently in the same house, in a communion of the same studies, and the same amusements, a closer connexion, and more intimate union followed, than Swift had ever known with any person except Stella. As Sheridan was the most open undisguised man in the world, it did not require much time or penetration to see into his whole character, in which Swift found many things to admire, many things to love, and little to offend. He had the strictest regard to truth, and the highest sense of honour; incapable of dissimulation in the smallest degree; generous to a fault; and charitable in the extreme. Of a proud independent spirit, which would not suffer him to crouch to the great ones of the world for any favour, nor to put on even the appearance of flattery, he had a heart formed for friendship, in which Swift had the first place. He possessed also a lively fancy, a ready invention, and a great fund of humour. He and Swift entered into an engagement that, for an entire year they should write to each other in verse every day, pledging themselves that the time of composition should not exceed five minutes. In the vast variety of *jeux d'esprit*, riddles, &c., to which this gave rise, it

may be imagined, that they were not all of equal merit; but there are few of those which remain, that do not evince some ingenuity, fancy, or humour. The well known inventory he drew up of Swift's possessions at Laracor, beginning, "An oaken broken elbow chair," &c., is a good specimen of this playful style of composition, which cheered many a gloomy hour of Swift's latter life. Subject as he was to violent fits of passion on small occasions, Sheridan frequently turned them aside by dexterously giving a playful direction to the subject, and compelling him to laugh, so that common friends used to say, he was the David, who alone could play the evil spirit out of Saul. When Swift was disengaged, he was in the habit of constantly calling in about the hour of dinner at Dr Sheridan's, and establishing himself in a small parlour where the two friends dined, *tête-à-tête*, supplied by slices of meat sent to them upon plates from the common table. One of Sheridan's infirmities was a total disregard of money, and his reckless expenditure of it often involved him in painful and perplexing difficulties. Swift, finding all advice and argument upon the subject fail, sought to diminish the evil by energetic efforts to increase his income. The school of Armagh, which was richly endowed with lands, besides producing a large annual income, becoming vacant, he applied to the primate (to whose promotion he had formerly contributed,) to grant him the nomination, which being acceded to, he at once offered it to Sheridan, who, with the infatuated pertinacity which marred all his prospects, refused to accept of it, being unable to relinquish the enjoyments of the society with which he was surrounded. The superior strength of Swift's character was strongly evidenced in this transaction, as he, dependent as he was upon the cheering influence of Sheridan's society, would have been a far greater sufferer by his removal than Dr Sheridan, with his numerous ties and engagements, could possibly have been.

On the appointment of lord Carteret to the government of Ireland, Swift, who was already intimate with him, wrote as follows:—"I have only one humble request to make to your excellency, which I had in my heart ever since you were nominated lord-lieutenant; and it is in favour of Mr Sheridan. I beg you will take your time for bestowing on him some church living, to the value of £150 per annum. He is agreed on all hands to have done more public service by many degrees, in the education of lads, than any five of his vocation; and has much more learning than usually falls to the share of those who profess teaching, being perfectly skilled in the Greek as well as Latin tongue, and acquainted with all the ancient writers in poetry, philosophy, and history. He is a man of good sense, modesty, and virtue. His greatest fault is a wife and four children; for which there is no excuse, but that a wife is thought necessary to a schoolmaster. His constitution is so weak that in a few years he must give up his business; and probably must starve, without some preferment, for which he is an ill solicitor. My lord bishop of Elphin has promised to recommend this request to your excellency; and I hope you will please to believe that it proceeds wholly from justice and humanity; for he is neither a dependent nor relation of mine."

Lord Carteret at once nominated him as one of his chaplains, and

being himself an excellent scholar, soon distinguished his merit in that line. He equally appreciated his conversational and social powers, often inviting him to his private parties, and sometimes, "laying his state aside, he would steal out from the castle in an hackney chair, and pass the evening at Sheridan's with Swift, and the select set which used to meet there."

The lord-lieutenant quickly bestowed upon him one of the first livings which fell into the gift of government;—it was in the south of Ireland, and worth about £150 a-year, and would probably have been but the first step to a rapid advancement in his profession, had it not been for a strange act of inadvertency, which, with him, seemed almost constitutional. Being in Cork, where he went for the purpose of being inducted into his living, he was requested by archdeacon Russel to preach for him on the following Sunday, which happened to be the first of August, the anniversary of king George's birth-day, he unfortunately, and unconsciously, selected for his text, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The oversight was slight, but the current of faction ran high, and the long-eared zeal of party could not fail to catch at so apparently significant a coincidence. As Swift said, "he shot his fortune dead by chance-medley with this single text." The report was immediately carried to the lord-lieutenant, who, though he clearly perceived its absurdity and malice, was not in circumstances to give offence to the dominant faction, or to create suspicion by passing over the supposed offence: Swift also exerted his mediation to the utmost, but to no purpose. The unfortunate preacher was struck out of the list of chaplains to the lord lieutenant, and he was forbidden to appear at the castle. Swift, writing to condole with him upon the subject, says, "If you are, indeed, a discarded courtier, you have reason to complain, but none at all to wonder; you are too young for many experiences to fall in your way, yet you have read enough to make you know the nature of man.

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Too much advertency is not your talent, or else you had fled from that text, as from a rock. For, as Don Quixote said to Sancho, what business had you to speak of a halter in a family, where one of it was hanged? And your innocence is a protection, that wise men are ashamed to rely on, farther than with God. It is indeed against common sense to think, that you should choose such a time, when you had received a favour from the lord-lieutenant, and had reason to expect more, to discover your disloyalty in the pulpit. But what will that avail? Therefore sit down, and be quiet, and mind your business as you should do, and contract your friendships, and expect no more from man than such an animal is capable of, and you will every day find my description of Yahoos more resembling. You should think and deal with every man as a villain, without ealling him so, or flying from him, or valuing him less," &c., &c. Though not agreeing with the maxim of either Rochefoucault or Swift, we give it, as being characteristic of the writer; and the remaining portion of the letter is worth transcribing, as it contains a good picture of the uncalculating and simple-minded individual to whom it is addressed. "You believe every one will acquit you of any regard to temporal in-

terest; and how came you to claim an exception from all mankind? I believe you value your temporal interest as much as any body, but you have not the art of pursuing it. You are mistaken. Domestick evils are no more within a man than others; and he, who cannot bear up against the first, will sink under the second, and in my conscience I believe this is your case; for, being of a weak constitution, in an employment precarious and tiresome, loaden with children, a man of intent and abstract thinking, enslaved by mathematicks and complaint of the world, this new weight of party malice hath struck you down like a feather on a horse's back, already loaden as far as he is able to bear. You ought to change the apostle's expression and say, I will strive to learn 'in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.'" "I will hear none of your visions." He then, with his characteristic pointedness, lays down a set of regulations for his future conduct, for the care of his health, the limitation of his expenses, &c., &c., and adds, "You think the world has now nothing to do but to pull Mr Sheridan down, whereas it is nothing but a slap in your turn, and away. Lord Oxford once said to me on an occasion—these fools, because they hear a noise about their ears of their own making, think the whole world is full of it. When I come to town we will change all this scene, and act like men of the world. Grow rich, and you will have no enemies; go sometimes to the castle; keep fast Tickle and Balaguer (the private secretary); frequent those on the right side, friends to the present powers; drop those who are loud on the wrong party, because they know they can suffer nothing by it." In a subsequent letter he says, "Have you seen my lord? Who forbade you to preach? Are you no longer chaplain? Do you never go to the castle?" and adds, "I should fancy that the bishop of Limerick could easily satisfy his excellency, and that my lord-lieutenant believes no more of your guilt than I, and, therefore it can be nothing but to satisfy the noise of party at this juncture that he acts as he does." He then warns him not to act like the man "who hanged himself, because, going into a gaming house and winning £10,000, he lost five of it, and came away with only half his winnings."

Sheridan subsequently exchanged this southern living for that of Dunboyne, in the neighbourhood of Dublin; but by the tricks and deceptions practised upon the subject of tithes, both by gentry and farmers, on his unsuspecting nature, it became very unproductive, and scarcely yielded more than £80 per annum. He kept up a constant correspondence with Swift, full of wit and drollery on both sides, and during the period of the severe illness which closed Stella's life, he was her constant attendant and friend, and the medium of communication between her and Swift during his absence in England, when she was unable to write. He was also a witness of the last melancholy scene between Swift and Stella; of her "unspeakable agonies;" and was in the chamber when she breathed her last. His son says of him (in his life of Swift), "His grief for her loss was not perhaps inferior to the dean's. He admired her above all human beings, and loved her with a devotion as pure as that which we would pay to angels. She had early singled him out from all the dean's acquaintance as her con-

fidential friend. There grew up the closest amity between them, which subsisted, without interruption, to the time of her death. During her long illness, he never passed an hour from her which could be spared from business; and his conversation in the dean's absence was the chief cordial of her drooping spirits. Of her great regard for him Swift bears testimony, in the close of one of his letters to him from London, where he says, 'I fear, while you are reading this, you will be shedding tears at her funeral: she loved you well, and a great share of the little merit I have with you, is owing to her solicitation.' No wonder, therefore, (adds his son,) if the doctor's humanity was shocked at the last scene which he saw pass between her and the dean, and which affected him so much, that it was a long time before he could be thoroughly reconciled to him."

Sheridan, as unstable in the conduct of his affairs, as he was steady in his affections, exchanged the living of Dunboyne for the free school of Cavan, his native county, where, from its extreme cheapness, he might have lived well on his salary of £80 a-year, with the profits derived from his scholars; but the air, he complained, was moist and unwholesome, and having taken a strong antipathy to some of the persons resident in the neighbourhood, he sold his school for about £400, and having soon spent the money, he fell into bad health, and died in 1738, in the 55th year of his age.

The closing scene of his life is marked by a melancholy occurrence, which, with a sudden wrench, snapped the friendship that had existed through so many years of painful vicissitude between him and the dean. We shall give the detail nearly in the words of his son:—Swift had long been weary of the world, and all that was in it. He had no prospect of relief but from death, for which he most ardently wished, even when his state was not so bad. For some years before, he never took leave of a friend in an evening without adding, "Well, God bless you; I hope I shall never see you again." In this hopeless state, deprived of all the comforts of life, it is little wonder if he was dead also to the feelings of friendship. Dr Sheridan had been for some time confined by illness at the deanery: when he had sufficiently recovered to go abroad, he was apologizing to the dean for the trouble he had given him, saying, "I fear, Mr Dean, I have been an expensive lodger to you this bout." Upon which Mrs Whiteway, a relation of the dean's, who then chiefly managed his affairs, and who happened to be present, briskly said, "It is in your power, Doctor, easily to remedy this by removing to another lodging." Swift was silent. The poor Doctor was quite thunderstruck. As this lady had always professed great friendship for him, and lay under considerable obligations to him, he quickly inferred that this must have been done by Swift's direction, in which he was confirmed by his silence on the occasion. He immediately left the house in all that anguish of mind, which a heart, possessed of the warmest friendship, must feel, upon the abrupt breach of one of so long a standing, and so sincere on his part; nor did he ever enter it again.

He lived but a short time after this. His complaint was a polypus in the heart, which terminated, as was expected, very suddenly. His

last words were on some observation being made respecting the wind, "Let it blow east, west, north, or south, the immortal soul will take its flight to the destined point."

He married Miss Mackfadin, and was father to Thomas Sheridan, the biographer of Swift, whose gifted wife (Miss Chamberlaine,) was the authoress of "Sydney Biddulph," "Nourjahad," &c. Dr Sheridan himself published a prose translation of Persius, with notes, both by himself and former editors. Lord Cork, in writing of him, says, "He was deeply versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and in their customs and antiquities. He had that kind of good nature which absence of mind, indolence of body, and carelessness of fortune produce; and although not over-strict in his own conduct, yet he took care of the morality of his scholars, whom he sent to the university, remarkably well grounded in all kinds of classical learning, and not ill-instructed in the social duties of life. He was slovenly, indigent, and cheerful. He knew books much better than men; and he knew the value of money least of all.

* * * * *

"This ill-starred, good-natured, improvident man, returned to Dublin unhinged from all favour at court, and even banished from the castle; but still he remained a punster, a quibbler, a fiddler, and a wit. Not a day passed without a rebus, an anagram, or a madrigal." He then quotes some playful lines written by Dr Sheridan, complaining how little good had resulted from all this "strenuous idleness." Two of them (conveying the answer of Apollo), suggest some idea of his personal appearance:

———"Honest friend, I've considered your case,
Nor dislike your unmeaning and innocent face."

Unsuited both by habits and disposition for his holy profession, he was yet, in many respects, high-minded, amiable, and disinterested, and his defects belonged rather "to his darkened age" than to himself.

Dr Patrick Delany.

BORN A.D. 1686.—DIED A.D. 1765.

DR DELANY, the friend of Swift, Gay, Bolingbroke, and of the other wits of his time, was himself a man of wit and learning, and possessed of higher moral attainments than most of his gifted associates. His ancestors were of low extraction,—his father having served as a domestic in the family of Sir John Rennel, an Irish judge; and he afterwards rented a small farm, by which he was enabled to give his son the education of a gentleman. Having made a good proficiency at a common grammar-school, he entered Dublin college as a sizer, and obtained a high reputation both for good conduct and learning. He was justly celebrated as a preacher, though his compositions were more remarkable for a brilliant and excursive imagination, than for close reasoning. He was early noticed by the chancellor, Sir Constantine Phibbs, for his "learning, virtue, discre-

tion, and good sense;" but, being then a fellow of the college, the chancellor could not prevail on him to leave its quiet seclusion, or offer him any equivalent for the advantages he possessed. On the arrival of lord Carteret as lord-lieutenant, Swift, who had long been in habits of the closest intimacy with him in England, introduced his friend with a strong recommendation for his advancement in the church; and his recommendation was countenanced and supported by that of the archbishop of Dublin. Lord Carteret himself, a man of refined taste and high acquirements—or as Swift says, possessing the same "fatal turn of mind for heathenism and outlandish books and languages"—fully appreciated the charm and value of Dr Delany's society and friendship; and he quickly became almost domesticated at the castle. At this period he was a senior fellow, and between his pupils and fellowship, possessed an income of about £1000 a-year. His social and intellectual tastes were unsuited to the monastic restraints and engrossments of a college life, but met their fullest encouragement, gratification, and development, in the refined and polished circle of the court. An unfortunate dispute in which he took part, and sided with the aggressors, respecting college discipline, made his residence there still more irksome; and having given personal offence to the provost, by very unadvisedly alluding to the subject in a sermon preached in the college chapel, his subsequent preferment was thought to have been materially obstructed. In 1725, he was presented by the chapter of Christ's church to the parish of St John, in the city of Dublin; and it became necessary to obtain a royal dispensation, in order to hold this along with his fellowship. Primate Boulter, and the archbishop of Dublin interfered, and the dispensation was refused. For this interference, the primate assigns political reasons; and, speaking of Dr Delany, says, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle:—"He is a great tory, and has a great influence in these parts; and it were to be wished for his majesty's service that he might be tempted by some good country living to quit the college; but, if he has St John's with his fellowship, there can be no hopes of his removal. * * * * * I must, therefore, desire your Grace that if any application be made on the other side of the water, for his majesty's dispensing with the statute of the college, relating to the value of a living that may be held with a fellowship, that your Grace would get it stopped." In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, after thanking him for refusing the faculty, and asserting that it was not out of any "ill-will to the person that he opposed it," he adds: "but I am now a little surprised with what I did not then know, that his application was not to be dispensed with from the obligation of any statute, but of an oath he had taken never to hold such a benefice." The chancellorship of Christ's church becoming subsequently vacant, and being offered to his acceptance, he was induced to resign his fellowship and take it in conjunction with a small college living,—the combined income of both scarcely exceeding £200 a-year. He, of course, calculated on certain and immediate preferment,—considering the personal regard evidenced for him on all occasions, by the lord-lieutenant, along with the high recommendations he brought, a suffi-

cient warrant for such an expectation. He had, however, yet to acquire that lesson so seldom learned, not to "put trust in princes, or in any child of man; for there is no help in them." Party-spirit at this time ran very high; and moderation or neutrality was not tolerated. From not publicly and boisterously espousing the side of government, he was at once considered as belonging to the opposite ranks. A political under-current was working against him, upon which he had not calculated, and which he scarcely understood. Accustomed to a free expenditure, and being of a very benevolent disposition, he became quickly embarrassed; and though a prebend in St Patrick's Cathedral was added, it did little to extricate him,—contributing scarcely more than £100 a-year to his very limited means. He still continued an attendant and guest at the castle, "wasting good days that might be better spent;" admired, and complimented, but not provided for. In 1729, he addressed a poetical epistle to lord Carteret, in which he strongly and playfully puts forward his claims and necessities, and supposes a conversation to take place between himself and the lord-lieutenant, when

"His brow less thoughtfully unbends,
Circled with Swift and his delighted friends."

He then shows how hard it is to have his

"Titles ample; but his grain so small,
That one good vicarage is worth them all.
And very wretched sure is he that's double
In nothing but his titles and his trouble."

He concludes in answering to a supposed question as to the extent of his expectations:—

"Excuse me, good my lord, I won't be sounded,
Nor shall your favour by my wants be bounded.
My lord, I challenge nothing as my due,
Nor is it fit I should prescribe to you.
Yet this might Symmachus himself avow,
(Whose rigid rules* are antiquated now).
My lord! I'd wish to pay the debts I owe—
I'd wish besides—to build, and to bestow."

Neither this epistle, nor Swift's caustic "vindication of lord Carteret from the charge of favouring none but tories, high churchmen, and Jacobites," in the year following, appears to have had any effect.

In this defence he says, "but since the doctor has not in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourses, or his company, discovered one single principle of whig or tory; and that the lord-lieutenant still continues to admit him, I shall boldly pronounce him one of us; but, like a new freemason, who has not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any tory doctrines; except, perhaps, some among those few, with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but which have been since transferred, for the most solid reasons, to the whole body of our firmest friends."

* Symmachus, bishop of Rome, 499, made a decree, that no man should solicit for ecclesiastical preferment before the death of the incumbent.

In 1731, archbishop Boulter furnished him with the following letter of introduction to Dr Gibson of London, to whose opinion he submitted a theological work, entitled "Revelation examined with Candour; or, a fair Enquiry into the sense and use of the several Revelations expressly declared, or sufficiently implied, to be given to mankind, from the creation, as they are to be found in the Bible."

"MY LORD,

"The person who waits upon you with this, is Dr Delany, minister of one of the principal churches in this city, and one of our most celebrated preachers. He has, of late, employed his thoughts and pen in the vindication of our most holy religion, and has some thoughts of printing what he has written, if it should be thought to be of service. I knew of no person to whose judgment it was more proper to submit his performances than your lordship, who have so happily engaged yourself in the controversy, and seem to have the conduct of the defence of our most holy cause against the present most audacious insults of unbelievers. He comes over with a disposition to submit his writings, and the printing of them, to your lordship's opinion."

The work was considered at the time calculated to be useful to the cause of religion, but it was too fanciful and speculative for such a purpose. His style, also, was too florid and declamatory, more likely to dazzle than to convince; and while his writings show great ingenuity and learning, the reasoning is frequently unsound and inconclusive. In one of lord Bolingbroke's letters to Swift, he says, "It happened while I was writing this to you, the Doctor came to make me a visit from London, where I heard he was arrived some time ago: he was in haste to return, and is, I perceive, in great haste to print. He left with me eight dissertations, a small part, as I understand, of his work, and desired me to peruse, consider, and observe upon them against Monday next, when he will come down again. By what I have read of the first two, I find myself unable to serve him. The principles he reasons upon are begged in a disputation of this sort, and the manner of reasoning is by no means close and conclusive. The sole advice I could give him, in conscience, would be that which he would take ill, and not follow."

Pope adds in the same letter, and on the same paper, "Dr Delany's book is what I cannot commend so much as dean Berkeley's, though it has many things ingenuous in it, and is not deficient in the writing part: but the whole book, though he meant it *ad populum*, is, I think, purely *ad clerum*."

While in London, he married a widow lady of Irish family, possessed of a very ample fortune, by which he was enabled to exercise his generous dispositions, to gratify his taste, and indulge both his literary and hospitable inclinations. During the next ten years, he wrote and published a variety of works, amongst which was the Life of David, King of Israel, in which he shows much learning and critical skill, combined with great defects of style and judgment.

He had a small villa about a mile from Dublin, where he was in

the habit of collecting around him a select circle of literary friends of the highest order, among whom were Swift, Mrs Pendarves, &c. This lady writes to Swift:—"The cold weather, I suppose, has gathered together Dr Delany's set: the next time you meet, may I beg the favour to make my compliments acceptable? I recollect no entertainment with so much pleasure, as what I received from that company: it has made me sincerely lament the many hours of my life that I have lost in insignificant conversation." This lady, who, ten years after, married Dr Delany, was the widow of Alexander Pendarves, Esq., a gentleman of large property in Cornwall; and she subsequently became remarkable for the close intimacy and friendship with which she was honoured by king George III. and queen Charlotte. Her maiden name was Granville, and she was the niece of lord Granville. In 1735, Dr Delany was promoted to the deanery of Down, in the room of Dr Thomas Fletcher, who was advanced to the bishopric of Dromore. He secluded himself much from society, and withdrew from those literary meetings which had been productive of so much enjoyment to all their members. In writing to Swift, she says:—"I cannot help lamenting Dr Delany's retirement. I expected his benevolent disposition would not have suffered him to rob his friends of the pleasure and advantage of his company. If you have not power to draw him from his solitude, no other person can pretend to do it. I was in hopes the weekly meetings would have been renewed and continued. Mrs Donnellan is much disappointed, and I fear I am no longer a toast." Her friendship for Dr Delany ripened, after the death of his wife in 1741, into a still higher regard; and after nineteen years of widowhood, she was married to him in 1743. Her first marriage had not been happy; but this one, which lasted twenty-five years, was one of uninterrupted enjoyment. Her friend Mr Keate says:—"She had every virtue that could adorn the human heart, with a mind so pure and so uncontaminated by the world, that it was matter of astonishment how she could have lived in its more splendid scenes, without being tainted with one single atom of its folly or indiscretion. The strength of her understanding received in the fullest degree its polish, but its weakness never reached her. Her life was conducted by the sentiments of true piety," &c., &c.

Swift, in writing of Dr Delany, says:—"He is one of those very few within my knowledge on whom an access of fortune hath made no manner of change." After Swift's death, when lord Orrery's vile and ungenerous libel was given to the public, Dr Delany became its zealous and successful refuter; and his noble and devoted fidelity to the outraged memory of his friend makes a happy contrast to the base malignity of this moral assassin. It may be worth mentioning here, on the authority of Mr Monck Berkeley, son to the bishop of Cloyne, the anecdote which is supposed to have given rise to this unlooked-for attack. Lord Orrery having one day gained admission to Swift's library, discovered a letter of his own, written several years before, lying still unopened, and on which Swift had written, "This will keep cold." From such trifling incidents do the bitterest enmities frequently arise; and life and character have been sacrificed to appease wounded pride, or avenge ridicule.

During this period of his life, he suffered much annoyance from a protracted lawsuit respecting the property of his first wife, which, after nine years' suspense, was decided against him in the Irish court of chancery; but, on an appeal to the house of lords in England, that judgment was reversed, and the doctor was secured in his possessions. His income was, for the last twenty years of his life, about £3,000 per annum; yet he left little behind him besides books, plate, and furniture. He lived in a handsome and expensive style, but never left himself without the means of relieving distress, or rewarding merit. His simplicity of character was as remarkable as his generosity. An amusing example of this is given by his biographer. In the reign of George II., being desirous of preaching before his majesty, he obtained from the lord chamberlain, or dean of the chapel, the favour of being appointed to that office on the fifth Sunday of some month, being an extra day, not supplied *ex officio* by the chaplains. As he had not been informed of the usual etiquette on the occasion, he entered the royal chapel after the prayers began, and not knowing whither to go, crowded into the desk beside the reader. The vesturer soon after was at a loss for the preacher, till seeing a clergyman kneeling by the reader, he concluded him to be the man. Accordingly he went to him, and pulled him by the sleeve. But Dr Delany, chagrined at being interrupted in his devotions, resisted and kicked the intruder, who in vain begged of him to come out, saying "There was no text." The doctor replied that he had a text; nor could he comprehend the meaning, till the reader acquainted him that he must go into the vestry, and write down the text (as usual) for the closets. When he came into the vestry, his hand shook so much that he could not write. Mrs Delany, therefore, was sent for; but no paper was at hand. At last, on the cover of a letter, the text was transcribed by Mrs Delany, and so carried up to the king and royal family.

Dr Delany died at Bath, in May, 1768, in the eighty-third year of his age.

William Nicholson, Bishop of Derry.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1718.—DIED A.D. 1727.

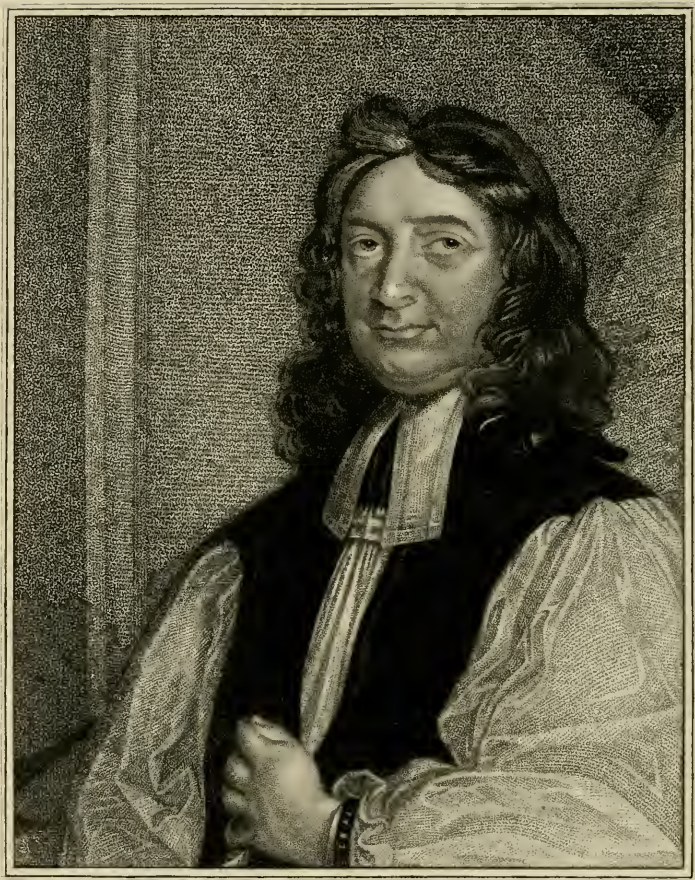
WILLIAM NICHOLSON was a native of Cumberland—he received his education in the university of Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in Queen's College. He was preferred to the archdeaconry of Carlisle, of which see he was made bishop in 1702. It appears from a letter quoted by Harris, that he made himself very useful to the government in the rebellion of 1715; in so much that his further promotion was confidently anticipated. In 1718, he was accordingly appointed to Derry, with permission to retain Carlisle for some time further, probably till the appointment of a successor, which took place in a few months after.

Of his conduct in his diocese, we do not feel it necessary to offer any detail. He had been accused of an undue partiality to his own relations in the disposal of his patronage—a fault which those who

have patronage will mostly be found liable to commit, and which the most scrupulous will find it often difficult to avoid;—but there are certain limits and certain conditions, under which such a disposition cannot justly be censured; and it must also be confessed, that it is difficult for the most scrupulous impartiality to escape the murmur of unwarrantable expectation and invidious complaint. The censure of archbishop King, cannot, however, be thus disposed of, and seems to make out a strong case. Speaking of the deanery of Derry, he mentions that the bishop was rumoured to have gone over to England to secure it for his son-in-law, and adds, “I understand there have fallen three benefices in the diocese since he came to it; one the very best in it; another the archdeaconry; and another one of the best; these he has got for his son and two relations or friends. My lord, such proceedings will have an ill effect on the minds of both clergy, I fear, and laity, and add to that general discontent, that of late too much appears everywhere.”

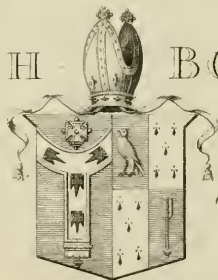
In 1726, the death of archbishop Palliser made way for his promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; but he had not time to take possession when a fit of apoplexy terminated his life, 13th February, 1727, about a fortnight from his appointment.

His principal claim to a notice in this work consists in his character as a diligent and useful student of the antiquarian history of Ireland, for which he collected valuable materials, and left a useful work,—“The Irish historical library, pointing at most of the authors and records in print or manuscript, which may be useful to the compilers of a general history of Ireland.” This work was printed in Dublin, in 1724, and dedicated to William Conolly, speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He had already employed the same diligent research, and composed similar works on the ancient literary records of England and Scotland; and the whole of his labours display the industry and knowledge which such useful undertakings require. The Irish historical library has been of occasional service to this work, and may be praised as a compendious digest of the extensive and voluminous records of various denominations which are to be found either in print or manuscript on the antiquities of the country. The degree of intellectual power which can generally be brought to bear on such studies is not much, nor at the most, of a high order. The exception to this remark will be found in cases of such doubtful or contested points respecting the genuineness of an ancient MS., as must needs demand considerable sagacity and an expertness in the comparison of testimonies and in the discovery and estimation of points of fact. Of this we have already had occasion to present some striking examples, which may be found in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. The works of archbishop Nicholson cannot claim any further honour than that which must always be conceded to searching industry and extensive learning, and may be recommended as excellent indices and guides to those whose studies are directed to the remains of antiquity. We shall hereafter have to notice the transition from the literature of this period, to that of the following, when we shall add some remarks on the subject of the work thus mentioned here. We shall only



H D Threlke Del et Sc.

HUGH BOULTER,



Archbishop of Armagh.

From an original Picture at Christ Church Oxford.

lawsuits, and with the consent of the tenants. He has also got several new churches and cures, and is projecting more. I pray God preserve him to finish his good designs."

In 1720, when the infirmities of archbishop King prevented him from holding his visitation, he had recourse to the aid of Synge. Holding the same political principles, they were equally distrusted by the government. But the archbishop of Dublin, not willing to expose his brother prelate to the necessity of pronouncing, on his own authority, sentiments which might draw down the displeasure of the Irish government, wrote him a letter, expressive of the representations he wished to make to the clergy of the diocese. In this letter he begs to have his clergy reminded "of the late act of parliament, by which a full liberty is given to all sects to set up their meetings, and propagate what doctrines they please. By this, neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical courts have any power over them; so that we can neither help ourselves, nor call for any assistance from the civil magistrate," &c. This, with several other statements, in opposition to the policy then pursued, was put forward by the archbishop of Tuam in his charge; and he was in consequence called before the council, when, according to King, "a mighty business was made of it;" but Synge pleaded for himself so well, that the matter was let drop.

A letter of archbishop King, which bishop Mant refers to the year 1722, gives an account of the great improvements made by Synge in his diocese.

In 1730, the archbishop had the satisfaction of consecrating his eldest son for the bishoprick of Clonfert, when the consecration sermon was preached by his second son, afterwards bishop of Killaloe.

The archbishop died in 1741, and was interred in the church-yard of his own cathedral.

His writings, though not such as to demand a lengthened comment, were, nevertheless, worthy of the reputation which he maintained through life, of a scholar and a christian. Bishop Mant says of them:—"They consisted, for the most part, of small tracts written in a sensible and easy manner. A list of them, amounting in number to fifty-nine, is given by Mr Nicholl's *Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth century*: and they are stated to have been again and again printed in large numbers by Mr Bowyer. Collected, they form four duodecimo volumes. Of the author, it has been said, that his life was as exemplary as his writings were instructive; and, that what he wrote, he believed, and what he believed, he practised."*

Hugh Boulter, Primate.

BORN A.D. 1671.—DIED A.D. 1742.

HUGH BOULTER was born in London, in 1671. He finished his education at Magdalene college in Oxford, where he was elected a demie, at the same time with Dr Wilestead, Dr Joseph Wilcox, and Addison. The

* Hist. of the Irish Church, ii. 561.

distinguished learning and ability of the four obtained for this election the name of "the golden election." Boulter obtained a fellowship in his college. On leaving it he was successively chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury; rector of St Olaves, Southwark; archdeacon of Surrey; chaplain to George I., and tutor to his grandson Frederick, prince of Wales. He was next consecrated bishop of Bristol in 1719, and at the same time obtained the deanery of Christ church, Oxford.

In 1724, he was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, which he accepted with reluctance, at the strongly expressed desire of the king. From this period, his life, together with the general history of Irish affairs, may be traced in his letters, from which, nevertheless, we are under the necessity of drawing rather more sparingly than we might wish. His appointment was altogether a measure of government policy, with the purpose of having a person on the spot, on whose advice they could prudently rely, and to whom they might trust the weight and sanction of government-influence and authority.

The following extract, from a letter to lord Townsend, is sufficient to give the clearest conception of Boulter's political views, and of the understanding which subsisted between him and the English cabinet:—"But whatever my post is here, the only thing that can make it agreeable to me who would have been very well content with a less station in my own country, is, if I may be enabled to serve his majesty and my country here, which it will be impossible for me to do according to my wishes, if the English interest be not thoroughly supported from the other side. When I left England, I did not doubt but your lordship was sufficiently sensible how much this had been neglected for many years, and of the necessity there was of taking other measures for the future." After adverting to a few particular appointments, he goes on to say, that the English in Ireland think, "the only way to keep things quiet here, and to make them easy to the ministry is, by filling the great places with natives of England; and all we would beg is, where there is any doubt with your lordship about the consequence of a place here, that you would have the goodness to write hither to know its weight before it be disposed of." On this, one comment of bishop Mant's will save us some trouble:—"With respect, indeed, to appointments in the church, with which our subject chiefly connects us, it can hardly be supposed but that regard was had to the professional qualities of the persons advanced to its stations of dignity, emolument, and trust: the rather, because in the performance of his own pastoral duties as a parochial clergyman, he is related to have been distinguished for his zeal; and to have discharged the duties of his high office, when bishop of Bristol, with the most unremitting attention. But it is remarkable, and it is calculated to excite a sentiment of dissatisfaction and disapprobation, on perusal of the primate's letters, that very little is, in fact, said of the religious, the moral, the theological, the literary characters of those who are forward in supplying vacancies in the episcopate, and that their recommendations rest in a prominent degree on political and secular considerations."*

The reader has already had occasion to observe the opposition of

* Hist. of the Irish Church, ii. 421.

sentiment in this respect which existed between the primate and archbishop King, who frequently expressed, in very strong terms, his jealousy on the subject of English appointments. At that period there were doubtless some strong grounds for an anxious attention to what was called the English interest; but, like all such considerations, applied with a mixture of motives, and carried beyond due limits. It was justly to be apprehended, and has actually occurred, that the same policy would be likely to survive the expediency by which it was suggested, and to be maintained when, in the course of time, it should become a grievance and an undeserved reproach. So far as our experience goes, we see no special reason to complain of the selection of the prelates of the Irish church, on any ground peculiar to the present consideration. But it must be denied that there exists any valid reason for continuing to supply the Irish church with bishops from England, however great may be their knowledge, piety, or practical efficiency. We freely acknowledge, and these memoirs largely attest, our obligations to England for numerous names which are among the lights and ornaments of their times. We would not relinquish Taylor or Bedell for the boast of nationality; but we cannot assent to the implication, that the university which has produced Usher, King, and Magee, is not now, in its maturity, adequate to the demands of the episcopacy. We would not, indeed, be thought simple enough to imagine, that any administration is guided in its choice of a bishop, mainly, by any consideration of ecclesiastical fitness. The contrary appears, not, perhaps, so much from any deficiency in the persons actually selected, as from the nearly uniform neglect of those eminently conspicuous for the qualities by which such a choice should be determined. And this error will (*so far as it is error,*) continue until the fact shall be discovered, that political prelates are no longer required for the maintenance of the civil administration in Ireland.

But to the apprehension of primate Boulter, there were present many considerations (some real, and some fallacious), not now to be seriously entertained. He saw a fiery and seemingly vital strife between opposite principles, involving the security and stability of the government; and we can acquit him of low and base views unworthy of his high station. He was far from being insensible to the duties proper to his office, and is entitled to our grateful recollection of labours and sacrifices for the benefit of the Irish Church. He was not yet settled in his new station when he noticed, and endeavoured to find a remedy for the poverty of the Irish clergy. The fund available for the relief of the poorer clergy being both miserably inadequate, and at the same time heavily encumbered, primate Boulter conceived the idea of relieving it from its encumbrances by a subscription among the bishops and clergy. This plan obtained the consent of most of the bishops; but, after very considerable exertions, was found impracticable, and accordingly dropped.

In the state letters of the primate, which are our chief materials for this notice, there may be found a very detailed view of Irish affairs through the close of this period. They are not generally of sufficient interest to warrant much expansion here. The general character of our domestic history, up to nearly the period of the union, is pretty

uniformly the same dull and stagnant interval of sober gloom. The vast convulsions of the revolution had left behind a sediment of fears and prejudices unfavourable to social progress. A distrust of the popular party induced a stringent and imperious policy towards the country, not in itself unwarranted, or inexcusable; but leading, as such a policy ever will, to oppression and injustice. No party, having adopted a principle of action, has ever yet shown a due sense of the line, at which every principle must find its proper limit. And the oversight is made more worthy of observation from the fact, that the prepossessions of parties survive the occasion, and the state of society of which they were the produce: and as they are handed down to posterity seem to lose their incidental stamp, and acquire the character of principles. Thus, also, national excitements, the result of circumstances, change first into party feeling; and, then, if too much, and too long kept up, grow into national character. On both sides, errors and prejudices take the form of transmitted instincts: but these reflections will have a more appropriate place hereafter. The primate was impressed with a sentiment of prepossession against the Irish, and the principles of the popular party, and a proportional sense of the importance of the English interest, and carried this sense to its utmost length, in his endeavours to preserve the ascendancy of the latter. This is in no way more displayed than in the vigilant circumspection with which he watched over appointments—a subject which curiously pervades all his correspondence.

The primate was not many months in Ireland when he gave his careful and sagacious attention to the affairs of the excise, and pointed out as one of the causes of the deficiency of the Irish revenue—the “fall of the customs by vast quantities of goods being run here from the Isle of Man, which is the great magazine of goods intended to be run.” He proceeds to propose the remedy which was afterwards (forty years after,) adopted against this evil. “And the only remedy we talk of here for this evil is, if his majesty were to buy the island of the earl of Derby.”

The primate’s attention was also called to an abuse in the disposal of church patronage, which he explains at length in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury—it cannot be explained more clearly than by an extract from the letter. “Since my arrival here, I have met with a practice in the church, that to me seemed very odd, having heard of nothing like it in England; which is, of presbyters holding a second or third benefice *in commendam*, instead of having a faculty: the practice, I believe, was owing to my predecessors refusing a faculty where it might be thought reasonable, which made them look out for some stratagem to compass the same thing; and what they have pitched upon and practised here, has been by granting the broad seal to hold a second or third without institution or induction. That your Grace may the better understand the nature of the new tenure, I have here sent you the copy of a fiat of this sort:—

“*This fiat containeth his majesty’s grant and donation of the deanery of the cathedral church of Kilmachduach, &c., now void, and in his majesty’s disposal, by the death of Stephen Handcock,*

late dean thereof, unto Charles Northcote, clerk, master of arts, to have and to hold the said deanery in commendam to him, the said Charles Northcote, together with the prebend of Kilmacdonough, the rectory and vicarage of Kilmaghan, the entire rectory of Borghillam, and the vicarage of Clonfert, alias, sanctæ trinitatis, Christ Church, Newmarket, in the diocese of Cloyne, which he now holds and enjoys: and also to enter into the said deanery without institution, installation, or other solemnity: and is done according to his Grace's warrant, bearing date

"The 19th day of November, 1719.

"I have inquired whether there is any act of parliament here, that gives the crown any such power, and am assured there is none; so that I think it stands on the same bottom as a bishop taking a commendam after consecration." A little further on, he describes the practice as "no other than a sequestration of a benefice, granted by lay powers, without being accountable for the profits received, and without being charged with the cure of souls." He proposes, as a present remedy, the legal investiture of the persons holding these illegal grants, and offers to grant them the necessary faculties.

In the latter end of June, 1725, he held his first visitation; in giving an account of which to the duke of Newcastle, he mentions that he "made the Protestant dissenters in those parts easy." His charge was printed at the request of his clergy. Bishop Mant observes of it, "It is a sensible pastoral address, but contains no remarks particularly striking."

He had a dispute with archbishop King, on the subject of his right to grant licenses for marriages at uncanonical hours; a right which, being assumed to appertain exclusively to the archbishops of Armagh, was considered to be infringed when exercised by the archbishop of Dublin. By the advice, however, of the archbishop of Canterbury, and of bishop Gibson, whom he consulted, he let the matter drop.

The disturbances already related in consequence of the patent granted to Mr Wood, for the coinage of halfpence, took place at this time: and the primate expressed very strongly, in several communications, his anxiety to have the public mind quieted by the revocation of the measure. His advice must have had a principal weight with the English cabinet. A little after, when Wood surrendered the patent, and a resolution for an address was proposed in both houses of the Irish parliament, there was a sharp struggle in the lords on some words in the address: the combat was led, and chiefly maintained, on the part of the government, by the primate. The popular leaders, in thanking the king for putting an end to Wood's patent, wished at the same time to convey their sense of its merits, by carrying the point that the words "great wisdom" should be added before the words, "royal favour and condescension;" thus, according to the primate's view, which was confirmed by their speeches, casting a censure on the English cabinet. The obnoxious words were, however, rejected by a majority of twenty-one against twelve. Archbishop King was the leader of the opposite party on this occasion, and the mover of the objectionable amendment. The primate's victory was solemnized by

the burning of "an impudent poem on those debates," which came from the pen of Swift. Besides the direct advantage of having repelled an attack, the primate considered it advantageous as a fair trial of strength, of which the result would secure a peaceable session.

Among the chief subjects of interest which at this time occupied the attention of primate Boulter, were the regulation of the coins, and the occasional difficulties which occurred on questions affecting the revenue. The difficulties in the management of the house of commons, on all questions of this nature, appear to have been greater than upon any other. There seems, in 1725, to have been a heavy arrear due to the army; and a great reluctance to make it good, otherwise than by an application for the purpose of the ordinary revenue. The opposition who proposed this expedient were, with difficulty, induced to consent to a different arrangement, which having passed the house, was factiously impeded by the personal exertions of the opposition members. The agreement was, that debentures should be issued to the army, and to the officers on half-pay, for the interest of their claims: these were to pass on the security of parliament, which was to make good the payment to a certain amount. The opposition members, however, exerted themselves to deter the bankers from giving money upon these warrants.

It may be of more interest to mention that in the course of these struggles, the primate had occasion to observe, and urged strongly on government, the mischief of buying off opposition with places and other favours,—an imprudence then much resorted to, notwithstanding the obvious effect of making opposition more profitable than service, and also giving sanction to the inference of a secret leaning on the part of government against its avowed policy. This error is the more worthy of special notice, because it is the first expedient which at all times presents itself to the fears of weak or incompetent administrations. If such compacts did not necessarily involve fraud as their very basis, and were not therefore ineffective, yet it is obvious that their first real effect must be to raise a fresh and increased horde of clamourers, still more loud, to be silenced by the same means. On the other hand, we cannot equally approve of the primate's desire to visit, with the displeasure of government, those gentlemen who gave trouble to government in their place as members of parliament.

Such errors were, considering the state of Ireland at that period, of comparatively minor importance; they were mistakes inseparable from the policy which, notwithstanding all we have yet read or heard to the contrary, we must consider as imperatively required. There was, in truth, no legislative wisdom in the Irish parliament adequate to the government of a country of which the condition was anomalous, and of which the political elements were altogether discordant. There was a contention among all the classes and interests, and these were too unequally civilized to counterbalance each other in the strife. It was essential that they should be in some way overruled; but the high privileges which had been prematurely established in favour of the Irish parliament, gave an appearance of illegality, oppression, and encroachment, to steps which were vitally essential. Political know-

ledge is of tardy growth, and it was not possible that a system which involved stretches of power among its necessary resources, should not, at times, approach too near the limit of despotism. A good proof of the expediency of some such resources may be found in the history of the efforts of the primate, through many years, to remedy the state of the currency in Ireland. The case was this; there was a gross inequality in the relative prices of gold and silver,—while the gold was current at a rate above that of English and foreign exchange, that of the silver was considerably below the same standards. The consequence was, that the gold which brought a high profit in Ireland was used by bankers and agents to buy up the silver, on which a profit was again made in England and elsewhere; and all remittances to and from this country being made on the same principle, there was no silver left sufficient for the ordinary purposes of trade. As it was not possible to carry on any business without this medium, it became necessary to pay a high premium for it, being not less than eight-pence in the pound,—a deduction, from the nature of the occasion, liable to an indefinite increase. To increase the evil still more, the operation of this circumstance brought with it an inundation of light gold; and as there was a reduction of value for the deficiency of weight, it was found that the consequent loss was diminished upon coins of the higher denominations; for the defect upon one guinea being supposed equal to that on a piece worth four, it will at once be understood, that three-fourths of the loss must be saved by paying with this inconvenient coin. The primate proposed, as a remedy for these evils, the raising the value of silver to nearly the same standard with that of England, and lowering the price of gold. With this proposal most sensible persons privately agreed; but it was highly disagreeable to the money-dealing classes whose weight in the commons was preponderant. Among the mercantile classes there was, indeed, an experience of the disadvantages arising from a disordered currency; and many, in consequence, expressed themselves in favour of the measure. The house of lords, too, was favourably disposed; but their first demonstration of this temper had the effect of producing a violent excitement in the lower house. The result was a long interval of delay. In some years after, the question was again taken up by the primate, and the measure which he perseveringly pressed, was at length carried into effect. It was considered by himself and his friends, as the most honourable and praiseworthy of his services to Ireland. It should be added, that he was fiercely resisted by dean Swift and his party. It was, indeed, altogether impossible to carry any measure of real utility, without having to meet a factious opposition from the commons, who seemed to consider the entire object of their existence to be the assertion of unconstitutional privileges, and the raising impediments of every sort to the interests of peace and order. Among the many incidents of this nature which the political character of Boulter brings under our notice, was their furious opposition to a bill for preventing riots in Dublin, and the liberties; a measure of which the necessity was at the time universally felt: the chief objection was, that the bill had its origin in the privy council,—a mere pretext, when no other reason

could be found; for the authority had been fully recognised, and continually exercised without question.

But there is, perhaps, no question more illustrative of the factious composition of the house of commons and of the low character, generally, of the political honesty and wisdom of those classes with which the government had to contend, than the contest upon the question of tithes. In their legislative capacities, they exerted their whole weight to oppress the Protestant clergy, and to impede those measures of just and necessary protection, which the government determined in their behalf: finding their legislative power insufficient for the meditated outrage, they conspired in their personal and individual characters for the same unrighteous and impolitic purpose. The exorbitant rents then exacted for land had the effect of driving the Protestant tenantry in large bodies to America: this was attributed by the country gentlemen to tithes, particularly the agistment for dry cattle, the claim to which was unquestionable, and affirmed by the courts of law. The commons passed resolutions, of which the intent and effect was to prevent members from suing for their right; and actually subscribed for the defence of those who might be sued. They thought—and it is an error to which country gentlemen must always be liable—that the plunder of their spiritual instructors would be accepted as a compensation for their own exorbitant exactions, and they also hoped to come in largely as sharers in the spoil: totally overlooking the fact so clearly proved by after experience, that the demolition of any class of vested rights in property involves the common principle of all such rights; and that the tithes could not be questioned without bringing on the question of rents. In all times of modern history, a low and disreputable aspect of society is suggested by the fact, that there has always appeared, wherever it could safely be shown, an invidious feeling towards the clergy. The disregard for religion, to which it is easy to reduce it, must needs excite against the spiritual instructors of the community, an enmity which will be more or less strong as they are more sincere, and uncompromising in their vocation. But whatever may be their conduct, the infidelity of a large class will view them as useless. In this respect, there has been in our own times a very diffusive amendment in the state of society throughout the British dominions, but most of all in Ireland. Our most faithful and laborious clergy have at length a vast weight of public feeling in their favour; nevertheless, it was not until the Irish proprietary found themselves actually thrown into the same bottom, and lifted upon the same wave over the same revolutionary abyss, that the virtue of common justice seemed to be roused into existence. At the period to which our narrative refers, it may be conceived with what atrocity, untempered by any sense of right, a commons, equally incapable and unprincipled, would hunt down their prey: how, as they racked the tenantry, and persecuted the clergy, they were meditating an attack on the bishops who mainly stood between them and their lawless aims. That this was the fact, is well ascertained from the various records of the time, and it is here stated on the authority of the letters before us, as we do not wish to pursue the subject into all its petty and harassing details.

It is with more satisfaction we have to notice the first efforts for

the promotion of education among the Irish peasantry, in which the main body of the upper classes joined, and in which the primate took an active and effectual part. The history of this interesting proceeding is given with its fullest details by bishop Mant, from whose pages we shall select a few particulars. It appears to have been the suggestion of Dr Maule, who was successively dean and bishop of Cloyne. "In the year 1730, in concurrence with a parochial clergyman of Dublin, the Rev. Mr Dawson, curate of St Michan's, he put forward 'an humble proposal for obtaining his majesty's royal charter to incorporate a society for promoting Christian knowledge amongst the poor natives of the kingdom of Ireland.'"

The proposal was favourably received by the king. "And the primate of Ireland, who greatly approved of the undertaking, collected at his house, in Dublin, a large assembly of persons of rank and distinction, in order to concert measures for forming and forwarding of a petition to the king." The petition which the bishop gives at length, is "entitled the humble petition of the lord-primate, lord-chancellor, archbishops, noblemen, bishops, judges, gentry, and clergy, &c;" and describes at length the destitute condition of most parts of the country, in regard to the knowledge of the first principles of religion and loyalty, and suggests, as the most effectual remedy, the establishment of a number of English Protestant schools. It next adverts to the efforts already made by the parish ministers to effect the same purpose, and mentions their failure, which it ascribes to the reluctance of the richer papists, and the poverty of the poorer, who were unable to pay the small stipends essential to the support of such an undertaking while it remained in private hands. The petition concludes, by praying for a charter of incorporation, enabling such persons as might seem fit to accept of gifts, benefactions, &c., &c., for the purpose designed, of erecting schools for the gratuitous education of the children of the poor. Conformably with the prayer of this petition, in 1733, letters patent were issued, by which the lord-lieutenant, chancellor, primate, &c., were constituted into a corporate body by the title of the "Incorporated Society, in Dublin, for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland."

The progress of this measure was slow; it met with insufficient liberality and zeal in its promotion, and was encountered by a vast weight of prejudice and party-feeling. Among the country gentlemen, there was then no wish for the improvement either of the mind or condition of the people. The power of exaction, and of local oppression, were best served by ignorance and barbarism; and it was too well understood, that the same qualities which made the peasantry formidable to peace and order, also placed them at the mercy of domestic tyrants. However the lawless multitude, when it rolls together like a mighty wave, may bear down all before it; it is law and settled principles only which can protect the individual.

The primate's great and persevering efforts for this truly beneficent design are to be traced in his letters, and indicate both the wisdom of the statesman, and the virtue of the patriot: a word, of which—by the way—the sense is unhappily narrowed in its true application, as it has been still more unfortunately enlarged in a fallacious sense.

We pass some other public incidents which have already been noticed in these pages, to matters more immediately relating to the personal history of the primate. There are few circumstances of his ascertained conduct more honourably conspicuous, than the persevering and earnest efforts which he made to serve his friends. Public virtue is implicated with a variety of equivocal motives, from the suspicions affecting which, it is not easy to sift the purest life. An honourable regard to humble friends who have been left behind in the ascent to greatness, is least liable to such constructions. Pride and selfishness are the besetting infirmities which cling to ambition, and their common prompting is to kick down the ladder, at every stage once gained, and to break free from the humble ties which seem affected by some lowering recollection of former equality. Such, indeed, is felt to be one of the necessary defences of all merely conventional inequality. Native superiority is independent of a resource which implies the weakness it would conceal—philosophy despises it—Christian humility shuns it as a deadly snare. Hence, the deepened humility which accompanies the elevation of the truly Christian character—the unaffected condescension of sound-headed wisdom—and the eccentric affability which the consciousness of vast and ready talents sometimes displays in its ready aptitude to enter into fearless collision with other minds. Boulter is not, perhaps, precisely to be referred to any of these; but may, perhaps, be best described as possessing, in an unusually high degree, that practical sense and energy which, better than more elevated gifts, fit a man to take a leading part in public life. His natural affections were strong, but he was little accessible to the varied influences of mere sentiment, and was rather constituted to enter deeply and earnestly into the responsibilities and cares of his position, than to be warped by its elevation. Of such a man, nothing can be more truly or pleasingly characteristic, than his persevering and importunate applications in behalf of his friend Mr Stephens. Before leaving England, he had obtained for this gentleman, who had been his friend in college, a promise of the next canonry of Christ church. After his elevation he urged the claim thus acquired, with a constancy seldom to be found, unless in those exertions which self-interest prompts. Repeated disappointments occurred from the active interference of other interests. The zealous and earnest applications which run through the correspondence of several years, while they exhibit the difficulties attendant on such efforts, as strongly attest the steadiness and energy of the primate's friendship, and show that his mind had not entered into that hollow and perfidious understanding of courtiers, that patronage is never to be too much in earnest about the claims of inferior persons. The claim of Mr Stephens, like all other claims, was long put off; but, owing to the strenuous importunity of the primate, he at last obtained a prebend in Winchester. The generosity of the primate was yet more strongly shown towards Dr Welsted, who had been his fellow-student, and had been elected demie in Oxford at the same time with him. Welsted having fallen into low circumstances in his declining years, the primate allowed him £200 a-year for the remainder of his life. After his death, he supported his son as a commoner, in the university of Oxford. With a liberal regard to the

protection of learned men, he retained Ambrose Philips, whose name is still remembered from his quarrel and imaginary rivalry with Pope, as his secretary, though we know not how far he may have merited the sarcasm, "still, to one bishop Philips seems a wit."

The life of primate Boulter, so far as it has come distinctly under our notice, is identified with the history of the country during his time; and we have here confined ourselves to this brief notice, because in part, that history is itself not of much interest, and partly because we have already noticed its most important events.

The primate was, in the highest sense, a man of business through the whole nineteen years of his primacy—the real weight of the cabinet policy, with regard to Ireland, rested on his prudence and activity. The selection of public officers, and the filling up of the vacancies which occurred upon the judicial or the episcopal bench, was mainly governed by his counsel, and according to the principle which he proposed and kept in view. With this principle we have expressed the extent of our agreement and disagreement, but entertain no question as to the perfect sincerity of the primate. His thorough honesty cannot be a matter of doubt to any one who retains the capacity to discern the ordinary indications of an honest man; and, by those who have thoroughly studied the history of Ireland, his conduct will not be questioned on the ground of wanting strong excuse in reason, prudence, and necessity. He is not, without much want of fairness, to be classed among the corrupt administrators of unequal laws, or with those who availed themselves of the fatuity of the Irish to fatten on their misfortunes. The lessons of the revolution tended to impress certain fears and precautions; and the world had not, perhaps, grown wise enough to perceive the precise extent to which those fears were just, or those precautions required. The cultivation of the English interest was, to some extent, necessary for the advancement of Ireland; it was also thought on very strong apparent grounds necessary to the security of the British throne, from claims which were yet kept alive and alert, and which had no feeble hold upon the affections of a party in Ireland. The formidable demonstrations of 1715, and 1745, indicate plainly enough that these fears were no imaginary monsters, and that the ostensible, if not true, policy demanded by the time, was the maintenance of the English interest.

The true character of Boulter is seen in the honourable munificence of his disposal of a large part of his fortune for the advantage of the country. The account of his good deeds, in this respect, is so well summed up by bishop Mant, that we may abridge our labour by extracting it here. "In one respect," writes the bishop, "he evidently is entitled to high commendation; namely, that the property which he derived from the church, he employed freely, bountifully, and beneficially, for the church's purposes. Besides numerous other charitable uses of a secular kind, to which he devoted it both in England and Ireland, the following ecclesiastical benefactions especially call for notice in the present work. The cure of the city of Armagh being too burdensome for the regular ministerial provision, he placed in it an additional curate, with an especial obligation that he should celebrate divine service every Sunday afternoon, and read prayers twice

every day. To several of his clergy who were incapable of giving their children a proper education, he supplied means for maintaining their sons in the university, and thus qualifying them for future preferment. Both at Armagh, and at Drogheda, he built houses for the widows of clergymen, and purchased estates for endowing them with annual allowances. To the protestant charter schools, which, although he did not institute himself, he was mainly instrumental in establishing, he contributed considerable pecuniary assistance during his life; though the fact of his having made his will before their institution, and in the end his sudden dissolution, prevented his conferring on them any post-obituary benefactions. The bulk of his property, after a suitable provision for his widow during her life, and a few testamentary bequests, was appropriated to an amount exceeding £30,000, to the purchase of glebes for the clergy, and the augmentation and improvement of small benefices; an appropriation which, as it has been most usefully employed under the direction of the act of 29 George II. c. 10, enacted for the purpose, so has it contributed to the comfort, and respectability, and usefulness, of many of the clergy, and deserves to be cherished in perpetual and grateful remembrance by every member of the church of Ireland."

Boulter died in September, 1742, in London, in the 71st year of his age.

Thomas Parnell, Archdeacon of Clogher.

BORN A. D. 1679.—DIED A. D. 1717.

PARNELL'S family is traced by his biographers to Cheshire, from whence his father, who had been a republican in the civil wars, came over to Ireland at the restoration, and being possessed of considerable wealth, purchased some property in Ireland. He also possessed an estate in Cheshire. Both of these estates descended to the son: but though we must presume them sufficient to raise him above want, yet they were not enough to set at rest a laudable desire to add to his usefulness and respectability by professional occupation.

Having entered the university of Dublin, at the early age of thirteen, he took master's degree in 1700, when he was in his twenty-first year. In the same year, though deficient in age,—the canonical age being twenty-three,—he obtained a dispensation from the primate for this purpose, and was ordained to deacon's orders by archbishop King. It is to be inferred, that his conduct was such as to elicit unusual approbation, as in no more than six years after, he was offered the vicarage of Finglass, worth £400 a year, by so strict a prelate and so able a divine, as King; this he refused in order to take the archdeaconry of Clogher from Dr St George Ashe, who had been a fellow of college, and had probably taken into consideration his merits as a scholar when in the university.

On this occasion, we are informed by bishop Mant, that he received "an excellent letter of advice on his professional and future conduct, from his friend and patron archbishop King, in whose unpublished

MS. correspondence, in Trinity college library, the letter may be found, under the date of March 6, 1706."

At the same period or nearly, he married Miss Anne Minchin, by whom he had two sons, who died without reaching maturity, and a daughter.

At the end of Queen Anne's reign, he went to London in the hope of obtaining distinction and preferment, by means of his literary and professional abilities; and at this time we find many notices of him in Swift's journals and letters. Here he not only exerted himself as a preacher, and as a political writer, but obtained ready notice as a poet, in which character he is best known to posterity. His introduction to the earl of Oxford is among the most honourable of Swift's achievements. In his journal to Stella, he mentions, "I contrived it so that the lord-treasurer came to me, and asked (I had Parnell by me), whether that was Dr Parnell, and treated him with great kindness."

It was during this visit to London that he had the unhappiness to be bereaved of his wife, whom he tenderly loved: he never recovered this afflicting blow, and so great was his sorrow at the time, that his intellect seems to have been in some degree impaired. The most grievous consequence was one which could not fail to have increased so hapless an effect; he sought a fatal refuge against the depression of his spirits in an over-free recourse to wine; and as this was one of the most besetting vices of his time, the practice was likely to grow with less interruption, from the opinion of the world, or the timely reproof of his friends.

The death of Queen Anne, and the consequent dismemberment of the tory party, put an end to his expectations from government patronage, and he returned to Ireland, where he died in 1717, at Chester, on his way home.

A selection of his poems was made by Pope, who published and dedicated them to the earl of Oxford. We can recollect to have read them some time in our boyish years; but, with one exception, retain a recollection too indistinct for the purpose of the most general criticism. Several of them are, however, distinguished by the praise of his countryman, Goldsmith; and we may express our concurrence with Dr Johnson, in saying, that "Goldsmith's criticism is seldom safe to contradict." Goldsmith bestows praise which Johnson terms "just," upon the "Rise of Woman," the "Fairy Tale," the "Pervigilius Veneris." Other compositions, honoured with a more qualified praise, may be enumerated:—The "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," a translation from Homer; the "Bookworm," paraphrased from Beza; a "Night Piece on Death," much admired by Goldsmith; an "Allegory on Man," mentioned by Johnson as the "happiest of his performances;" and the story of the Hermit, best known to the modern reader.

Of Parnell's style, (to speak from the specimen which we can best recollect,) the most prominent merit seems to be a very rare felicity of diction. His verse dances on in the flow of the simplest and most appropriate words, aptly placed for both harmony and sense. The effect is prominently that of a musical terseness, to which we cannot at once recollect any parallel: this is, however, merely our impression. Johnson says, "in his verses, there is more happiness than

pains: he is sprightly without effort, and always delights, though he never ravishes,—everything is proper, though everything seems casual. If there is some appearance of elaboration in the ‘Hermit;’ the narrative, as it is less airy, is less pleasing. Of his other compositions, it is impossible to say whether they are the productions of nature, so excellent as not to want the help of art, or of art so refined as to resemble nature.”

John Sterne, Bishop of Clogher.

BORN A.D. 1660.—DIED A.D. 1745.

THE father of the worthy and eminent prelate, here to be noticed, was himself a man of no inferior note in his day for learning and talent: his mother was sister to primate Usher, at whose house he was born. He obtained a fellowship in the university of Dublin, had the honour to be ejected by the earl of Tyrconnel, and reinstated at the restoration. He was professor of physic in the university, but is said to have been more addicted to theology than medical science. He died early, and was interred in the college chapel, where a monument was raised to his memory.

His son John received also his education in the university of Dublin, where he was, most probably, under the tuition of his father. He was first preferred to the vicarage of Trim, and became afterwards chancellor and then dean of St Patrick’s. At this point we are enabled to trace his course in a variety of sources of authority, especially from the journals and correspondence of Dean Swift, with whose fortunes the main events of his life were in some degree interwoven. These notices do not amount to anything very distinct; but in truth the records of a life spent in good deeds, and in the quiet pursuits of study, demand no lengthened space: it is when there are singular fortunes, unusual combinations of character, or splendid genius to be commemorated, that a more ample scope must be taken, either to illustrate that which is peculiar, or satisfy the curiosity of mankind.

While he was dean of St Patrick’s, Sterne expended large sums on the deanery house, which he entirely rebuilt: he was a large collector of books, and formed a valuable and extensive library. He is no less celebrated for his hospitality, and won universal kindness among the inferior clergy by his open-hearted beneficence. He lived on terms of nearly domestic intimacy with Swift, to whom, it can be ascertained, his house was a constant resource in town, and his purse was freely offered, at a moment when it must have appeared important. While Swift was in London, anxiously cultivating the prospects of preferment which were held out to him by the friendship of the tory ministers, Sterne’s house was the main resource of his female friends in Ireland. But through the whole of this intimacy (so far as it can be traced,) there is perceptible in Swift a splenetic recoil from the friendship of Sterne; for which, in the absence of any distinct incident, we can only account by referring it to some characteristic antipathy. Whatever we may have thought of the genius and of the strangely al-

loyed virtues of Swift, there can be no hesitation in asserting that, as a test of reputation, his disregard must be far outweighed by the friendship and confidence of a man like archbishop King. This testimony may be found in King's letter to Swift himself, when he was appointed to the deanery, as well as in his letter to Sterne on the same occasion. The archbishop mentions Sterne as one in whose prudence and ability he had found the most efficient counsel and assistance in the responsible and difficult duties of his station; and expresses his strong conviction that he would be the best qualified person to succeed himself in the metropolitan see. This, considering the stern and severe truth of King, who was far above mixing a particle of flattery with his approbation, was high praise, and may now be called an honourable memorial.

Sterne, during the interval of his holding the deanery, expended also a large sum on the cathedral; and, on leaving it, left £1000 to build a spire.

In 1713, he was raised to the see of Dromore, under circumstances already detailed at large in our account of Swift, for whom his preferment was an arrangement to make way. While there, he rebuilt the episcopal mansion, then, with most others, in a state of ruin.

In 1717 he was translated to Clogher, made vacant by the promotion of St George Ashe to Derry. Here, too, his course was marked by liberal benefactions, and the munificence of one who looked on fortune as the means of public good: he rebuilt the bishop's palace at considerable cost; and, we should observe, that in these expensive re-edifications, there is plain proof that he was actuated by no narrow sense of personal convenience, because he left large sums for the completion of those repairs which he had not in his lifetime been able to effect.

Upon the coolness, which, during this period, arose between him and Swift we cannot here enter. It was all on Swift's side; he seems to have entertained a very lively recollection of all his own acts of kindness to Sterne, and to have forgotten every kindness which he had received—a common fault of exorbitant and exacting self-esteem.*

He died in June, 1745, in his eighty-fifth year, leaving behind a character which seldom may be equalled, and never excelled, for hospitality, munificent beneficence, and rational charity.

His bequests to the public, and to the church, are his noblest monument; they are enumerated by bishop Mant, and we shall avail ourselves here (as we have often already,) of his industry:—"The episcopal mansion-house of Dromore and Clogher, as well as the deanery-house of St Patrick's, were entirely rebuilt by him. Towards finishing the cathedral church of Clogher, if not finished by himself in his lifetime, he bequeathed £1500 or £2000, to be determined by his executors; and towards building a spire on the steeple of St Patrick's cathedral he left £1000, provided the work should be seriously undertaken within six years of his decease. To explain the catechism twice-a-week in the city of Dublin, he bequeathed an annual salary of £80 for a catechist, to be chosen three years by the beneficed clergy, and

* See his letter to Sterne in his Works, vol. xiii., or in Mant's Hist. ii. 546.

£40 for a clergyman to officiate regularly in Dr Stevens' hospital. To these may be added, a donation of £400 to the blue-coat hospital for the education of poor children; and a bequest of £100 a-year for apprenticing children of decayed clergymen. Ten exhibitions of £50 a year, intrusted to the provost and senior fellows of Trinity, testifying his desire of encouraging education in sound religion and useful learning, which was further shown by a donation of £100 to the university, for building a printing-house, and £200 more to the purchase of types. To the university also, of which he was vice-chancellor, he presented his valuable collection of manuscripts. His books—such as were not already in primate Marsh's library—he left to increase that collection; and the remainder to be sold, and the purchase-money distributed among the curates of the diocese of Clogher; at whose request, however, the books themselves were, by the bishop's executors, divided amongst them. To purchase glebes and impropriations for resident incumbents he gave £2000 to the trustees of the first-fruits, providing against the entire waste of the principal sum, by allowing only one-third of the purchased tithes to the incumbent, until the residue had replaced the principal sum expended."

No less honourable mention is made of Sterne for his scrupulous caution in the examination of candidates for holy orders, whom he examined thoroughly for a week—his examinations being conducted in the Latin tongue, in which he had the reputation of being a proficient of the first order.

His publications were composed in Latin, and obtained high contemporary praise for their utility. His treatise on the Visitation of the Sick was published in Dublin, in 1697, and is characterized by Nichols as "short but comprehensive and valuably useful." The Clarendon press have republished it in 1807: and this will be allowed no inferior test of its merits.

END OF VOL. IV.

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